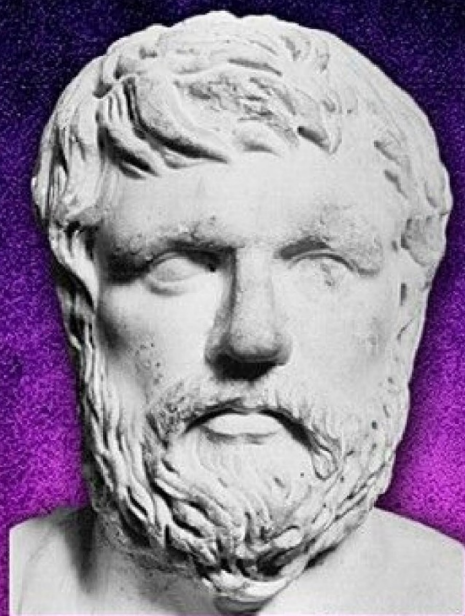




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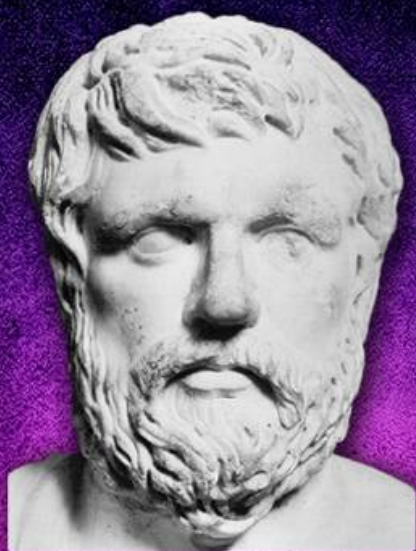
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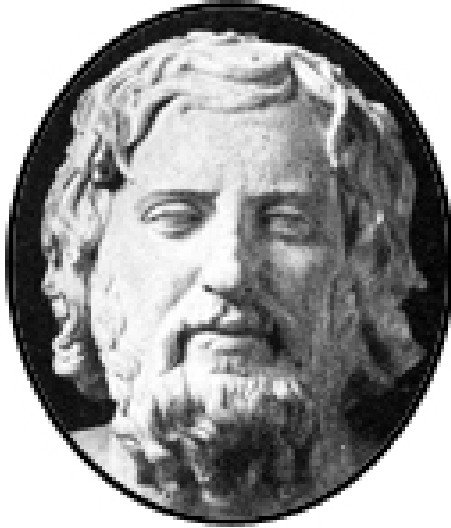
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(c. 430–354 BC)



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Historical works



Xenophon's birthplace — Athens

ANABASIS



Translated by Carleton L. Brownson

Forming seven books, the *Anabasis* is Xenophon's most famous work, narrating the journey the author made whilst accompanying the Ten Thousand, a large army of Greek mercenaries hired by Cyrus the Younger, who intended to seize the throne of Persia from his brother, Artaxerxes II. Interestingly, Socrates makes a cameo appearance when Xenophon asks whether he ought to accompany the expedition. The short episode demonstrates the reverence of Socrates for the Oracle of Delphi.

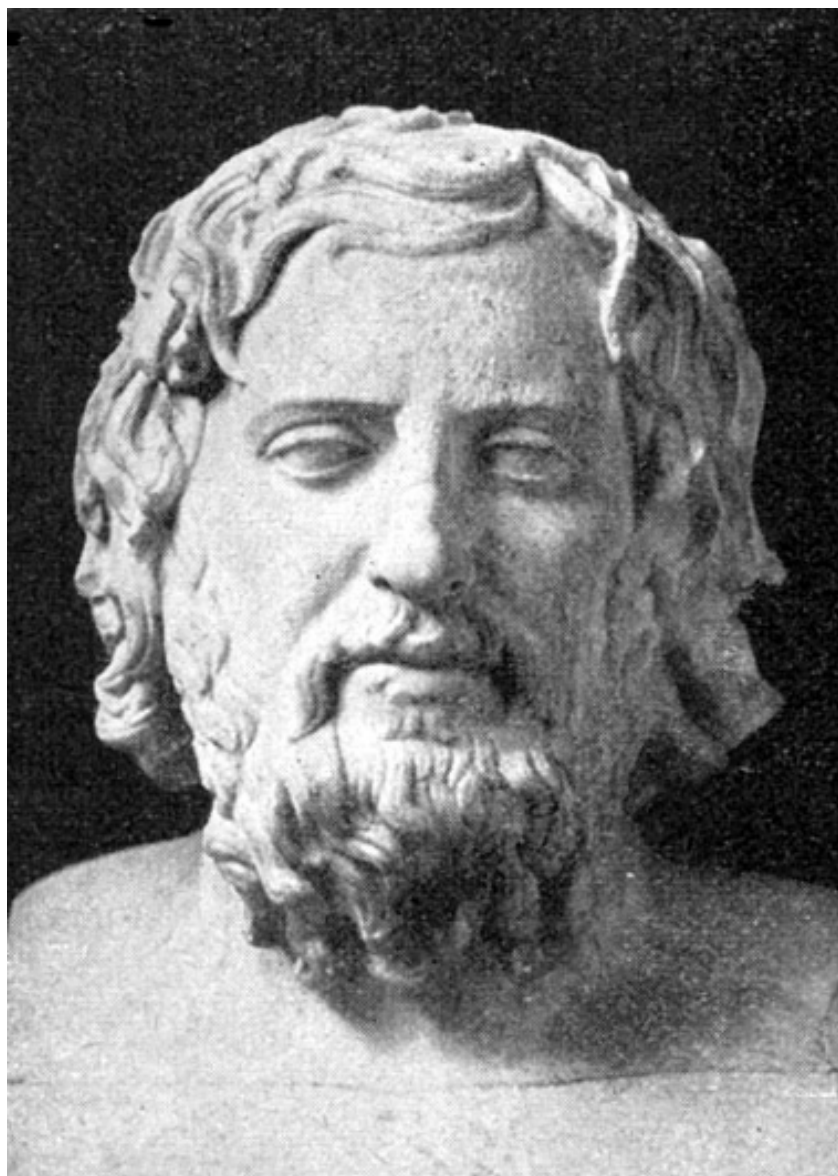
Though Cyrus' miscellaneous army won a tactical victory at Cunaxa in Babylon in 401 BC, Cyrus himself was killed in the battle, rendering the actions of the Greeks irrelevant and the expedition a failure. Thus stranded deep in enemy territory, the Spartan general Clearchus and the other Greek senior officers were subsequently killed or captured by treachery on the part of the Persian satrap Tissaphernes.

Xenophon, one of three remaining leaders elected by the soldiers, played an instrumental role in encouraging the Greek army of 10,000 to march north across foodless deserts and snow-filled mountain passes towards the Black Sea and the comparative security of its Greek shoreline cities. Now abandoned in northern Mesopotamia, without supplies other than what they could obtain by force or diplomacy, the mercenaries had to fight their way northwards through Corduene and Armenia, whilst the King's army and hostile natives constantly barred their way and attacked their flanks.

Ultimately the Ten Thousand managed to reach the shores of the Black Sea at Trabzon, which they then greeted with the now famous and euphoric cry of, "thálatta, thálatta", (the sea, the sea!) "The sea" meant that they were at last among Greek cities, although it was in

fact not the end of their journey, which included a period fighting for Seuthes II of Thrace, and ended with their recruitment into the army of the Spartan general Thibron.

Traditionally the *Anabasis* is one of the first texts studied by students of classical Greek due to its clear and unembellished style; similar to *Caesar's Commentarii de Bello Gallico* for Latin students. Perhaps not coincidentally, they are both autobiographical tales of military adventure told in the third person. Xenophon's account of his and his men's exploits resounded through Greece and it is believed by some they may have inspired Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander to believe that a lean and disciplined Hellene army might be relied upon to defeat a Persian army many times its size.



Late Hellenistic marble bust of Xenophon



Babylonian ruins close to the Euphrates, near where Xenophon and his men were left stranded. The site is now in present day Iraq.



A Victorian depiction of the Battle of Cunaxa in 401 BC, which left Xenophon and the Ten Thousand stranded deep in enemy territory in Babylon

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The mountain Madur in Surmene, Turkey, from where Xenophon and his men first famously glimpsed the sea



Θάλαττα, θάλαττα — Thalatta! Thalatta! (The Sea! The Sea!) by Bernard Granville Baker, 1901

BOOK I.

1. Darius and Parysatis had two sons born to them, of whom the elder was Artaxerxes and the younger Cyrus. Now when Darius lay sick and suspected that the end of his life was near, he wished to have both his sons with him. [2] The elder, as it chanced, was with him already; but Cyrus he summoned from the province over which he had made him satrap, and he had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus. Cyrus accordingly went up to his father, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend and accompanied by three hundred Greek hoplites, under the command of Xenias of Parrhasia. [3]

When Darius had died and Artaxerxes had become established as king, Tissaphernes falsely accused Cyrus to his brother of plotting against him. And Artaxerxes, believing the accusation, arrested Cyrus, with the intention of putting him to death; his mother, however, made intercession for him, and sent him back again to his province. [4] Now when Cyrus had thus returned, after his danger and disgrace, he set about planning that he might never again be in the power of his brother, but, if possible, might be king in his stead. He had, in the first place, the support of Parysatis, his mother, for she loved him better than the son who was king, Artaxerxes. [5] Again, when any of the King's court came to visit him, he treated them all in such a way that when he sent them back they were more devoted to him than to the King. He also took care that the barbarians of his own province should be capable soldiers and should feel kindly toward him. [6] Lastly, as regards his Greek force, he proceeded to collect it with the utmost secrecy, so that he might take the King as completely unprepared as possible.

It was in the following way, then, that he gathered this force: In the first place, he sent orders to the commanders of all the garrisons he had in the cities to enlist as many Peloponnesian soldiers of the best sort as they severally could, on the plea that Tissaphernes had designs upon their cities. For, in fact, the Ionian cities had originally belonged to Tissaphernes, by gift of the King, but at that time all of them except Miletus had revolted and gone over to Cyrus. [7] The

people of Miletus also were planning to do the very same thing, namely, to go over to Cyrus, but Tissaphernes, finding out about it in time, put some of them to death and banished others. Cyrus thereupon took the exiles under his protection, collected an army, and laid siege to Miletus both by land and by sea, and endeavoured to restore the exiles to their city; and this, again, made him another pretext for gathering an army. [8] Meanwhile he sent to the King and urged, on the ground that he was his brother, that these Ionian cities should be given to him instead of remaining under the rule of Tissaphernes, and his mother co-operated with him in this. The result was that the King failed to perceive the plot against himself, but believed that Cyrus was spending money on his troops because he was at war with Tissaphernes. Consequently he was not at all displeased at their being at war, the less so because Cyrus regularly remitted to the King the tribute which came in from the cities he chanced to have that belonged to Tissaphernes. [9]

Still another army was being collected for him in the Chersonese which is opposite Abydus, in the following manner: Clearchus was a Lacedaemonian exile; Cyrus, making his acquaintance, came to admire him, and gave him ten thousand darics. And Clearchus, taking the gold, collected an army by means of this money, and using the Chersonese as a base of operations, proceeded to make war upon the Thracians who dwell beyond the Hellespont, thereby aiding the Greeks. Consequently, the Hellespontine cities of their own free will sent Clearchus contributions of money for the support of his troops. So it was that this army also was being secretly maintained for Cyrus. [10]

Again, Aristippus the Thessalian chanced to be a friend of Cyrus, and since he was hard pressed by his political opponents at home, he came to Cyrus and asked him for three months' pay for two thousand mercenaries, urging that in this way he should get the better of his opponents. And Cyrus gave him six months' pay for four thousand, and requested him not to come to terms with his opponents until he had consulted with him. Thus the army in Thessaly, again, was being secretly maintained for him. [11]

Furthermore, Cyrus directed Proxenus the Boeotian, who was a friend of his, to come to him with as many men as he could get,

saying that he wished to undertake a campaign against the Pisidians, because, as he said, they were causing trouble to his province. He also directed Sophaenetus the Stymphalian and Socrates the Achaean, who were likewise friends of his, to come with as many men as they could get, saying that he intended to make war upon Tissaphernes with the aid of the Milesian exiles; and they proceeded to carry out his directions.

2. When he thought the time had come to begin his upward march, the pretext he offered was that he wished to drive the Pisidians out of his land entirely, and it was avowedly against them that he set about collecting both his barbarian and his Greek troops. At that time he also sent word to Clearchus to come to him with the entire army which he had, and to Aristippus to effect a reconciliation with his adversaries at home and send him the army which he had; and he sent word to Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenary force in the cities, to come with his troops, leaving behind only so many as were necessary to garrison the citadels. [2] He likewise summoned the troops which were besieging Miletus, and urged the Milesian exiles to take the field with him, promising them that, if he should successfully accomplish the object for which he was taking the field, he would not stop until he had restored them to their homes. And they gladly obeyed — for they trusted him — and presented themselves, under arms, at Sardis. [3]

Xenias, then, arrived at Sardis with the troops from the cities, who were hoplites to the number of four thousand; Proxenus was there with hoplites to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed troops; Sophaenetus the Stymphalian with a thousand hoplites; Socrates the Achaean with about five hundred hoplites; and Pasion the Megarian arrived with three hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts. The last-named, and Socrates also, belonged to the force that had been engaged in besieging Miletus. All these came to Cyrus at Sardis. [4]

Meanwhile Tissaphernes had taken note of these proceedings and come to the conclusion that Cyrus' preparations were too extensive to be against the Pisidians; he accordingly made his way to the King as quickly as he could, with about five hundred horsemen. [5] And when the King heard from Tissaphernes about Cyrus' array, he set

about making counter-preparations.

Cyrus was now setting forth from Sardis with the troops I have mentioned; and he marched through Lydia three stages, a distance of twenty-two parasangs, to the Maeander river. The width of this river was two plethra, and there was a bridge over it made of seven boats. [6] After crossing the Maeander he marched through Phrygia one stage, a distance of eight parasangs, to Colossae, an inhabited city, prosperous and large. There he remained seven days; and Menon the Thessalian arrived, with a thousand hoplites and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Aenianians, and Olynthians. [7] Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Celaenae, an inhabited city of Phrygia, large and prosperous. There Cyrus had a palace and a large park full of wild animals, which he used to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the Maeander river; its sources are beneath the palace, and it flows through the city of Celaenae also. [8] There is likewise a palace of the Great King in Celaenae, strongly fortified and situated at the foot of the Acropolis over the sources of the Marsyas river; the Marsyas also flows through the city, and empties into the Maeander, and its width is twenty-five feet. It was here, according to the story, that Apollo flayed Marsyas, after having defeated him in a contest of musical skill; he hung up his skin in the cave from which the sources issue, and it is for this reason that the river is called Marsyas. [9] It was here also, report has it, that Xerxes, when he was on his retreat from Greece after losing the famous battle, built the palace just mentioned and likewise the citadel of Celaenae. Here Cyrus remained thirty days; and Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian exile, arrived, with a thousand hoplites, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan bowmen. At the same time came also Sosis the Syracusan with three hundred hoplites and Agias the Arcadian with a thousand hoplites. And here Cyrus held a review and made an enumeration of the Greeks in the park, and they amounted all told to eleven thousand hoplites and about two thousand peltasts. [10]

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Peltae, an inhabited city. There he remained three days, during which time Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the Lycaean festival with sacrifice

and held games; the prizes were golden strigils, and Cyrus himself was one of those who watched the games. Thence he marched two stages, twelve parasangs, to the inhabited city of Ceramon-agora, the last Phrygian city as one goes toward Mysia. [11] Thence he marched three stages, thirty parasangs, to Caystru-pedion, an inhabited city. There he remained five days. At this time he was owing the soldiers more than three months' pay, and they went again and again to his headquarters and demanded what was due them. He all the while expressed hopes, and was manifestly troubled; for it was not Cyrus' way to withhold payment when he had money. [12] At this juncture arrived Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, coming to visit Cyrus, and the story was that she gave him a large sum of money; at any rate, Cyrus paid the troops at that time four months' wages. The Cilician queen was attended by a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and people said that Cyrus had intimate relations with the queen. [13]

Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the inhabited city of Thymbrium. There, alongside the road, was the so-called spring of Midas, the king of the Phrygians, at which Midas, according to the story, caught the satyr by mixing wine with the water of the spring. [14] Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to Tyriaeum, an inhabited city. There he remained three days. And the Cilician queen, as the report ran, asked Cyrus to exhibit his army to her; such an exhibition was what he desired to make, and accordingly he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain. [15] He ordered the Greeks to form their lines and take their positions just as they were accustomed to do for battle, each general marshalling his own men. So they formed the line four deep, Menon and his troops occupying the right wing, Clearchus and his troops the left, and the other generals the centre. [16] Cyrus inspected the barbarians first, and they marched past with their cavalry formed in troops and their infantry in companies; then he inspected the Greeks, driving past them in a chariot, the Cilician queen in a carriage. And the Greeks all had helmets of bronze, crimson tunics, and greaves, and carried their shields uncovered. [17] When he had driven past them all, he halted his chariot in front of the centre of the phalanx, and sending his interpreter Pigres to the generals of the Greeks, gave

orders that the troops should advance arms and the phalanx move forward in a body. The generals transmitted these orders to the soldiers, and when the trumpet sounded, they advanced arms and charged. And then, as they went on faster and faster, at length with a shout the troops broke into a run of their own accord, in the direction of the camp. [18] As for the barbarians, they were terribly frightened; the Cilician queen took to flight in her carriage, and the people in the market left their wares behind and took to their heels; while the Greeks with a roar of laughter came up to their camp. Now the Cilician queen was filled with admiration at beholding the brilliant appearance and the order of the Greek army; and Cyrus was delighted to see the terror with which the Greeks inspired the barbarians. [19]

Thence he marched three stages, twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia. There he remained three days. Thence he marched through Lycaonia five stages, thirty parasangs. This country he gave over to the Greeks to plunder, on the ground that it was hostile territory. [20] From there Cyrus sent the Cilician queen back to Cilicia by the shortest route, and he sent some of Menon's troops to escort her, Menon himself commanding them. With the rest of the army Cyrus marched through Cappadocia four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, an inhabited city, large and prosperous. There they remained three days; and during that time Cyrus put to death a Persian named Megaphernes, who was a wearer of the royal purple, and another dignitary among his subordinates, on the charge that they were plotting against him. [21]

From there they made ready to try to enter Cilicia. Now the entrance was by a wagon-road, exceedingly steep and impracticable for an army to pass if there was anybody to oppose it; and in fact, as report ran, Syennesis was upon the heights, guarding the entrance; therefore Cyrus remained for a day in the plain. On the following day, however, a messenger came with word that Syennesis had abandoned the heights, because he had learned that Menon's army was already in Cilicia, on his own side of the mountains, and because, further, he was getting reports that triremes belonging to the Lacedaemonians and to Cyrus himself were sailing around from Ionia to Cilicia under the command of Tamos. [22] At any rate Cyrus

climbed the mountains without meeting any opposition, and saw the camp where the Cilicians had been keeping guard. Thence he descended to a large and beautiful plain, well-watered and full of trees of all sorts and vines; it produces an abundance of sesame, millet, panic, wheat, and barley, and it is surrounded on every side, from sea to sea, by a lofty and formidable range of mountains. [23] After descending he marched through this plain four stages, twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and prosperous city of Cilicia, where the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians, was situated; and through the middle of the city flows a river named the Cydnus, two plethra in width. [24] The inhabitants of this city had abandoned it and fled, with Syennesis, to a stronghold upon the mountains — all of them, at least, except the tavern-keepers; and there remained also those who dwelt on the sea-coast, in Soli and Issus. [25]

Now Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had reached Tarsus five days ahead of Cyrus, but in the course of her passage over the mountains to the plain two companies of Menon's army had been lost. Some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians while engaged in a bit of plundering; another story was that they had been left behind, and, unable to find the rest of the army or the roads, had thus wandered about and perished; at any rate, they numbered a hundred hoplites. [26] And when the rest of Menon's troops reached Tarsus, in their anger over the loss of their comrades they plundered thoroughly, not only the city, but also the palace that was in it. As for Cyrus, after he had marched into the city he more than once summoned Syennesis to his presence; but Syennesis said that he had never yet put himself in the hands of anyone who was more powerful than he was, and he would not now put himself in the hands of Cyrus until his wife had won him over and he had received pledges. [27] When the two men finally met one another, Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for his army, while Cyrus gave him gifts which are regarded at court as tokens of honour — a horse with a gold-mounted bridle, a gold necklace and bracelets, a gold dagger and a Persian robe — promising him, further, that his land should not be plundered any more and that they might take back the slaves that had been seized in case they should chance upon them anywhere.

3. Cyrus and his army remained here at Tarsus twenty days, for the

soldiers refused to go any farther; for they suspected by this time that they were going against the King, and they said they had not been hired for that. Clearchus was the first to try to force his men to go on, but they pelted him and his pack-animals with stones as often as they began to go forward. [2] At that time Clearchus narrowly escaped being stoned to death; but afterwards, when he realized that he could not accomplish anything by force, he called a meeting of his own troops. And first he stood and wept for a long time, while his men watched him in wonder and were silent; then he spoke as follows: [3]

“Fellow-soldiers, do not wonder that I am distressed at the present situation. For Cyrus became my friend and not only honoured me, an exile from my fatherland, in various ways, but gave me ten thousand darics. And I, receiving this money, did not lay it up for my own personal use or squander it in pleasure, but I proceeded to expend it on you. [4] First I went to war with the Thracians, and for the sake of Greece I inflicted punishment upon them with your aid, driving them out of the Chersonese when they wanted to deprive the Greeks who dwelt there of their land. Then when Cyrus’ summons came, I took you with me and set out, in order that, if he had need of me, I might give him aid in return for the benefits I had received from him. [5] But you now do not wish to continue the march with me; so it seems that I must either desert you and continue to enjoy Cyrus’ friendship, or prove false to him and remain with you. Whether I shall be doing what is right, I know not, but at any rate I shall choose you and with you shall suffer whatever I must. And never shall any man say that I, after leading Greeks into the land of the barbarians, betrayed the Greeks and chose the friendship of the barbarians; [6] nay, since you do not care to obey me, I shall follow with you and suffer whatever I must. For I consider that you are to me both fatherland and friends and allies; with you I think I shall be honoured wherever I may be, bereft of you I do not think I shall be able either to aid a friend or to ward off a foe. Be sure, therefore, that wherever you go, I shall go also.” [7]

Such were his words. And the soldiers — not only his own men, but the rest also — when they heard that he said he would not go on to the King’s capital, commended him; and more than two thousand of the troops under Xenias and Pasion took their arms and their

baggage train and encamped with Clearchus. [8] But Cyrus, perplexed and distressed by this situation, sent repeatedly for Clearchus. Clearchus refused to go to him, but without the knowledge of the soldiers he sent a messenger and told him not to be discouraged, because, he said, this matter would be settled in the right way. He directed Cyrus, however, to keep on sending for him, though he himself, he said, would refuse to go. [9]

After this Clearchus gathered together his own soldiers, those who had come over to him, and any others who wanted to be present, and spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, it is clear that the relation of Cyrus to us is precisely the same as ours to him; that is, we are no longer his soldiers, since we decline to follow him, and likewise he is no longer our paymaster. [10] I know, however, that he considers himself wronged by us. Therefore, although he keeps sending for me, I decline to go, chiefly, it is true, from a feeling of shame, because I am conscious that I have proved utterly false to him, but, besides that, from fear that he may seize me and inflict punishment upon me for the wrongs he thinks he has suffered at my hands. [11] In my opinion, therefore, it is no time for us to be sleeping or unconcerned about ourselves; we should rather be considering what course we ought to follow under the present circumstances. And so long as we remain here we must consider, I think, how we can remain most safely; or, again, if we count it best to depart at once, how we are to depart most safely and how we shall secure provisions — for without provisions neither general nor private is of any use. [12] And remember that while this Cyrus is a valuable friend when he is your friend, he is a most dangerous foe when he is your enemy; furthermore, he has an armament — infantry and cavalry and fleet — which we all alike see and know about; for I take it that our camp is not very far away from him. It is time, then, to propose whatever plan any one of you deems best." With these words he ceased speaking. [13]

Thereupon various speakers arose, some of their own accord to express the opinions they held, but others at the instigation of Clearchus to make clear the difficulty of either remaining or departing without the consent of Cyrus. [14] One man in particular, pretending to be in a hurry to proceed back to Greece with all speed,

proposed that they should choose other generals as quickly as possible, in case Clearchus did not wish to lead them back; secondly, that they should buy provisions — the market was in the barbarian army! — and pack up their baggage; then, to go to Cyrus and ask for vessels to sail away in; and if he would not give them vessels, to ask him for a guide to lead them homeward through a country that was friendly; and if he would not give them a guide, either, to form in line of battle with all speed and likewise to send a force to occupy the mountain heights in advance, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians should forestall them—”and we have in our possession,” he said, “many of these Cilicians and much of their property that we have seized as plunder.” Such were the words of this speaker. [15]

After him Clearchus said merely this: “Let no one among you speak of me as the man who is to hold this command, for I see many reasons why I should not do so; say rather that I shall obey to the best of my ability the man whom you choose, in order that you may know that I understand as well as any other person in the world how to be a subordinate also.” [16] After he had spoken another man arose to point out the foolishness of the speaker who had urged them to ask for vessels, just as if Cyrus were going home again, and to point out also how foolish it was to ask for a guide “from this man whose enterprise we are ruining. Indeed, if we propose to trust the guide that Cyrus gives us, what is to hinder us from directing Cyrus also to occupy the heights for us in advance? [17] For my part, I should hesitate to embark on the vessels that he might give us, for fear of his sinking us with his war-ships, and I should be afraid to follow the guide that he might give, for fear of his leading us to a place from which it will not be possible to escape; my choice would be, in going off without Cyrus’ consent, to go off without his knowledge — and that is not possible. [18] Now in my own opinion the plans just proposed are nonsense; rather, I think we should send to Cyrus men of the proper sort, along with Clearchus, to ask him what use he wishes to make of us; and if his enterprise is like the sort of one in which he employed mercenaries before, I think that we also should follow him and not be more cowardly than those who went up with him on the former occasion; [19] if, however, his enterprise is found to be greater and more laborious and more dangerous than the former one, we ought to

demand that he should either offer sufficient persuasion and lead us on with him, or yield to our persuasion and let us go home in friendship; for in this way, if we should follow him, we should follow as friends and zealous supporters, and if we should go back, we should go back in safety. I propose, further, that our representatives should report back to us whatever reply he may make, and that we after hearing it should deliberate about the matter.” [20]

This plan was adopted, and they chose representatives and sent them with Clearchus; and they proceeded to put to Cyrus the questions resolved upon by the army. He replied that he had heard that Abrocomas, a foe of his, was at the Euphrates river, twelve stages distant. It was against him, therefore, he said, that he desired to march. And if he were there, he wished to inflict due punishment upon him; “but if he has fled,” he continued, “we will deliberate about the matter then and there.” [21] Upon hearing this reply the deputies reported it to the soldiers, and they, while suspecting that Cyrus was leading them against the King, nevertheless thought it best to follow him. They asked, however, for more pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they had been receiving before, namely, a daric and a half a month to each man instead of a daric; but as regards the suspicion that he was leading them against the King, no one heard it expressed even then — at any rate, not openly.

4. Thence he marched two stages, ten parasangs, to the Psarus river, the width of which was three plethra. From there he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Pyramus river, the width of which was a stadium. From there he marched two stages, fifteen parasangs, to Issus, the last city in Cilicia, a place situated on the sea, and large and prosperous. [2] There they remained three days; and the ships from Peloponnesus arrived to meet Cyrus, thirty-five in number, with Pythagoras the Lacedaemonian as admiral in command of them. They had been guided from Ephesus to Issus by Tamos the Egyptian, who was at the head of another fleet of twenty-five ships belonging to Cyrus — these latter being the ships with which Tamos had besieged Miletus, at the time when it was friendly to Tissaphernes, and had supported Cyrus in his war upon Tissaphernes. [3]

Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian also arrived with this fleet, coming in response to Cyrus' summons, together with seven hundred hoplites, over whom he continued to hold command in the army of Cyrus. And the ships lay at anchor alongside Cyrus' tent. It was at Issus also that the Greek mercenaries who had been in the service of Abrocomas — four hundred hoplites — joined Cyrus, after deserting Abrocomas, and so bore a share in his expedition against the King. [4]

Thence he marched one stage, five parasangs, to the Gates between Cilicia and Syria. These Gates consisted of two walls; the one on the hither, or Cilician, side was held by Syennesis and a garrison of Cilicians, while the one on the farther, the Syrian, side was reported to be guarded by a garrison of the King's troops. And in the space between these walls flows a river named the Carsus, a plethrum in width. The entire distance from one wall to the other was three stadia; and it was not possible to effect a passage by force, for the pass was narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above the pass were precipitous rocks, while, besides, there were towers upon both the walls. [5] It was because of this pass that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, in order that he might disembark hoplites between and beyond the walls and thus overpower the enemy if they should be keeping guard at the Syrian Gates — and that was precisely what Cyrus supposed Abrocomas would do, for he had a large army. Abrocomas, however, did not do so, but as soon as he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, he turned about in his journey from Phoenicia and marched off to join the King, with an army, so the report ran, of three hundred thousand men. [6]

Thence Cyrus marched one stage, five parasangs, to Myriandus, a city on the sea coast, inhabited by Phoenicians; it was a trading place, and many merchant ships were lying at anchor there. There he remained seven days; [7] and Xenias the Arcadian and Pasion the Megarian embarked upon a ship, put on board their most valuable effects, and sailed away; they were moved to do this, as most people thought, by a feeling of jealous pride, because their soldiers had gone over to Clearchus with the intention of going back to Greece again instead of proceeding against the King, and Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to keep them. After they had disappeared, a report went round that Cyrus was pursuing them with warships; and while some

people prayed that they might be captured, because, as they said, they were cowards, yet others felt pity for them if they should be caught. [8]

Cyrus, however, called the generals together and said: “Xenias and Pasion have deserted us. But let them, nevertheless, know full well that they have not escaped from me — either by stealth, for I know in what direction they have gone, or by speed, for I have men-of-war with which I can overtake their craft. But for my part, I swear by the gods that I shall not pursue them, nor shall anyone say about me that I use a man so long as he is with me and then, when he wants to leave me, seize him and maltreat him and despoil him of his possessions. Nay, let them go, with the knowledge that their behaviour toward us is worse than ours toward them. To be sure, I have their wives and children under guard in Tralles, but I shall not deprive them of these, either, for they shall receive them back because of their former excellence in my service.” [9] Such were his words; as for the Greeks, even those who had been somewhat despondent in regard to the upward march, when they heard of the magnanimity of Cyrus they continued on their way with greater satisfaction and eagerness.

After this Cyrus marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Chalus river, which is a plethrum in width and full of large, tame fish; these fish the Syrians regarded as gods, and they would not allow anyone to harm them, or the doves, either. And the villages in which the troops encamped belonged to Parysatis, for they had been given her for girdle-money. [10] From there Cyrus marched five stages, thirty parasangs, to the sources of the Dardas river, the width of which is a plethrum. There was the palace of Belesys, the late ruler of Syria, and a very large and beautiful park containing all the products of the seasons. But Cyrus cut down the park and burned the palace. [11] Thence he marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates river, the width of which was four stadia; and on the river was situated a large and prosperous city named Thapsacus. There he remained five days. And Cyrus summoned the generals of the Greeks and told them that the march was to be to Babylon, against the Great King; he directed them, accordingly, to explain this to the soldiers and try to persuade them to follow. [12] So the generals called an

assembly and made this announcement; and the soldiers were angry with the generals, and said that they had known about this for a long time, but had been keeping it from the troops; furthermore, they refused to go on unless they were given money, as were the men who made the journey with Cyrus before, when he went to visit his father; they had received the donation, even though they marched, not to battle, but merely because Cyrus' father summoned him. [13] All these things the generals reported back to Cyrus, and he promised that he would give every man five minas in silver when they reached Babylon and their pay in full until he brought the Greeks back to Ionia again. By these promises the greater part of the Greek army was persuaded.

But as for Menon, before it was clear what the rest of the soldiers would do, that is, whether they would follow Cyrus or not, he gathered together his own troops apart from the others and spoke as follows: [14] "Soldiers, if you will obey me, you will, without either danger or toil, be honoured by Cyrus above and beyond the rest of the troops. What, then, do I direct you to do? At this moment Cyrus is begging the Greeks to follow him against the King; my own plan, then, is that you should cross the Euphrates river before it is clear what answer the rest of the Greeks will make to Cyrus. [15] For if they vote to follow him, it is you who will get the credit for that decision because you began the crossing, and Cyrus will not only feel grateful to you, regarding you as the most zealous in his cause, but he will return the favour — and he knows how to do that if any man does; on the other hand, if the rest vote not to follow him, we shall all go back together, but you, as the only ones who were obedient, are the men he will employ, not only for garrison duty, but for captaincies; and whatever else you may desire, I know that you, as friends of Cyrus, will secure from him." [16] Upon hearing these words the soldiers were persuaded, and made the crossing before the rest gave their answer. When Cyrus learned that they had crossed, he was delighted and sent Glus to the troops with this message: "Soldiers, to-day I commend you; but I shall see to it that you also shall have cause to commend me, else count me no longer Cyrus." [17] So Menon's troops cherished high hopes and prayed that he might be successful, while to Menon himself Cyrus was said to have sent magnificent

gifts besides. After so doing Cyrus proceeded to cross the river, and the rest of the army followed him, to the last man. And in the crossing no one was wetted above the breast by the water. [18] The people of Thapsacus said that this river had never been passable on foot except at this time, but only by boats; and these Abrocomas had now burned, as he marched on ahead of Cyrus, in order to prevent him from crossing. It seemed, accordingly, that here was a divine intervention, and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus because he was destined to be king. [19]

Thence he marched through Syria nine stages, fifty parasangs, and they arrived at the Araxes river. There they found many villages full of grain and wine, and there they remained for three days and provisioned the army.

5. Thence he marched through Arabia, keeping the Euphrates on the right, five stages through desert country, thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was an unbroken plain, as level as the sea, and full of wormwood; and whatever else there was on the plain by way of shrub or reed, was always fragrant, like spices; [2] trees there were none, but wild animals of all sorts, vast numbers of wild asses and many ostriches, besides bustards and gazelles. These animals were sometimes chased by the horsemen. As for the asses, whenever one chased them, they would run on ahead and stop — for they ran much faster than the horses — and then, when the horses came near, they would do the same thing again, and it was impossible to catch them unless the horsemen posted themselves at intervals and hunted them in relays. The flesh of those that were captured was like venison, but more tender. [3] But no ostrich was captured by anyone, and any horseman who chased one speedily desisted; for it would distance him at once in its flight, not merely plying its feet, but hoisting its wings and using them like a sail. The bustards, on the other hand, can be caught if one is quick in starting them up, for they fly only a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire; and their flesh was delicious. [4]

Marching on through this region they arrived at the Mascas river, which is a plethrum in width. There, in the desert, was a large city named Corsote, completely surrounded by the Mascas. [5] There they remained three days and provisioned the army. Thence Cyrus

marched thirteen stages through desert country, ninety parasangs, keeping the Euphrates river on the right, and arrived at Pylae. In the course of these stages many of the baggage animals died of hunger, for there was no fodder and, in fact, no growing thing of any kind, but the land was absolutely bare; and the people who dwelt here made a living by quarrying mill-stones along the river banks, then fashioning them and taking them to Babylon, where they sold them and bought grain in exchange. [6] As for the troops, their supply of grain gave out, and it was not possible to buy any except in the Lydian market attached to the barbarian army of Cyrus, at the price of four sigli for a capith of wheat flour or barley meal. The siglus is worth seven and one-half Attic obols, and the capith had the capacity of two Attic choenices. The soldiers therefore managed to subsist by eating meat. [7] And Cyrus sometimes made these stages through the desert very long, whenever he wanted to reach water or fresh fodder.

Once in particular, when they came upon a narrow, muddy place which was hard for the wagons to get through, Cyrus halted with his train of nobles and dignitaries and ordered Glus and Pigres to take some of the barbarian troops and help to pull the wagons out. [8] But it seemed to him that they took their time with the work; accordingly, as if in anger, he directed the Persian nobles who accompanied him to take a hand in hurrying on the wagons. And then one might have beheld a sample of good discipline: they each threw off their purple cloaks where they chanced to be standing, and rushed, as a man would run to win a victory, down a most exceedingly steep hill, wearing their costly tunics and coloured trousers, some of them, indeed, with necklaces around their necks and bracelets on their arms; and leaping at once, with all this finery, into the mud, they lifted the wagons high and dry and brought them out more quickly than one would have thought possible. [9] In general, it was clear that Cyrus was in haste throughout the whole journey and was making no delays, except where he halted to procure provisions or for some other necessary purpose; his thought was that the faster he went, the more unprepared the King would be to fight with him, while, on the other hand, the slower he went, the greater would be the army that was gathering for the King. Furthermore, one who observed closely could see at a glance that while the King's empire was strong in its

extent of territory and number of inhabitants, it was weak by reason of the greatness of the distances and the scattered condition of its forces, in case one should be swift in making his attack upon it. [10]

Across the Euphrates river in the course of these desert marches was a large and prosperous city named Charmande, and here the soldiers made purchases of provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following way: they took skins which they had for tent covers, filled them with hay, and then brought the edges together and sewed them up, so that the water could not touch the hay; on these they would cross and get provisions — wine made from the date of the palm tree and bread made of millet, for this grain was very abundant in the country. [11]

There one of Menon's soldiers and one of Clearchus' men had some dispute, and Clearchus, deciding that Menon's man was in the wrong, gave him a flogging. The man then went to his own army and told about it, and when his comrades heard of the matter, they took it hard and were exceedingly angry with Clearchus. [12] On the same day Clearchus, after going to the place where they crossed the river and there inspecting the market, was riding back to his own tent through Menon's army, having only a few men with him; and Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on the march toward the place; and one of Menon's soldiers who was splitting wood threw his axe at Clearchus when he saw him riding through the camp. Now this man missed him, but another threw a stone at him, and still another, and then, after an outcry had been raised, many. [13] Clearchus escaped to his own army and at once called his troops to arms; he ordered his hoplites to remain where they were, resting their shields against their knees, while he himself with the Thracians and the horsemen, of which he had in his army more than forty, most of them Thracians, advanced upon Menon's troops; the result was that these and Menon himself were thoroughly frightened and ran to their arms, though there were some who stood stock-still, nonplussed by the situation. [14] But Proxenus — for he chanced to be now coming up, later than the others, with a battalion of hoplites following him — straightway led his troops into the space between the two parties, halted them under arms, and began to beg Clearchus not to proceed with his attack. Clearchus, however, was angry, because, when he had barely

escaped being stoned to death, Proxenus was talking lightly of his grievance, and he ordered him to remove himself from between them. [15] At this moment Cyrus also came up and learned about the situation, and he immediately took his spears in his hands and, attended by such of his counsellors as were present, came riding into the intervening space and spoke as follows: [16] “Clearchus, and Proxenus, and all you other Greeks who are here, you know not what you are doing. For as certainly as you come to fighting with one another, you may be sure that on this very day I shall be instantly cut to pieces and yourselves not long after me; for once let ill fortune overtake us, and all these barbarians whom you see will be more hostile to us than are those who stand with the King.” [17] On hearing these words Clearchus came to his senses, and both parties ceased from their quarrel and returned to their quarters.

6. As they went on from there, they kept seeing tracks of horses and horses’ dung. To all appearances it was the trail of about two thousand horses, and the horsemen as they proceeded were burning up fodder and everything else that was of any use. At this time Orontas, a Persian, who was related to the King by birth and was reckoned among the best of the Persians in matters of war, devised a plot against Cyrus — in fact, he had made war upon him before this, but had become his friend again. [2] He now said to Cyrus that if he would give him a thousand horsemen, he would either ambush and kill these horsemen who were burning ahead of him, or he would capture many of them alive and put a stop to their burning as they advanced; and he would see to it that they should never be able to behold Cyrus’ army and get to the King with their report. When Cyrus heard this plan, it seemed to him to be an expedient one, and he directed Orontas to get a detachment from each one of the cavalry commanders. [3] Then Orontas, thinking that his horsemen were assured him, wrote a letter to the King saying that he would come to him with as many horsemen as he could get; and he urged the King to direct his own cavalry to receive him as a friend. The letter also contained reminders of his former friendship and fidelity. This letter he gave to a man whom he supposed to be faithful to him; but this man took it and gave it to Cyrus. [4] When Cyrus had read it, he had Orontas arrested, and summoned to his tent seven of the noblest

Persians among his attendants, while he ordered the Greek generals to bring up hoplites and bid them station themselves under arms around his tent. And the generals obeyed the order, bringing with them about three thousand hoplites. [5]

Clearchus was also invited into the tent as a counsellor, for both Cyrus and the other Persians regarded him as the man who was honoured above the rest of the Greeks. And when he came out, he reported to his friends how Orontas' trial was conducted — for it was no secret. [6] He said that Cyrus began the conference in this way: "My friends, I have invited you here in order that I may consult with you and then take such action in the case of Orontas here as is right in the sight of gods and men. This man was given me at first by my father, to be my subject; then, at the bidding, as he himself said, of my brother, this man levied war upon me, holding the citadel of Sardis, and I, by the war I waged against him, made him count it best to cease from warring upon me, and I received and gave the hand-clasp of friendship. Since that," he said, "Orontas, have I done you any wrong?" [7] "No," Orontas answered. Cyrus went on questioning him: "Did you not afterwards, although, as you yourself admit, you had suffered no wrong at my hands, desert me for the Mysians, and do all the harm you could to my territory?" "Yes," said Orontas. "Did you not," Cyrus said, "when once more you had learned the slightness of your own power, go to the altar of Artemis and say you were sorry, and did you not, after prevailing upon me to pardon you, again give me pledges and receive pledges from me?" This also Orontas admitted. [8] "What wrong, then," said Cyrus, "have you suffered at my hands, that you now for the third time have been found plotting against me?" When Orontas replied, "None," Cyrus asked him: "Do you admit, then, that you have proved yourself a doer of wrong toward me?" "I cannot choose but do so," said Orontas. Thereupon Cyrus asked again: "Then could you henceforth prove yourself a foe to my brother and a faithful friend to me?" "Even if I should do so Cyrus," he replied, "you could never after this believe it of me." [9] Then Cyrus said to those who were present: "Such have been this man's deeds, such are now his words; and now, Clearchus, do you be the first of my counsellors to express the opinion you hold." And Clearchus said: "My advice is to put this

man out of the way as speedily as possible, so that we may no longer have to be on our guard against the fellow, but may be left free, so far as concerns him, to requite with benefits these willing servants.” [10] In this opinion Clearchus said that the others also concurred.

After this, he said, at the bidding of Cyrus, every man of them arose, even Orontas’ kinsmen, and took him by the girdle, as a sign that he was condemned to death; and then those to whom the duty was assigned led him out. And when the men who in former days were wont to do him homage saw him, they made their obeisance even then, although they knew that he was being led forth to death. [11] Now after he had been conducted into the tent of Artapates, the most faithful of Cyrus’ chamberlains, from that moment no man ever saw Orontas living or dead, nor could anyone say from actual knowledge how he was put to death, — it was all conjectures, of one sort and another; and no grave of his was ever seen.

7. From there Cyrus marched through Babylonia three stages, twelve parasangs. On the third stage he held a review of the Greeks and the barbarians on the plain at about midnight; for he thought that at the next dawn the King would come with his army to do battle; and he ordered Clearchus to act as commander of the right wing and Menon of the left, while he himself marshalled his own troops. [2] On the morning following the review, at daybreak, there came deserters from the great King and brought reports to Cyrus about his army.

At this time Cyrus called together the generals and captains of the Greeks, and not only took counsel with them as to how he should fight the battle, but, for his own part, exhorted and encouraged them as follows: [3] “Men of Greece, it is not because I have not barbarians enough that I have brought you hither to fight for me; but because I believe that you are braver and stronger than many barbarians, for this reason I took you also. Be sure, therefore, to be men worthy of the freedom you possess, upon the possession of which I congratulate you. For you may be certain that freedom is the thing I should choose in preference to all that I have and many times more. [4] And now, in order that you may know what sort of a contest it is into which you are going, I who do know will tell you. Our enemies have great numbers and they will come on with a great outcry; for the rest, however, if you can hold out against these things, I am ashamed, I

assure you, to think what sorry fellows you will find the people of our country to be. But if you be men and if my undertaking turn out well, I shall make anyone among you who wishes to return home an object of envy to his friends at home upon his return, while I shall cause many of you, I imagine, to choose life with me in preference to life at home.” [5]

Hereupon Gaulites, a Samian exile who was there and was in the confidence of Cyrus, said: “And yet, Cyrus, there are those who say that your promises are big now because you are in such a critical situation — for the danger is upon you — but that if any good fortune befall, you will fail to remember them; and some say that even if you should remember and have the will, you would not have the means to make good all your promises.” [6] Upon hearing these words Cyrus said: “Well, gentlemen, my father’s realm extends toward the south to a region where men cannot dwell by reason of the heat, and to the north to a region where they cannot dwell by reason of the cold; and all that lies between these limits my brother’s friends rule as satraps. [7] Now if we win the victory, we must put our friends in control of these provinces. I fear, therefore, not that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if success attends us, but that I shall not have enough friends to give to. And as for you men of Greece, I shall give each one of you a wreath of gold besides.” [8] When they heard these words, the officers were far more eager themselves and carried the news away with them to the other Greeks. Then some of the others also sought Cyrus’ presence, demanding to know what they should have, in case of victory; and he satisfied the expectations of every one of them before dismissing them. [9] Now all alike who conversed with him urged him not to take part in the fighting, but to station himself in their rear. Taking this opportunity Clearchus asked Cyrus a question like this: “But do you think, Cyrus, that your brother will fight with you?” “Yes, by Zeus,” said Cyrus, “if he is really a son of Darius and Parysatis and a brother of mine, I shall not win this realm without fighting for it.” [10]

At this time, when the troops were marshalled under arms, the number of the Greeks was found to be ten thousand four hundred hoplites, and two thousand five hundred peltasts, while the number of the barbarians under Cyrus was one hundred thousand and there

were about twenty scythe-bearing chariots. [11] The enemy, it was reported, numbered one million two hundred thousand and had two hundred scythe-bearing chariots; besides, there was a troop of six thousand horsemen, under the command of Artagerses, which was stationed in front of the King himself. [12] And the King's army had four commanders, each at the head of three hundred thousand men, namely, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of the forces just enumerated only nine hundred thousand, with one hundred and fifty scythe-bearing chariots, were present at the battle; for Abrocomas, marching from Phoenicia, arrived five days too late for the engagement. [13] Such were the reports brought to Cyrus by those who deserted from the Great King before the battle, and after the battle identical reports were made by the prisoners taken thereafter. [14]

From there Cyrus marched one stage, three parasangs, with his whole army, Greek and barbarian alike, drawn up in line of battle; for he supposed that on that day the King would come to an engagement; for about midway of this day's march there was a deep trench, five fathoms in width and three fathoms in depth. [15] This trench extended up through the plain for a distance of twelve parasangs, reaching to the wall of Media, [Here also are the canals, which flow from the Tigris river; they are four in number, each a plethrum wide and exceedingly deep, and grain-carrying ships ply in them; they empty into the Euphrates and are a parsang apart, and there are bridges over them.] and alongside the Euphrates there was a narrow passage, not more than about twenty feet in width, between the river and the trench; [16] and the trench had been constructed by the Great King as a means of defence when he learned that Cyrus was marching against him. Accordingly Cyrus and his army went through by the passage just mentioned, and so found themselves on the inner side of the trench. [17] Now on that day the King did not offer battle, but tracks of both horses and men in retreat were to be seen in great numbers. [18] Then Cyrus summoned Silanus, his Ambraciot soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics; for on the eleventh day before this, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the King would not fight within ten days, and Cyrus had said: "Then he will not fight at all, if he will not fight within ten days; however, if your

prediction proves true, I promise you ten talents.” So it was this money that he then paid over, the ten days having passed. [19] But since the King did not appear at the trench and try to prevent the passage of Cyrus’ army, both Cyrus and the rest concluded that he had given up the idea of fighting. Hence on the following day Cyrus proceeded more carelessly; [20] and on the third day he was making the march seated in his chariot and with only a small body of troops drawn up in line in front of him, while the greater part of the army was proceeding in disorder and many of the soldiers’ arms and accoutrements were being carried in wagons and on pack-animals.

8. It was now about full-market time and the stopping-place where Cyrus was intending to halt had been almost reached, when Pategyas, a trusty Persian of Cyrus’ staff, came into sight, riding at full speed, with his horse in a sweat, and at once shouted out to everyone he met, in the barbarian tongue and in Greek, that the King was approaching with a large army, all ready for battle. [2] Then ensued great confusion; for the thought of the Greeks, and of all the rest in fact, was that he would fall upon them immediately, while they were in disorder; [3] and Cyrus leaped down from his chariot, put on his breastplate, and then, mounting his horse, took his spears in his hands and passed the word to all the others to arm themselves and get into their places, every man of them. [4] Thereupon they proceeded in great haste to take their places, Clearchus occupying the right end of the Greek wing, close to the Euphrates river, Proxenus next to him, and the others beyond Proxenus, while Menon and his army took the left end of the Greek wing. [5] As for the barbarians, Paphlagonian horsemen to the number of a thousand took station beside Clearchus on the right wing, as did the Greek peltasts, on the left was Ariaeus, Cyrus’ lieutenant, with the rest of the barbarian army, [6] and in the centre Cyrus and his horsemen, about six hundred in number. These troopers were armed with breastplates and thigh-pieces and, all of them except Cyrus, with helmets — Cyrus, however, went into the battle with his head unprotected. [In fact, it is said of the Persians in general that they venture all the perils of war with their heads unprotected.] [7] And all their horses [with Cyrus] had frontlets and breast-pieces; and the men carried, besides their other weapons, Greek sabres. [8]

And now it was midday, and the enemy were not yet in sight; but when afternoon was coming on, there was seen a rising dust, which appeared at first like a white cloud, but some time later like a kind of blackness in the plain, extending over a great distance. As the enemy came nearer and nearer, there were presently flashes of bronze here and there, and spears and the hostile ranks began to come into sight. [9] There were horsemen in white cuirasses on the left wing of the enemy, under the command, it was reported, of Tissaphernes; next to them were troops with wicker shields and, farther on, hoplites with wooden shields which reached to their feet, these latter being Egyptians, people said; and then more horsemen and more bowmen. All these troops were marching in national divisions, each nation in a solid square. [10] In front of them were the so-called scythe-bearing chariots, at some distance from one another; and the scythes they carried reached out sideways from the axles and were also set under the chariot bodies, pointing towards the ground, so as to cut to pieces whatever they met; the intention, then, was that they should drive into the ranks of the Greeks and cut the troops to pieces. [11] As for the statement, however, which Cyrus made when he called the Greeks together and urged them to hold out against the shouting of the barbarians, he proved to be mistaken in this point; for they came on, not with shouting, but in the utmost silence and quietness, with equal step and slowly. [12]

At this moment Cyrus rode along the line, attended only by Pigres, his interpreter, and three or four others, and shouted to Clearchus to lead his army against the enemy's centre, for the reason that the King was stationed there; "and if," he said, "we are victorious there, our whole task is accomplished." [13] Clearchus, however, since he saw the compact body at the enemy's centre and heard from Cyrus that the King was beyond his left wing (for the King was so superior in numbers that, although occupying the centre of his own line, he was beyond Cyrus' left wing), was unwilling to draw the right wing away from the river, for fear that he might be turned on both flanks; and he told Cyrus, in reply, that he was taking care to make everything go well. [14]

At this critical time the King's army was advancing evenly, while the Greek force, still remaining in the same place, was forming its

line from those who were still coming up. And Cyrus, riding along at some distance from his army, was taking a survey, looking in either direction, both at his enemies and his friends. [15] Then Xenophon, an Athenian, seeing him from the Greek army, approached so as to meet him and asked if he had any orders to give; and Cyrus pulled up his horse and bade Xenophon tell everybody that the sacrificial victims and omens were all favourable. [16] While saying this he heard a noise running through the ranks, and asked what the noise was. Xenophon replied that the watchword was now passing along for the second time. And Cyrus wondered who had given it out, and asked what the watchword was. Xenophon replied "Zeus Saviour and Victory." [17] And upon hearing this Cyrus said, "Well, I accept it, and so let it be." After he had said these words he rode back to his own position.

At length the opposing lines were not three or four stadia apart, and then the Greeks struck up the paean and began to advance against the enemy. [18] And when, as they proceeded, a part of the phalanx billowed out, those who were thus left behind began to run; at the same moment they all set up the sort of war-cry which they raise to Enyalios, and all alike began running. It is also reported that some of them clashed their shields against their spears, thereby frightening the enemy's horses. [19] And before an arrow reached them, the barbarians broke and fled. Thereupon the Greeks pursued with all their might, but shouted meanwhile to one another not to run at a headlong pace, but to keep their ranks in the pursuit. [20] As for the enemy's chariots, some of them plunged through the lines of their own troops, others, however, through the Greek lines, but without charioteers. And whenever the Greeks saw them coming, they would open a gap for their passage; one fellow, to be sure, was caught, like a befuddled man on a race-course, yet it was said that even he was not hurt in the least, nor, for that matter, did any other single man among the Greeks get any hurt whatever in this battle, save that some one on the left wing was reported to have been hit by an arrow. [21]

When Cyrus saw that the Greeks were victorious over the division opposite them and were in pursuit, although he was pleased and was already being saluted with homage as King by his attendants, he nevertheless was not induced to join the pursuit, but, keeping in close formation the six hundred horsemen of his troop, he was watching to

see what the King would do. For he knew that the King held the centre of the Persian army; [22] in fact, all the generals of the barbarians hold their own centre when they are in command, for they think that this is the safest position, namely, with their forces on either side of them, and also that if they want to pass along an order, the army will get it in half the time; [23] so in this instance the King held the centre of the army under his command, but still he found himself beyond the left wing of Cyrus. Since, then, there was no one in his front to give battle to him or to the troops drawn up before him, he proceeded to wheel round his line with the intention of encircling the enemy. [24]

Thereupon Cyrus, seized with fear lest he might get in the rear of the Greek troops and cut them to pieces, charged to meet him; and attacking with his six hundred, he was victorious over the forces stationed in front of the King and put to flight the six thousand, slaying with his own hand, it is said, their commander Artagerses. [25] But when they turned to flight, Cyrus' six hundred, setting out in pursuit, became scattered also, and only a very few were left about him, chiefly his so-called table companions. [26] While attended by these only, he caught sight of the King and the compact body around him; and on the instant he lost control of himself and, with the cry "I see the man," rushed upon him and struck him in the breast and wounded him through his breastplate — as Ctesias the physician says, adding also that he himself healed the wound. [27]

While Cyrus was delivering his stroke, however, some one hit him a hard blow under the eye with a javelin; and then followed a struggle between the King and Cyrus and the attendants who supported each of them. The number that fell on the King's side is stated by Ctesias, who was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed and eight of the noblest of his attendants lay dead upon him. [28] Of Artapates, the one among Cyrus' chamberlains who was his most faithful follower, it is told that when he saw Cyrus fallen, he leaped down from his horse and threw his arms about him. [29] And one report is that the King ordered someone to slay him upon the body of Cyrus, while others say that he drew his dagger and slew himself with his own hand; for he had a dagger of gold, and he also wore a necklace and bracelets and all the other ornaments that

the noblest Persians wear; for he had been honoured by Cyrus because of his affection and fidelity.

9. In this way, then, Cyrus came to his end, a man who was the most kingly and the most worthy to rule of all the Persians who have been born since Cyrus the Elder, as all agree who are reputed to have known Cyrus intimately. [2] For firstly, while he was still a boy and was being educated with his brother and the other boys, he was regarded as the best of them all in all respects. [3] For all the sons of the noblest Persians are educated at the King's court. There one may learn discretion and self-control in full measure, and nothing that is base can be either heard or seen. [4] The boys have before their eyes the spectacle of men honoured by the King and of others dishonoured; they likewise hear of them; and so from earliest boyhood they are learning how to rule and how to submit to rule. [5] Here, then, Cyrus was reputed to be, in the first place, the most modest of his fellows, and even more obedient to his elders than were his inferiors in rank; secondly, the most devoted to horses and the most skilful in managing horses; he was also adjudged the most eager to learn, and the most diligent in practising, military accomplishments, alike the use of the bow and of the javelin. [6] Then, when he was of suitable age, he was the fondest of hunting and, more than that, the fondest of incurring danger in his pursuit of wild animals. On one occasion, when a bear charged upon him, he did not take to flight, but grappled with her and was dragged from his horse; he received some injuries, the scars of which he retained, but in the end he killed the bear; and, furthermore, the man who was the first to come to his assistance he made an object of envy to many. [7]

Again, when he was sent down by his father to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he showed, in the first place, that he counted it of the utmost importance, when he concluded a treaty or compact with anyone or made anyone any promise, under no circumstances to prove false to his word. [8] It was for this reason, then, that the cities trusted him and put themselves under his protection, and that individuals also trusted him; and if anyone had been an enemy, when Cyrus made a treaty with him he trusted that he would suffer no harm in violation of that

treaty. [9] Consequently, when he came to hostilities with Tissaphernes, all the cities of their own accord chose Cyrus rather than Tissaphernes, with the exception of Miletus; and the reason why the Milesians feared him was, that he would not prove false to the exiles from their city. [10] For he showed repeatedly, by deed as well as by word, that he would never abandon them when once he had come to be their friend, not even if they should become still fewer in number and should meet with still worse misfortune. [11]

It was manifest also that whenever a man conferred any benefit upon Cyrus or did him any harm, he always strove to outdo him; in fact, some people used to report it as a prayer of his that he might live long enough to outdo both those who benefited and those who injured him, returning like for like. [12] Hence it was that he had a greater following than any other one man of our time of friends who eagerly desired to entrust to him both treasure and cities and their very bodies. [13] Yet, on the other hand, none could say that he permitted malefactors and wicked men to laugh at him; on the contrary, he was merciless to the last degree in punishing them, and one might often see along the travelled roads people who had lost feet or hands or eyes; thus in Cyrus' province it became possible for either Greek or barbarian, provided he were guilty of no wrongdoing, to travel fearlessly wherever he wished, carrying with him whatever it was to his interest to have. [14]

But it was the brave in war, as all agree, whom he honoured especially. For example, he was once at war with the Pisidians and Mysians and commanded in person an expedition into their territories; and whomsoever in his army he found willing to meet dangers, these men he would not only appoint as rulers of the territory he was subduing, but would honour thereafter with other gifts also. [15] Thus the brave were seen to be most prosperous, while cowards were deemed fit to be their slaves. Consequently Cyrus had men in great abundance who were willing to meet danger wherever they thought that he would observe them. [16] As for uprightness, if a man showed that he desired to distinguish himself in that quality, Cyrus considered it all important to enable such an one to live in greater opulence than those who were greedy of unjust gain. [17] Hence he not only had many and various functions performed for

him with fidelity, but, in particular, he secured the services of an army worthy of the name. For generals and captains who came overseas to serve him for the sake of money judged that loyal obedience to Cyrus was worth more to them than their mere monthly pay. [18] Again, so surely as a man performed with credit any service that he assigned him, Cyrus never let his zeal go unrewarded. In consequence, he was said to have gained the very best supporters for every undertaking. [19]

Furthermore, whenever he saw that a man was a skilful and just administrator, not only organizing well the country over which he ruled, but producing revenues, he would never deprive such a man of territory, but would always give him more besides. The result was that they toiled with pleasure and accumulated with confidence, and, more than that, no one would conceal from Cyrus the store which he had acquired; for it was clear that he did not envy those who were frankly and openly rich, but strove to make use of the possessions of such as tried to conceal their wealth. [20]

As to friends, all agree that he showed himself pre-eminent in his attentions to all the friends that he made and found devoted to him and adjudged to be competent co-workers in whatever he might be wishing to accomplish. [21] For, just as the precise object for which he thought he needed friends himself was that he might have co-workers, so he tried on his own part to be a most vigorous co-worker with his friends to secure that which he found each one of them desired. [22] Again, he received more gifts, I presume, than any other one man, and for many reasons; and surely he of all men distributed gifts most generously among his friends, with an eye to the tastes of each one and to whatever particular need he noted in each case. [23] As for all the gifts which people sent him to wear upon his person, whether intended for war or merely for show, it is reported that he said of them that his own person could not be adorned with all these things, but that in his opinion friends nobly adorned were a man's greatest ornament. [24] To be sure, the fact that he outdid his friends in the greatness of the benefits he conferred is nothing surprising, for the manifest reason that he had greater means than they; but that he surpassed them in solicitude and in eagerness to do favours, this in my opinion is more admirable. [25] For example, when Cyrus got

some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up today in company with the friends you love best." [26] So he would often send halves of geese and of loaves and so forth, instructing the bearer to add the message: "Cyrus enjoyed this, and therefore wants you also to take a taste of it." [27] And wherever fodder was exceedingly scarce and he was able to get it for his own use because of the large number of his servants and because of his good planning, he would distribute this fodder among his friends and tell them to give it to the horses that carried their own bodies, that they might not be hungry while carrying his friends. [28] And whenever he was on the march and was likely to be seen by very many people, he would call his friends to him and engage them in earnest conversation, in order to show whom he honoured. Hence, as I at least conclude from what comes to my ears, no man, Greek or barbarian, has ever been loved by a greater number of people. [29] Here is a fact to confirm that conclusion: although Cyrus was a slave, no one deserted him to join the King, save that Orontas attempted to do so (and he, mark you, speedily found out that the man he imagined was faithful to him, was more devoted to Cyrus than to him); on the other hand, many went over from the King to Cyrus after the two had become enemies (these being, moreover, the men who were most highly regarded by the King), because they thought that if they were deserving, they would gain a worthier reward with Cyrus than with the King. [30] Furthermore, what happened to Cyrus at the end of his life is a strong indication that he was a true man himself and that he knew how to judge those who were faithful, devoted, and constant. [31] When he died, namely, all his bodyguard of friends and table companions died fighting in his defence, with the exception of Ariaeus; he, it chanced, was stationed on the left wing at the head of the cavalry, and when he learned that Cyrus had fallen, he took to flight with the whole army that he commanded.

10. Then the head of Cyrus and his right hand were cut off. But the King, pursuing Ariaeus, burst into the camp of Cyrus; and Ariaeus and his men no longer stood their ground, but fled through their own camp to the stopping-place from which they had set out that

morning, a distance, it was said, of four parasangs. [2] So the King and his troops proceeded to secure plunder of various sorts in abundance, while in particular he captured the Phocaeen woman, Cyrus' concubine, who, by all accounts, was clever and beautiful. [3] The Milesian woman, however, the younger one, after being seized by the King's men made her escape, lightly clad, to some Greeks who had chanced to be standing guard amid the baggage train and, forming themselves in line against the enemy, had killed many of the plunderers, although some of their own number had been killed also; nevertheless, they did not take to flight, but they saved this woman and, furthermore, whatever else came within their lines, whether persons or property, they saved all alike. [4]

At this time the King and the Greeks were distant from one another about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing the troops in their front, in the belief that they were victorious over all the enemy, the King and his followers plundering, in the belief that they were all victorious already. [5] When, however, the Greeks learned that the King and his forces were in their baggage train, and the King, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes that the Greeks were victorious over the division opposite them and had gone on ahead in pursuit, then the King proceeded to gather his troops together and form them in line of battle, and Clearchus called Proxenus (for he was nearest him in the line) and took counsel with him as to whether they should send a detachment or go in full force to the camp, for the purpose of lending aid. [6] Meanwhile the Greeks saw the King advancing again, as it seemed, from their rear, and they accordingly countermarched and made ready to meet his attack in case he should advance in that direction; the King, however, did not do so, but returned by the same route he had followed before, when he passed outside of Cyrus' left wing, and in his return picked up not only those who had deserted to the Greeks during the battle, but also Tissaphernes and his troops. [7] For Tissaphernes had not taken to flight in the first encounter, but had charged along the river through the Greek peltasts; he did not kill anyone in his passage, but the Greeks, after opening a gap for his men, proceeded to deal blows and throw javelins upon them as they went through. The commander of the Greek peltasts was Episthenes of Amphipolis, and it was said that he proved himself a sagacious

man. [8] At any rate, after Tissaphernes had thus come off with the worst of it, he did not wheel round again, but went on to the camp of the Greeks and there fell in with the King; so it was that, after forming their lines once more, they were proceeding together. [9]

When they were over against the left wing of the Greeks, the latter conceived the fear that they might advance against that wing and, by outflanking them on both sides, cut them to pieces; they thought it best, therefore, to draw the wing back and get the river in their rear.

[10] But while they were taking counsel about this matter, the King had already changed his line of battle to the same form as theirs and brought it into position opposite them, just as when he had met them for battle the first time. And when the Greeks saw that the enemy were near them and in battle-order, they again struck up the paean and advanced to the attack much more eagerly than before; [11] and the barbarians once again failed to await the attack, but took to flight when at a greater distance from the Greeks than they were the first time. [12] The Greeks pursued as far as a certain village, and there they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the King and his followers rallied; and they were not now foot-soldiers, but the hill was covered with horsemen, so that the Greeks could not perceive what was going on. They did see, they said, the royal standard, a kind of golden eagle on a shield, raised aloft upon a pole.

[13] But when at this point also the Greeks resumed their forward movement, the horsemen at once proceeded to leave the hill; they did not keep together, however, as they went, but scattered in different directions; so the hill became gradually cleared of the horsemen, till at last they were all gone. [14] Clearchus, accordingly, did not lead the army up the hill, but halted at its foot and sent Lycius the Syracusan and another man to the summit, directing them to observe what was beyond the hill and report back to him. [15] And Lycius, after riding up and looking, brought back word that the enemy were in headlong flight. [16] At about this time the sun set.

Then the Greeks halted, grounded arms, and proceeded to rest themselves. At the same time they wondered that Cyrus was nowhere to be seen and that no one else had come to them from him; for they did not know that he was dead, but conjectured that he had either gone off in pursuit or pushed on to occupy some point. [17] So they

took counsel for themselves as to whether they should remain where they were and bring the baggage train thither, or return to their camp. The decision was to return, and they reached their tents about supper-time. [18] Such was the conclusion of this day. They found most of their property pillaged, in particular whatever there was to eat or drink, and as for the wagons loaded with flour and wine which Cyrus had provided in order that, if ever serious need should overtake the army, he might have supplies to distribute among the Greeks (and there were four hundred of these wagons, it was said), these also the King and his men had now pillaged. [19] The result was that most of the Greeks had no dinner; and they had had no breakfast, either, for the King had appeared before the time when the army was to halt for breakfast. Thus it was, then that they got through this night.

BOOK II.

1. [The preceding narrative has described how a Greek force was collected for Cyrus at the time when he was planning an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what events took place during the upward march, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus met his death, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and lay down to rest, supposing that they were victorious at all points and that Cyrus was alive.][2]

At daybreak the generals came together, and they wondered that Cyrus neither sent anyone else to tell them what to do nor appeared himself. They resolved, accordingly, to pack up what they had, arm themselves, and push forward until they should join forces with Cyrus. [3] When they were on the point of setting out, and just as the sun was rising, came Procles, the ruler of Teuthrania, a descendant of Damaratus, the Laconian, and with him Glus, the son of Tamos. They reported that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariaeus had fled and was now, along with the rest of the barbarians, at the stopping-place from which they had set out on the preceding day; further, he sent word that he and his troops were that day waiting for the Greeks, on the chance that they intended to join them, but on the next day, so Ariaeus said, he should set out on the return journey for Ionia, whence he had come. [4] The generals upon hearing this message, and the rest of the Greeks as they learned of it, were greatly distressed. Clearchus, however, said: "Well, would that Cyrus were alive! but since he is dead, carry back word to Ariaeus that, for our part, we have defeated the King, that we have no enemy left, as you see, to fight with, and that if you had not come, we should now be marching against the King. And we promise Ariaeus that, if he will come here, we will set him upon the royal throne; for to those who are victorious in battle belongs also the right to rule." [5] With these words he sent back the messengers, sending with them Cheirisophus the Laconian and Menon the Thessalian; for this was Menon's own wish, inasmuch as he was an intimate and guest-friend of Ariaeus. [6]

So they went off, and Clearchus awaited their return; meanwhile the troops provided themselves with food as best they could, by

slaughtering oxen and asses of the baggage train. As for fuel, they went forward a short distance from their line to the place where the battle was fought and used for that purpose not only the arrows, many in number, which the Greeks had compelled all who deserted from the King to throw away, but also the wicker shields and the wooden Egyptian shields; there were likewise many light shields and wagons that they could carry off, all of them abandoned. These various things, then, they used for fuel, and so boiled meat and lived on it for that day. [7]

And now it was about full-market time, and heralds arrived from the King and Tissaphernes, all of them barbarians except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who, as it chanced, was with Tissaphernes and was held in honour by him; for this Phalinus professed to be an expert in tactics and the handling of heavy infantry. [8] When these heralds came up, they called for the leaders of the Greeks and said that the King, since victory had fallen to him and he had slain Cyrus, directed the Greeks to give up their arms, go to the King's court, and seek for themselves whatever favour they might be able to get. [9] Such was the message of the King's heralds. The Greeks received it with anger, but nevertheless Clearchus said as much as this, that it was not victors who gave up their arms; "However," he continued, "do you, my fellow generals, give these men whatever answer you can that is best and most honourable, and I will return immediately." For one of his servants had summoned him to see the vital organs that had been taken out of a sacrificial victim, for Clearchus chanced to be engaged in sacrificing. [10]

Then Cleanor the Arcadian, being the eldest of the generals, made answer that they would die sooner than give up their arms. And Proxenus the Theban said: "For my part, Phalinus, I wonder whether the King is asking for our arms on the assumption that he is victorious, or simply as gifts, on the assumption that we are his friends. For if he asks for them as victor, why need he ask for them, instead of coming and taking them? But if he desires to get them by persuasion, let him set forth what the soldiers will receive in case they do him this favour." [11] In reply to this Phalinus said: "The King believes that he is victor because he has slain Cyrus. For who is there now who is contending against him for his realm? Further, he

believes that you also are his because he has you in the middle of his country, enclosed by impassable rivers, and because he can bring against you a multitude of men so great that you could not slay them even if he were to put them in your hands.” Then Theopompus, an Athenian, said: [12] “Phalinus, at this moment, as you see for yourself, we have no other possession save arms and valour. Now if we keep our arms, we imagine that we can make use of our valour also, but if we give them up, that we shall likewise be deprived of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only possessions that we have; rather, with these we shall do battle against you for your possessions as well.” [13] When he heard this, Phalinus laughed and said: “Why, you talk like a philosopher, young man, and what you say is quite pretty; be sure, however, that you are a fool if you imagine that your valour could prove superior to the King’s might.” [14] There were some others, so the story goes, who weakened a little, and said that, just as they had proved themselves faithful to Cyrus, so they might prove valuable to the King also if he should wish to become their friend; he might want to employ them for various purposes, perhaps for a campaign against Egypt, which they should be glad to assist him in subduing. [15]

At this time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given an answer. And Phalinus broke in and said: “These people, Clearchus, all say different things; but tell us what your own opinion is.” [16] Clearchus replied: “I myself, Phalinus, was glad to see you, and, I presume, all the rest were, too; for you are a Greek and so are we, whose numbers you can observe for yourself. Now since we are in such a situation, we ask you to advise us as to what we ought to do about the matter you mention. [17] Do you, then, in the sight of the gods, give us whatever advice you think is best and most honourable, advice which will bring you honour in future time when it is reported in this way: ‘Once on a time Phalinus, when he was sent by the King to order the Greeks to surrender their arms, gave them, when they sought his counsel, the following advice.’ And you know that any advice you may give will certainly be reported in Greece.” [18] Now Clearchus was making this crafty suggestion in the hope that the very man who was acting as the King’s ambassador might advise them not to give up their arms, and that thus the Greeks might be made more

hopeful. But, contrary to his expectation, Phalinus also made a crafty turn, and said: [19] “For my part, if you have one chance in ten thousand of saving yourselves by carrying on war against the King, I advise you not to give up your arms; but if you have no hope of deliverance without the King’s consent, I advise you to save yourselves in what way you can.” [20] In reply to this Clearchus said: “Well, that is what you say; but as our answer carry back this word, that in our view if we are to be friends of the King, we should be more valuable friends if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else, and if we are to wage war with him, we should wage war better if we keep our arms than if we give them up to someone else.” [21] And Phalinus said: “That answer, then, we will carry back; but the King bade us tell you this also, that if you remain where you are, you have a truce, if you advance or retire, war. Inform us, therefore, on this point as well: shall you remain and is there a truce, or shall I report from you that there is war?” [22] Clearchus replied: “Report, then, on this point that our view is precisely the same as the King’s.” “What, then, is that?” said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, “If we remain, a truce, if we retire or advance, war.” [23] And Phalinus asked again, “Shall I report truce or war?” And Clearchus again made the same reply, “Truce if we remain, if we retire or advance, war.” What he meant to do, however, he did not indicate.

2. So Phalinus and his companions departed. But the messengers from Ariaeus arrived — Procles and Cheirisophus only, for Menon stayed behind with Ariaeus; they reported that Ariaeus said there were many Persians of higher rank than himself and they would not tolerate his being king. “But,” the messengers continued, “if you wish to make the return journey with him, he bids you come at once, during the night; otherwise, he says he will set out to-morrow morning.” [2] And Clearchus said: “Well, let it be this way: if we come, even as you propose; if we do not, follow whatever course you may think most advantageous to yourselves.” But what he meant to do, he did not tell them, either. [3]

After this, when the sun was already setting, he called together the generals and captains and spoke as follows: “When I sacrificed, gentlemen, the omens did not result favourably for proceeding against the King. And with good reason, it proves, they were not

favourable; for, as I now ascertain, between us and the King is the Tigris, a navigable river, which we could not cross without boats — and boats we have none. On the other hand, it is not possible for us to stay where we are, for we cannot get provisions; but the omens were extremely favourable for our going to join the friends of Cyrus. [4] This, then, is what you are to do: go away and dine on whatever you severally have; when the horn gives the signal for going to rest, pack up; when the second signal is given, load your baggage upon the beasts of burden; and at the third signal follow the van, keeping the beasts of burden on the side next to the river and the hoplites outside.” [5] Upon hearing these words the generals and captains went away and proceeded to do as Clearchus had directed. And thenceforth he commanded and they obeyed, not that they had chosen him, but because they saw that he alone possessed the wisdom which a commander should have, while the rest were without experience. [6] [The length of the journey they had made from Ephesus, in Ionia, to the battlefield was ninety-three stages, five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, or sixteen thousand and fifty stadia; and the distance from the battlefield to Babylon was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia.] [7]

Afterwards, when darkness had come on, Miltocythes the Thracian, with the horsemen under his command, forty in number, and about three hundred Thracian foot-soldiers, deserted to the King. [8] But Clearchus put himself at the head of the rest of the troops, following out the plan of his previous orders, and they followed; and they reached the first stopping-place, and there joined Ariaeus and his army, at about midnight. Then, while they halted under arms in line of battle, the generals and captains had a meeting with Ariaeus; and the two parties — the Greek officers, and Ariaeus together with the highest in rank of his followers — made oath that they would not betray each other and that they would be allies, while the barbarians took an additional pledge to lead the way without treachery. [9] These oaths they sealed by sacrificing a bull, a boar, and a ram over a shield, the Greeks dipping a sword in the blood and the barbarians a lance. [10] After the pledges had been given, Clearchus said: “And now, Ariaeus, since you and we are to make the same journey, tell us what view you hold in regard to the route — shall we return by the

same way we came, or do you think you have discovered another way that is better?" [11] Ariaeus replied: "If we should return by the way we came, we should perish utterly from starvation, for we now have no provisions whatever. For even on our way hither we were not able to get anything from the country during the last seventeen stages; and where there was anything, we consumed it entirely on our march through. Now, accordingly, we intend to take a route that is longer, to be sure, but one where we shall not lack provisions. [12] And we must make our first marches as long as we can, in order to separate ourselves as far as possible from the King's army; for if we once get a two or three days' journey away from the King, he will not then be able to overtake us. For he will not dare to pursue us with a small army, and with a large array he will not find it possible to march rapidly; and perhaps, furthermore, he will lack provisions. This," said he, "is the view which I hold, for my part." [13]

This plan of campaign meant nothing else than effecting an escape, either by stealth or by speed; but fortune planned better. For when day came, they set out on the march, keeping the sun on their right and calculating that at sunset they would reach villages in Babylonia — and in this they were not disappointed. [14] But while it was still afternoon they thought that they saw horsemen of the enemy; and such of the Greeks as chanced not to be in the lines proceeded to run to the lines, while Ariaeus, who was making the journey in a wagon because he was wounded, got down and put on his breastplate, and his attendants followed his example. [15] While they were arming themselves, however, the scouts who had been sent ahead returned with the report that it was not horsemen, but pack animals grazing. Straightway everybody realized that the King was encamping somewhere in the neighbourhood — in fact, smoke was seen in villages not far away. [16]

Clearchus, however, would not advance against the enemy, for he knew that his troops were not only tired out, but without food, and, besides, it was already late; still, he would not turn aside, either, for he was taking care to avoid the appearance of flight, but leading the army straight ahead he encamped with the van at sunset in the nearest villages, from which the King's army had plundered even the very timbers of the houses. [17] The van nevertheless encamped after a

fashion, but the men who were further back, coming up in the dark, had to bivouac each as best they could, and they made a great uproar with calling one another, so that the enemy also heard it; the result was that the nearest of the enemy actually took to flight from their quarters. [18] This became clear on the following day, for not a pack animal was any more to be seen nor camp nor smoke anywhere near. Even the King, so it seems, was terrified by the approach of the army. He made this evident by what he did the next day. [19] However, as the night went on a panic fell upon the Greeks also, and there was confusion and din of the sort that may be expected when panic has seized an army. [20] Clearchus, however, directed Tolmides the Elean, who chanced to be with him as herald and was the best herald of his time, to make this proclamation, after he had ordered silence: "The commanders give public notice that whoever informs on the man who let the ass loose among the arms shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." [21] When this proclamation had been made, the soldiers realized that their fears were groundless and their commanders safe. And at dawn Clearchus ordered the Greeks to get under arms in line of battle just as they were when the battle took place.

3. The fact which I just stated, that the King was terrified by the approach of the Greeks, was made clear by the following circumstance: although on the day before he had sent and ordered them to give up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce. [2] When these heralds reached the outposts, they asked for the commanders. And when the outposts reported, Clearchus, who chanced at the time to be inspecting the ranks, told the outposts to direct the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure. [3] Then after he had arranged the army so that it should present a fine appearance from every side as a compact phalanx, with no one to be seen outside the lines of the hoplites, he summoned the messengers; and he himself came forward with the best armed and best looking of his own troops and told the other generals to do likewise. [4] Once face to face with the messengers, he inquired what they wanted. They replied that they had come to negotiate for a truce, and were empowered to report the King's proposals to the Greeks and the Greeks' proposals to the King. [5] And Clearchus answered: "Report

to him, then, that we must have a battle first; for we have had no breakfast, and there is no man alive who will dare to talk to Greeks about a truce unless he provides them with a breakfast.” [6] Upon hearing these words the messengers rode away, but were speedily back again, which made it evident that the King, or someone else who had been charged with carrying on these negotiations, was somewhere near. They stated that what the Greeks said seemed to the King reasonable, and that they had now brought guides with them who would lead the Greeks, in case a truce should be concluded, to a place where they could get provisions. [7] Thereupon Clearchus asked whether he was making a truce merely with the men who were coming and going, or whether the truce would bind the others also. “Every man of them,” they replied, “until your message is carried to the King.” [8] When they had said this, Clearchus had them retire and took counsel about the matter; and it was thought best to conclude the truce speedily, so that they could go and get the provisions without being molested. [9] And Clearchus said: “I, too, agree with this view; nevertheless, I shall not so report at once, but I shall delay until the messengers get fearful of our deciding not to conclude the truce; to be sure,” he said, “I suppose that our own soldiers will also feel the same fear.” When, accordingly, it seemed that the proper time had come, he reported that he accepted the truce, and directed them to lead the way immediately to the provisions. [10]

They proceeded, then, to lead the way, but Clearchus, although he had made the truce, kept his army in line of battle on the march, and commanded the rearguard himself. And they kept coming upon trenches and canals, full of water, which could not be crossed without bridges. They made bridges of a kind, however, out of the palm trees which had fallen and others which they cut down themselves. [11] And here one could well observe how Clearchus commanded; he had his spear in his left hand and in his right a stick, and whenever he thought that anyone of the men assigned to this task was shirking, he would pick out the right man and deal him a blow, while at the same time he would get into the mud and lend a hand himself; the result was that everyone was ashamed not to match him in energy. [12] The men detailed to the work were all those up to thirty years of age, but the older men also took hold when they saw

Clearchus in such energetic haste. [13] Now Clearchus was in a far greater hurry because he suspected that the trenches were not always full of water in this way, for it was not a proper time to be irrigating the plain; his suspicion was, then, that the King had let the water into the plain just in order that the Greeks might have before their eyes at the very start many things to make them fearful about their journey. [14]

The march at length brought them to villages where the guides directed them to get provisions. In these villages was grain in abundance and palm wine and a sour drink made from the same by boiling. [15] As for the dates themselves of the palm, the sort that one can see in Greece were set apart for the servants, while those laid away for the masters were selected ones, remarkable for their beauty and size and with a colour altogether resembling that of amber; others, again, they would dry and store away for sweetmeats. These made a pleasant morsel also at a symposium, but were apt to cause headache. [16] Here also the soldiers ate for the first time the crown of the palm, and most of them were surprised not alone at its appearance, but at the peculiar nature of its flavour. This, too, however, was exceedingly apt to cause headache. And when the crown was removed from a palm, the whole tree would wither. [17]

In these villages they remained three days; and there came to them, as messengers from the Great King, Tissaphernes and the brother of the King's wife and three other Persians; and many slaves followed in their train. When the Greek generals met them, Tissaphernes, through an interpreter, began the speaking with the following words: [18] "Men of Greece, in my own home I am a neighbour of yours, and when I saw plunged into many difficulties, I thought it would be a piece of good fortune if I could in any way gain permission from the King to take you back safe to Greece. For I fancy I should not go without thanks, both from you and from all Greece. [19] After reaching this conclusion I presented my request to the King, saying to him that it would be fair for him to do me a favour, because I was the first to report to him that Cyrus was marching against him, because along with my report I brought him aid also, and because I was the only man among those posted opposite the Greeks who did not take to flight, but, on the contrary, I

charged through and joined forces with the King in your camp, where the King had arrived after slaying Cyrus and pursuing the barbarians of Cyrus' army with the help of these men now present with me, men who are most faithful to the King. And he promised me that he would consider this request of mine, [20] but, meanwhile, he bade me come and ask you for what reason you took the field against him. Now I advise you to answer with moderation, that so it may be easier for me to obtain for you at his hands whatever good thing I may be able to obtain." [21]

Hereupon the Greeks withdrew and proceeded to take counsel; then they gave their answer, Clearchus acting as spokesman: "We neither gathered together with the intention of making war upon the King nor were we marching against the King, but Cyrus kept finding many pretexts, as you also are well aware, in order that he might take you unprepared and bring us hither. [22] When, however, the time came when we saw that he was in danger, we felt ashamed in the sight of gods and men to desert him, seeing that in former days we had been putting ourselves in the way of being benefited by him. [23] But since Cyrus is dead, we are neither contending with the King for his realm nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the King's territory or wish to slay the King himself, but rather we should return to our homes, if no one should molest us. If, however, anyone seeks to injure us, we shall try with the help of the gods to retaliate. On the other hand, if anyone is kind enough to do us a service, we shall not, so far as we have the power, be outdone in doing a service to him." [24] So he spoke, and upon hearing his words Tissaphernes said: "This message I shall carry to the King, and bring back his to you; and until I return, let the truce continue, and we will provide a market." [25]

The next day he did not return, and the Greeks, consequently, were anxious; but on the third day he came and said that he had secured permission from the King to save the Greeks, although many opposed the plan, urging that it was not fitting for the King to allow those who had undertaken a campaign against him to escape. [26] In conclusion he said: "And now you may receive pledges from us that in very truth the territory you pass through shall be friendly and that we will lead you back to Greece without treachery, providing you

with a market; and wherever it is impossible to buy provisions, we will allow you to take them from the country. [27] And you, on your side, will have to swear to us that in very truth you will proceed as you would through a friendly country, doing no damage and taking food and drink from the country only when we do not provide a market, but that, if we do provide a market, you will obtain provisions by purchase.” [28] This was resolved upon, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the King’s wife made oath and gave their right hands in pledge to the generals and captains of the Greeks, receiving the same also from the Greeks. [29] After this Tissaphernes said: “Now I am going back to the King; but when I have accomplished what I desire, I shall return, fully equipped to conduct you back to Greece and to go home myself to my own province.”

4. After this the Greeks and Ariaeus, encamped close by one another, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days. During this time Ariaeus’ brothers and other relatives came to him and certain Persians came to his followers, and they kept encouraging them and bringing pledges to some of them from the King that the King would bear them no ill-will because of their campaign with Cyrus against him or because of anything else in the past. [2] While these things were going on, it was evident that Ariaeus and his followers paid less regard to the Greeks; this, accordingly, was another reason why the greater part of the Greeks were not pleased with them, and they would go to Clearchus and the other generals and say: [3] “Why are we lingering? Do we not understand that the King would like above everything else to destroy us, in order that the rest of the Greeks also may be afraid to march against the Great King? For the moment he is scheming to keep us here because his army is scattered, but when he has collected his forces again, there is no question but that he will attack us. [4] Or perhaps he is digging a trench or building a wall somewhere to cut us off and make our road impassable. For never, if he can help it, will he choose to let us go back to Greece and report that we, few as we are, were victorious over the King at his very gates, and then laughed in his face and came home again.” [5] To those who talked in this way Clearchus replied: “I too have in mind all these things; but I reflect that if we go away now, it will seem that we are going away with hostile intent and are acting in violation of

the truce. And then, in the first place, no one will provide us a market or a place from which we can get provisions; secondly, we shall have no one to guide us; again, the moment we take this course Ariaeus will instantly desert us; consequently we shall have not a friend left, for even those who were friends before will be our enemies. [6] Then remember the rivers — there may be others, for aught I know, that we must cross, but we know about the Euphrates at any rate, that it cannot possibly be crossed in the face of an enemy. Furthermore, in case fighting becomes necessary, we have no cavalry to help us, whereas the enemy's cavalry are exceedingly numerous and exceedingly efficient; hence if we are victorious, whom could we kill? And if we are defeated, not one of us can be saved. [7] For my part, therefore, I cannot see why the King, who has so many advantages on his side, should need, in case he is really eager to destroy us, to make oath and give pledge and forswear himself by the gods and make his good faith unfaithful in the eyes of Greeks and barbarians." Such arguments Clearchus would present in abundance. [8]

Meanwhile Tissaphernes returned with his own forces as if intending to go back home, and likewise Orontas with his forces; the latter was also taking home the King's daughter as his wife. [9] Then they finally began the march, Tissaphernes taking the lead and providing a market; and Ariaeus with Cyrus' barbarian army kept with Tissaphernes and Orontas on the march and encamped with them. [10] The Greeks, however, viewing them all with suspicion, proceeded by themselves, with their own guides. And the two parties encamped in every case a parasang or more from one another, and kept guard each against the other, as though against enemies — a fact which at once occasioned suspicion. [11] Sometimes, moreover, when Greeks and barbarians were getting firewood from the same place or collecting fodder or other such things, they would come to blows with one another, and this also occasioned ill-will. [12]

After travelling three stages they reached the so called wall of Media, and passed within it. It was built of baked bricks, laid in asphalt, and was twenty feet wide and a hundred feet high; its length was said to be twenty parasangs, and it is not far distant from Babylon. [13] From there they proceeded two stages, eight parasangs,

crossing on their way two canals, one by a stationary bridge and the other by a bridge made of seven boats. These canals issued from the Tigris river, and from them, again, ditches had been cut that ran into the country, at first large, then smaller, and finally little channels, such as run to the millet fields in Greece.

Then they reached the Tigris river, near which was a large and populous city named Sittace, fifteen stadia from the river. [14] The Greeks accordingly encamped beside this city, near a large and beautiful park, thickly covered with all sorts of trees, while the barbarians had crossed the Tigris before encamping, and were not within sight of the Greeks. [15] After the evening meal Proxenus and Xenophon chanced to be walking in front of the place where the arms were stacked, when a man came up and asked the outposts where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus — he did not ask for Menon, despite the fact that he came from Ariaeus, Menon's friend. [16] And when Proxenus said "I am the one you are looking for," the man made this statement: "I was sent here by Ariaeus and Artaozus, who were faithful to Cyrus and are friendly to you; they bid you be on your guard lest the barbarians attack you during the night, for there is a large army in the neighbouring park. [17] They also bid you send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris river, because Tissaphernes intends to destroy it during the night, if he can, so that you may not cross, but may be cut off between the river and the canal." [18] Upon hearing these words they took him to Clearchus and repeated his message. And when Clearchus heard it, he was exceedingly agitated and full of fear. [19]

A young man who was present, however, fell to thinking, and then said that the two stories, that they intended to attack and intended to destroy the bridge, were not consistent. "For it is clear," he went on, "that if they attack, they must either be victorious or be defeated. Now if they are victorious, why should they need to destroy the bridge? For even if there were many bridges, we should have no place to which we could flee and save ourselves. [20] But if it is we who are victorious, with the bridge destroyed they will have no place to which they can flee. And, furthermore, though there are troops in abundance on the other side, no one will be able to come to their aid with the bridge destroyed." [21]

After hearing these words Clearchus asked the messenger about how extensive the territory between the Tigris and the canal was. He replied that it was a large tract, and that there were villages and many large towns in it. [22] Then it was perceived that the barbarians had sent the man with a false message out of fear that the Greeks might destroy the bridge and establish themselves permanently on the island, with the Tigris for a defence on one side and the canal on the other; in that case, they thought, the Greeks might get provisions from the territory between the river and the canal, since it was extensive and fertile and there were men in it to cultivate it; and furthermore, the spot might also become a place of refuge for anyone who might desire to do harm to the King. [23]

After this the Greeks went to rest, yet they did, nevertheless, send a guard to the bridge; and no one attacked the army from any quarter, nor did anyone of the enemy, so the men on guard reported, come to the bridge. [24] When dawn came, they proceeded to cross the bridge, which was made of thirty-seven boats, as guardedly as possible; for they had reports from some of the Greeks who were with Tissaphernes that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. But these reports were false. To be sure, in the course of their passage Glus did appear, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river, but once he had seen, he went riding off. [25]

From the Tigris they marched four stages, twenty parasangs, to the Physcus river, which was a plethrum in width and had a bridge over it. There was situated a large city named Opis, near which the Greeks met the bastard brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a large army from Susa and Ecbatana to the support, as he said, of the King; and he halted his own army and watched the Greeks as they passed by. [26] Clearchus led them two abreast, and halted now and then in his march; and whatever the length of time for which he halted the van of the army, just so long a time the halt would necessarily last through the entire army; the result was that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed to be very large, and the Persian was astounded as he watched them. [27] From there they marched through Media, six desert stages, thirty parasangs, to the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the King. And

Tissaphernes, by way of insulting Cyrus, gave over these villages — save only the slaves they contained — to the Greeks to plunder. In them there was grain in abundance and cattle and other property. [28] From there they marched four desert stages, twenty parasangs, keeping the Tigris river on the left. Across the river on the first stage was situated a large and prosperous city named Caenae, from which the barbarians brought over loaves, cheeses and wine, crossing upon rafts made of skins.

5. After this they reached the Zapatas river, which was four plethra in width. There they remained three days. During this time suspicions were rife, it is true, but no plot came openly to light. [2] Clearchus resolved, therefore, to have a meeting with Tissaphernes and put a stop to these suspicions, if he possibly could, before hostilities resulted from them; so he sent a messenger to say that he desired to meet him. [3] And Tissaphernes readily bade him come.

When they had met, Clearchus spoke as follows: “I know, to be sure, Tissaphernes, that both of us have taken oaths and given pledges not to injure one another; yet I see that you are on your guard against us as though we were enemies, and we, observing this, are keeping guard on our side. [4] But since, upon inquiry, I am unable to ascertain that you are trying to do us harm, and am perfectly sure that we, for our part, are not even thinking of any such thing against you, I resolved to have an interview with you, so that, if possible, we might dispel this mutual distrust. [5] For I know that there have been cases before now — some of them the result of slander, others of mere suspicion — where men who have become fearful of one another and wished to strike before they were struck, have done irreparable harm to people who were neither intending nor, for that matter, desiring to do anything of the sort to them. [6] In the belief, then, that such misunderstandings are best settled by conference, I have come here, and I wish to point out to you that you are mistaken in distrusting us. [7] For, first and chiefly, our oaths, sworn by the gods, stand in the way of our being enemies of one another; and the man who is conscious that he has disregarded such oaths, I for my part should never account happy. For in war with the gods I know not either by what swiftness of foot or to what place of refuge one could make his escape, or into what darkness he could steal away, or how

he could withdraw himself to a secure fortress. For all things in all places are subject to the gods, and all alike the gods hold in their control. [8]

“Touching the gods, then, and our oaths I am thus minded, and to the keeping of the gods we consigned the friendship which we covenanted; but as for things human, I believe that at this time you are to us the greatest good we possess. [9] For, with you, every road is easy for us to traverse, every river is passable, supplies are not lacking; without you, all our road is through darkness — for none of it do we know — every river is hard to pass, every crowd excites our fears, and most fearful of all is solitude — for it is crowded full of want. [10] And if we should, in fact, be seized with madness and slay you, should we not certainly, after slaying our benefactor, be engaged in contest with the King, a fresh and most powerful opponent? Again, how great and bright are the hopes of which I should rob myself if I attempted to do you any harm, I will relate to you. [11] I set my heart upon having Cyrus for my friend because I thought that he was the best able of all the men of his time to benefit whom he pleased; but now I see that it is you who possess Cyrus’ power and territory, while retaining your own besides, and that the power of the King, which Cyrus found hostile, is for you a support. [12] Since this is so, who is so mad as not to desire to be your friend?

“And now for the other side, — for I will go on to tell you the grounds upon which I base the hope that you will likewise desire to be our friend. [13] I know that the Mysians are troublesome to you, and I believe that with the force I have I could make them your submissive servants; I know that the Pisidians also trouble you, and I hear that there are likewise many other tribes of the same sort; I could put a stop, I think, to their being a continual annoyance to your prosperity. As for the Egyptians, with whom I learn that you are especially angry, I do not see what force you could better employ to aid you in chastising them than the force which I now have. [14] Again, take those who dwell around you: if you chose to be a friend to any, you could be the greatest possible friend, while if any were to annoy you, you could play the part of master over them in case you had us for supporters, for we should serve you, not merely for the sake of pay, but also out of the gratitude that we should feel, and

rightly feel, toward you, the man who had saved us. [15] For my part, as I consider all these things the idea of your distrusting us seems to me so astonishing that I should be very glad indeed to hear the name of the man who is so clever a talker that his talk could persuade you that we were cherishing designs against you.” Thus much Clearchus said, and Tissaphernes replied as follows: [16]

“It is a pleasure to me, Clearchus, to hear your sensible words; for if, holding these views, you should devise any ill against me, you would at the same time, I think, be showing ill-will toward yourself also. And now, in order that you may learn that you likewise are mistaken in distrusting either the King or myself, take your turn in listening. [17] If we were, in fact, desirous of destroying you, does it seem to you that we have not cavalry in abundance and infantry and military equipment, whereby we should be able to harm you without being in any danger of suffering harm ourselves? [18] Or do you think that we should not have places suitable for attacking you? Do you not behold these vast plains, which even now, although they are friendly, it is costing you a deal of labour to traverse? and these great mountains you have to pass, which we can occupy in advance and render impassable for you? and have we not these great rivers, at which we can parcel out whatever number of you we may choose to fight with — some, in fact, which you could not cross at all unless we carried you over? [19] And if we were worsted at all these points, nevertheless it is certain that fire can worst crops; by burning them up we could bring famine into the field against you, and you could not fight against that, however brave you might be. [20] Since, then, we have so many ways of making war upon you, no one of them dangerous to us, why, in such a case, should we choose out of them all that one way which alone is impious in the sight of the gods and shameful in the sight of men? [21] For it is those who are utterly without ways and means, who are bound by necessity, and who are rascals in any case, that are willing to accomplish an object by perjury to the gods and unfaithfulness to men. As for us, Clearchus, we are not so unreasoning or foolish. [22]

“But why, one might ask, when it was possible for us to destroy you, did we not proceed to do so? The reason for this, be well assured, was my eager desire to prove myself trustworthy to the

Greeks, so that with the same mercenary force which Cyrus led up from the coast in the faith of wages paid, I might go back to the coast in the security of benefits conferred. [23] And as for all the ways in which you are of use to me, you also have mentioned some of them, but it is I who know the most important: the King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head, but another, too, with your help, might easily so wear the one that is upon the heart.” [24]

In these things that he said Tissaphernes seemed to Clearchus to be speaking the truth; and Clearchus said: “Then do not those who are endeavouring by false charges to make us enemies, when we have such grounds for friendship, deserve to suffer the uttermost penalty?” [25] “Yes,” said Tissaphernes, “and for my part, if you generals and captains care to come to me, I will give you, publicly, the names of those who tell me that you are plotting against me and the army under my command.” [26] “And I,” said Clearchus, “will bring them all, and in my turn will make known to you whence come the reports that I hear about you.” [27]

After this conversation Tissaphernes showed all kindness, inviting Clearchus at that time to stay with him and making him his guest at dinner. On the following day, when Clearchus returned to the Greek camp, he not only made it clear that he imagined he was on very friendly terms with Tissaphernes and reported the words which he had used, but he said that those whom Tissaphernes had invited must go to him, and that whoever among the Greeks should be convicted of making false charges ought to be punished, as traitors and foes to the Greeks. [28] Now Clearchus suspected that the author of these slanders was Menon, for he was aware that Menon had not only had meetings with Tissaphernes, in company with Ariaeus, but was also organizing opposition to his own leadership and plotting against him, with the intention of winning over to himself the entire army and thereby securing the friendship of Tissaphernes. [29] Clearchus desired, however, to have the entire army devoted to him and to put the refractory out of the way. As for the soldiers, some of them made objections to Clearchus’ proposal, urging that the captains and generals should not all go and that they should not trust Tissaphernes. [30] But Clearchus vehemently insisted, until he secured an agreement that five generals should go and twenty captains; and about two

hundred of the soldiers also followed along, with the intention of going to market. [31]

When they reached Tissaphernes' doors, the generals were invited in — Proxenus the Boeotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Laconian, and Socrates the Achaean — while the captains waited at the doors. [32] Not long afterward, at the same signal, those within were seized and those outside were cut down. After this some of the barbarian horsemen rode about over the plain and killed every Greek they met, whether slave or freeman. [33] And the Greeks wondered at this riding about, as they saw it from their camp, and were puzzled to know what the horsemen were doing, until Nicarchus the Arcadian reached the camp in flight, wounded in his belly and holding his bowels in his hands, and told all that had happened. [34] Thereupon the Greeks, one and all, ran to their arms, panic-stricken and believing that the enemy would come at once against the camp. [35]

Not all of them came, however, but Ariaeus, Artaozus, and Mithradates, who had been most faithful friends of Cyrus, did come; and the interpreter of the Greeks said that with them he also saw and recognized Tissaphernes' brother; furthermore, they were followed by other Persians, armed with breastplates, to the number of three hundred. [36] As soon as this party had come near, they directed whatever Greek general or captain there might be to come forward, in order that they might deliver a message from the King. [37] After this two generals went forth from the Greek lines under guard, Cleanor the Orchomenian and Sophanetus the Stymphalian, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, who wished to learn the fate of Proxenus; Cheirisophus, however, chanced to be away in a village in company with others who were getting provisions. [38] And when the Greeks got within hearing distance, Ariaeus said: "Clearchus, men of Greece, inasmuch as he was shown to be perjuring himself and violating the truce, has received his deserts and is dead, but Proxenus and Menon, because they gave information about his plotting, are held in high honour. For yourselves, the King demands your arms; for he says that they belong to him, since they belonged to Cyrus, his slave." [39] To this the Greeks replied as follows, Cleanor the Orchomenian acting as spokesman: "Ariaeus, you basest of men, and

all you others who were friends of Cyrus, are you not ashamed, either before gods or men, that, after giving us your oaths to count the same people friends and foes as we did, you have betrayed us, joining hands with Tissaphernes, that most godless and villainous man, and that you have not only destroyed the very men to whom you were then making oath, but have betrayed the rest of us and are come with our enemies against us?" [40] And Ariaeus said: "But it was shown that long ago Clearchus was plotting against Tissaphernes and Orontas and all of us who are with them." Upon this Xenophon spoke as follows: [41] "Well, then, if Clearchus was really transgressing the truce in violation of his oaths, he has his deserts, for it is right that perjurers should perish; but as for Proxenus and Menon, since they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither, for it is clear that, being friends of both parties, they will endeavour to give both you and ourselves the best advice." [42] To this the barbarians made no answer, but, after talking for a long time with one another, they departed.

6. The generals, then, after being thus seized, were taken to the King and put to death by being beheaded. One of them, Clearchus, by common consent of all who were personally acquainted with him, seemed to have shown himself a man who was both fitted for war and fond of war to the last degree. [2] For, in the first place, as long as the Lacedaemonians were at war with the Athenians, he bore his part with them; then, as soon as peace had come, he persuaded his state that the Thracians were injuring the Greek, and, after gaining his point as best he could from the ephors, set sail with the intention of making war upon the Thracians who dwelt beyond the Chersonese and Perinthus. [3] When, however, the ephors changed their minds for some reason or other and, after he had already gone, tried to turn him back from the Isthmus of Corinth, at that point he declined to render further obedience, but went sailing off to the Hellespont. [4] As a result he was condemned to death by the authorities at Sparta on the ground of disobedience to orders. Being now an exile he came to Cyrus, and the arguments whereby he persuaded Cyrus as recorded elsewhere; at any rate, Cyrus gave him ten thousand darics, [5] and he, upon receiving this money, did not turn his thoughts to comfortable idleness, but used it to collect an army and proceeded to make war

upon the Thracians. He defeated them in battle and from that time on plundered them in every way, and he kept up the war until Cyrus wanted his army; then he returned, still for the purpose of making war, this time in company with Cyrus. [6]

Now such conduct as this, in my opinion, reveals a man fond of war. When he may enjoy peace without dishonour or harm, he chooses war; when he may live in idleness, he prefers toil, provided it be the toil of war; when he may keep his money without risk, he elects to diminish it by carrying on war. As for Clearchus, just as one spends upon a loved one or upon any other pleasure, so he wanted to spend upon war — [7] such a lover he was of war. On the other hand, he seemed to be fitted for war in that he was fond of danger, ready by day or night to lead his troops against the enemy, and self-possessed amid terrors, as all who were with him on all occasions agreed. [8] He was likewise said to be fitted for command, so far as that was possible for a man of such a disposition as his was. For example, he was competent, if ever a man was, in devising ways by which his army might get provisions and in procuring them, and he was competent also to impress it upon those who were with him that Clearchus must be obeyed. [9] This result he accomplished by being severe; for he was gloomy in appearance and harsh in voice, and he used to punish severely, sometimes in anger, so that on occasion he would be sorry afterwards. [10] Yet he also punished on principle, for he believed there was no good in an army that went without punishment; in fact, he used to say, it was reported, that a soldier must fear his commander more than the enemy if he were to perform guard duty or keep his hands from friends or without making excuses advance against the enemy. [11] In the midst of dangers, therefore, the troops were ready to obey him implicitly and would choose no other to command them; for they said that at such times his gloominess appeared to be brightness, and his severity seemed to be resolution against the enemy, so that it appeared to betoken safety and to be no longer severity. [12] But when they had got past the danger and could go off to serve under another commander, many would desert him; for there was no attractiveness about him, but he was always severe and rough, so that the soldiers had the same feeling toward him that boys have toward a schoolmaster. [13] For this reason, also, he never

had men following him out of friendship and good-will, but such as were under him because they had been put in his hands by a government or by their own need or were under the compulsion of any other necessity, yielded him implicit obedience. [14] And as soon as they began in his service to overcome the enemy, from that moment there were weighty reasons which made his soldiers efficient; for they had the feeling of confidence in the face of the enemy, and their fear of punishment at his hands kept them in a fine state of discipline. [15] Such he was as a commander, but being commanded by others was not especially to his liking, so people said. He was about fifty years old at the time of his death. [16]

Proxenus the Boeotian cherished from his earliest youth an eager desire to become a man capable of dealing with great affairs, and because of this desire he paid money to Gorgias of Leontini. [17] After having studied under him and reaching the conclusion that he had now become competent to rule and, through friendship with the foremost men of his day, to hold his own in conferring benefits, he embarked upon this enterprise with Cyrus, expecting to gain therefrom a famous name, great power, and abundant wealth; [18] but while vehemently desiring these great ends, he nevertheless made it evident also that he would not care to gain any one of them unjustly; rather, he thought that he must secure them justly and honourably, or not at all. [19] As a leader, he was qualified to command gentlemen, but he was not capable of inspiring his soldiers with either respect for himself or fear; on the contrary, he really stood in greater awe of his men than they, whom he commanded, did of him, and it was manifest that he was more afraid of incurring the hatred of his soldiers than they were of disobeying him. [20] His idea was that, for a man to be and to be thought fit to command, it was enough that he should praise the one who did right and withhold praise from the one who did wrong. Consequently all among his associates who were gentlemen were attached to him, but the unprincipled would plot against him in the thought that he was easy to deal with. At the time of his death he was about thirty years old. [21]

Menon the Thessalian was manifestly eager for enormous wealth — eager for command in order to get more wealth and eager for honour in order to increase his gains; and he desired to be a friend to

the men who possessed greatest power in order that he might commit unjust deeds without suffering the penalty. [22] Again, for the accomplishment of the objects upon which his heart was set, he imagined that the shortest route was by way of perjury and falsehood and deception, while he counted straightforwardness and truth the same thing as folly. [23] Affection he clearly felt for nobody, and if he said that he was a friend to anyone, it would become plain that this man was the one he was plotting against. He would never ridicule an enemy, but he always gave the impression in conversation of ridiculing all his associates. [24] Neither would he devise schemes against his enemies' property, for he saw difficulty in getting hold of the possessions of people who were on their guard; but he thought he was the only one who knew that it was easiest to get hold of the property of friends — just because it was unguarded. [25] Again, all whom he found to be perjurers and wrongdoers he would fear, regarding them as well armed, while those who were pious and practised truth he would try to make use of, regarding them as weaklings. [26] And just as a man prides himself upon piety, truthfulness, and justice, so Menon prided himself upon ability to deceive, the fabrication of lies, and the mocking of friends; but the man who was not a rascal he always thought of as belonging to the uneducated. Again, if he were attempting to be first in the friendship of anybody, he thought that slandering those who were already first was the proper way of gaining this end. [27] As for making his soldiers obedient, he managed that by bearing a share in their wrongdoing. He expected, indeed, to gain honour and attention by showing that he had the ability and would have the readiness to do the most wrongs; and he set it down as a kindness, whenever anyone broke off with him, that he had not, while still on terms with such a one, destroyed him. [28]

To be sure, in matters that are doubtful one may be mistaken about him, but the facts which everybody knows are the following. From Aristippus he secured, while still in the bloom of youth, an appointment as general of his mercenaries; with Ariaeus, who was a barbarian, he became extremely intimate for the reason that Ariaeus was fond of beautiful youths; and, lastly, he himself, while still beardless, had a bearded favourite named Tharypas. [29] Now when

his fellow-generals were put to death for joining Cyrus in his expedition against the King, he, who had done the same thing, was not so treated, but it was after the execution of the other generals that the King visited the punishment of death upon him; and he was not, like Clearchus and the rest of the generals, beheaded — a manner of death which is counted speediest — but, report says, was tortured alive for a year and so met the death of a scoundrel. [30]

Agias the Arcadian and Socrates the Achaean were the two others who were put to death. No one ever laughed at these men as weaklings in war or found fault with them in the matter of friendship. They were both about thirty-five years of age.

BOOK III.

1. [The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did in the course of the upward march with Cyrus until the time of the battle, and all that took place after the death of Cyrus while the Greeks were on the way back with Tissaphernes during the period of the truce.] [2]

After the generals had been seized and such of the captains and soldiers as accompanied them had been killed, the Greeks were naturally in great perplexity, reflecting that they were at the King's gates, that round about them on every side were many hostile tribes and cities, that no one would provide them a market any longer, that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia, that they had no guide to show them the way, that they were cut off by impassable rivers which flowed across the homeward route, that the barbarians who had made the upward march with Cyrus had also betrayed them, and that they were left alone, without even a single horseman to support them, so that it was quite clear that if they should be victorious, they could not kill anyone, while if they should be defeated, not one of them would be left alive. [3] Full of these reflections and despondent as they were, but few of them tasted food at evening, few kindled a fire, and many did not come that night to their quarters, but lay down wherever they each chanced to be, unable to sleep for grief and longing for their native states and parents, their wives and children, whom they thought they should never see again. Such was the state of mind in which they all lay down to rest. [4]

There was a man in the army named Xenophon, an Athenian, who was neither general nor captain nor private, but had accompanied the expedition because Proxenus, an old friend of his, had sent him at his home an invitation to go with him; Proxenus had also promised him that, if he would go, he would make him a friend of Cyrus, whom he himself regarded, so he said, as worth more to him than was his native state. [5] After reading Proxenus' letter Xenophon conferred with Socrates, the Athenian, about the proposed journey; and Socrates, suspecting that his becoming a friend of Cyrus might be a

cause for accusation against Xenophon on the part of the Athenian government, for the reason that Cyrus was thought to have given the Lacedaemonians zealous aid in their war against Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi and consult the god in regard to this journey. [6] So Xenophon went and asked Apollo to what one of the gods he should sacrifice and pray in order best and most successfully to perform the journey which he had in mind and, after meeting with good fortune, to return home in safety; and Apollo in his response told him to what gods he must sacrifice. [7] When Xenophon came back from Delphi, he reported the oracle to Socrates; and upon hearing about it Socrates found fault with him because he did not first put the question whether it were better for him to go or stay, but decided for himself that he was to go and then asked the god as to the best way of going. "However," he added, "since you did put the question in that way, you must do all that the god directed." [8]

Xenophon, accordingly, after offering the sacrifices to the gods that Apollo's oracle prescribed, set sail, overtook Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis as they were on the point of beginning the upward march, and was introduced to Cyrus. [9] And not only did Proxenus urge him to stay with them, but Cyrus also joined in this request, adding that as soon as the campaign came to an end, he would send Xenophon home at once; and the report was that the campaign was against the Pisidians. [10] It was in this way, then, that Xenophon came to go on the expedition, quite deceived about its purpose — not, however, by Proxenus, for he did not know that the attack was directed against the King, nor did anyone else among the Greeks with the exception of Clearchus; but by the time they reached Cilicia, it seemed clear to everybody that the expedition was really against the King. Then, although the Greeks were fearful of the journey and unwilling to go on, most of them did, nevertheless, out of shame before one another and before Cyrus, continue the march. And Xenophon was one of this number. [11]

Now when the time of perplexity came, he was distressed as well as everybody else and was unable to sleep; but, getting at length a little sleep, he had a dream. It seemed to him that there was a clap of thunder and a bolt fell on his father's house, setting the whole house ablaze. [12] He awoke at once in great fear, and judged the dream in

one way an auspicious one, because in the midst of hardships and perils he had seemed to behold a great light from Zeus; but looking at it in another way he was fearful, since the dream came, as he thought, from Zeus the King and the fire appeared to blaze all about, lest he might not be able to escape out of the King's country, but might be shut in on all sides by various difficulties. [13] Now what it really means to have such a dream one may learn from the events which followed the dream — and they were these: Firstly, on the moment of his awakening the thought occurred to him: "Why do I lie here? The night is wearing on, and at daybreak it is likely that the enemy will be upon us. And if we fall into the King's hands, what is there to prevent our living to behold all the most grievous sights and to experience all the most dreadful sufferings, and then being put to death with insult? [14] As for defending ourselves, however, no one is making preparations or taking thought for that, but we lie here just as if it were possible for us to enjoy our ease. What about myself, then? From what state am I expecting the general to come who is to perform these duties? And what age must I myself wait to attain? For surely I shall never be any older, if this day I give myself up to the enemy." [15]

Then he arose and, as a first step, called together the captains of Proxenus. When they had gathered, he said: "Gentlemen, I am unable either to sleep, as I presume you are also, or to lie still any longer, when I see in what straits we now are. [16] For the enemy manifestly did not begin open war upon us until the moment when they believed that their own preparations had been adequately made; but on our side no one is planning any counter-measures at all to ensure our making the best possible fight. [17] And yet if we submit and fall into the King's hands, what do we imagine our fate is to be? Even in the case of his own brother, and, yet more, when he was already dead, this man cut off his head and his hand and impaled them; as for ourselves, then, who have no one to intercede for us, and who took the field against him with the intention of making him a slave rather than a king and of killing him if we could, what fate may we expect to suffer? [18] Will he not do his utmost to inflict upon us the most outrageous tortures, and thus make all mankind afraid ever to undertake an expedition against him? We, then, must make every

effort not to fall into his power. [19]

“For my part, so long as the truce lasted I never ceased commiserating ourselves and congratulating the King and his followers; for I saw plainly what a great amount of fine land they possessed, what an abundance of provisions, what quantities of servants, cattle, gold, and apparel; [20] but whenever I took thought of the situation of our own soldiers, I saw that we had no share in these good things, except we bought them, I knew there were but few of us who still had money wherewith to buy, and I knew that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions in any other way than by purchase. Hence, with these considerations in mind, I used sometimes to fear the truce more than I now fear war. [21] But seeing that their own act has put an end to the truce, the end has likewise come, in my opinion, both of their arrogance and of our embarrassment. For now all these good things are offered as prizes for whichever of the two parties shall prove to be the braver men; and the judges of the contest are the gods, who, in all likelihood, will be on our side. [22] For our enemies have sworn falsely by them, while we, with abundant possessions before our eyes, have steadfastly kept our hands therefrom because of our oaths by the gods; hence we, I think, can go into the contest with far greater confidence than can our enemies. [23] Besides, we have bodies more capable than theirs of bearing cold and heat and toil, and we likewise, by the blessing of the gods, have better souls; and these men are more liable than we to be wounded and killed, if the gods again, as on that former day, grant us victory. [24]

“And now, since it may be that others also have these same thoughts in mind, let us not, in the name of the gods, wait for others to come to us and summon us to the noblest deeds, but let us take the lead ourselves and arouse the rest to valour. Show yourselves the best of the captains, and more worthy to be generals than the generals themselves. [25] As for me, if you choose to set out upon this course, I am ready to follow you; but if you assign me the leadership, I do not plead my youth as an excuse; rather, I believe I am in the very prime of my power to ward off dangers from my own head.” [26]

Such were Xenophon’s words; and upon hearing what he said the officers bade him take the lead, all of them except a man named

Apollonides, who spoke in the Boeotian dialect. This man maintained that anyone who said he could gain safety in any other way than by winning the King's consent through persuasion, if possible, was talking nonsense; and at the same time he began to recite the difficulties of their situation. Xenophon, however, interrupted him in the midst of his talk, and said: [27] "You amazing fellow, you have eyes but still do not perceive, and you have ears but still do not remember. You were present, surely, with the rest of these officers at the time when the King, after the death of Cyrus and in his elation over that event, sent and ordered us to give up our arms. [28] But when, instead of giving them up, we equipped ourselves with them, and went and encamped beside him, what means did he leave untried — sending ambassadors, begging for a truce, offering us provisions — until in the end he obtained a truce? [29] When, however, our generals and captains, following precisely the plan that you are now urging, went unarmed to a conference with them, relying upon the truce, what happened in that case? are they not at this moment being beaten, tortured, insulted, unable even to die, hapless men that they are, even though they earnestly long, I imagine, for death? And do you, knowing all these things, say that they are talking nonsense who urge self-defence, and do you propose that we should again go and try persuasion? [30] In my opinion, gentlemen, we should not simply refuse to admit this fellow to companionship with us, but should deprive him of his captaincy, lay packs on his back, and treat him as that sort of a creature. For the fellow is a disgrace both to his native state and to the whole of Greece, since, being a Greek, he is still a man of this kind." [31]

Then Agasias, a Stymphalian, broke in and said: "For that matter, this fellow has nothing to do either with Boeotia or with any part of Greece at all, for I have noticed that he has both his ears bored, like a Lydian's." [32] In fact, it was so. He, therefore, was driven away, but the others proceeded to visit the various divisions of the army. Wherever a general was left alive, they would invite him to join them; where the general was gone, they invited the lieutenant-general; or, again, where only a captain was left, the captain. [33] When all had come together, they seated themselves at the front of the encampment, and the generals and captains thus assembled

amounted in number to about one hundred. By this time it was nearly midnight. [34] Then Hieronymus the Elean, who was the eldest of Proxenus' captains, began to speak as follows: "Generals and captains, we have deemed it best, in view of the present situation, both to come together ourselves and to invite you to join us, in order that we may devise whatever good counsel we can. Repeat now, Xenophon," he added, "just what you said to us." [35]

Thereupon Xenophon spoke as follows: "We all understand thus much, that the King and Tissaphernes have seized as many as they could of our number, and that they are manifestly plotting against the rest of us, to destroy us if they can. It is for us, then, in my opinion, to make every effort that we may never fall into the power of the barbarians, but that they may rather fall into our power. [36] Be sure, therefore, that you, who have now come together in such numbers, have the grandest of opportunities. For all our soldiers here are looking to you; if they see that you are faint-hearted, all of them will be cowards; but if you not only show that you are making preparations yourselves against the enemy, but call upon the rest to do likewise, be well assured that they will follow you and will try to imitate you. [37] But perhaps it is really proper that you should somewhat excel them. For you are generals, you are lieutenant-generals and captains; while peace lasted, you had the advantage of them alike in pay and in standing; now, therefore, when a state of war exists, it is right to expect that you should be superior to the common soldiers, and that you should plan for them and toil for them whenever there be need. [38]

"And now, firstly, I think you would do the army a great service if you should see to it that generals and captains are appointed as speedily as possible to take the places of those who are lost. For without leaders nothing fine or useful can be accomplished in any field, to put it broadly, and certainly not in warfare. For discipline, it seems, keeps men in safety, while the lack of it has brought many ere now to destruction. [39] Secondly, when you have appointed all the leaders that are necessary, I think you would perform a very opportune act if you should gather together the rest of the soldiers also and try to encourage them. [40] For, as matters stand now, perhaps you have observed for yourselves in what dejection they came to

their quarters and in what dejection they proceeded to their picket duty; and so long as they are in this state, I know not what use one could make of them, if there should be need of them either by night or by day. [41] If, however, we can turn the current of their minds, so that they shall be thinking, not merely of what they are to suffer, but likewise of what they are going to do, they will be far more cheerful. [42] For you understand, I am sure, that it is neither numbers nor strength which wins victories in war; but whichever of the two sides it be whose troops, by the blessing of the gods, advance to the attack with stouter hearts, against those troops their adversaries generally refuse to stand. [43] And in my own experience, gentlemen, I have observed this other fact, that those who are anxious in war to save their lives in any way they can, are the very men who usually meet with a base and shameful death; while those who have recognized that death is the common and inevitable portion of all mankind and therefore strive to meet death nobly, are precisely those who are somehow more likely to reach old age and who enjoy a happier existence while they do live. [44] We, then, taking to heart this lesson, so suited to the crisis which now confronts us, must be brave men ourselves and call forth bravery in our fellows.” [45] With these words Xenophon ceased speaking.

After him Cheirisophus said: “Hitherto, Xenophon, I have known you only to the extent of having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I commend you both for your words and your deeds, and I should be glad if we had very many of your sort; for it would be a blessing to the entire army. [46] And now, gentlemen,” he went on, “let us not delay; withdraw and choose your commanders at once, you who need them, and after making your choices come to the middle of the camp and bring with you the men you have selected; then we will call a meeting there of all the troops. And let us make sure,” he added, “that Tolmides, the herald, is present.” [47] With these words he got up at once, that there might be no delay in carrying out the needful measures. Thereupon the commanders were chosen, Timasion the Dardanian in place of Clearchus, Xanthicles the Achaean in place of Socrates, Cleanor the Arcadian in place of Agias, Philesius the Achaean in place of Menon, and Xenophon the Athenian in place of Proxenus.

2. When these elections had been completed, and as day was just about beginning to break, the commanders met in the middle of the camp; and they resolved to station outposts and then call an assembly of the soldiers. As soon as they had come together, Cheirisophus the Lacedaemonian arose first and spoke as follows: [2] "Fellow-soldiers, painful indeed is our present situation, seeing that we are robbed of such generals and captains and soldiers, and, besides, that Ariaeus and his men, who were formerly our allies, have betrayed us; [3] nevertheless, we must quit ourselves like brave men as well as may be in these circumstances, and must not yield, but rather try to save ourselves by glorious victory if we can; otherwise, let us at least die a glorious death, and never fall into the hands of our enemies alive. For in that case I think we should meet the sort of sufferings that I pray the gods may visit upon our foes." [4]

Then Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke as follows: "Come, fellow-soldiers, you see the perjury and impiety of the King; you see likewise the faithlessness of Tissaphernes. It was Tissaphernes who said that he was a neighbour of Greece and that he would do his utmost to save us; it was none other than he who gave us his oaths to confirm these words; and then he, Tissaphernes, the very man who had given such pledges, was the very man who deceived and seized our generals. More than that, he did not even reverence Zeus, the god of hospitality; instead, he entertained Clearchus at his own table and then made that very act the means of deceiving and destroying the generals. [5] Ariaeus, too, whom we were ready to make king, with whom we exchanged pledges not to betray one another, even he, showing neither fear of the gods nor honour for the memory of Cyrus dead, although he was most highly honoured by Cyrus living, has now gone over to the bitterest foes of that same Cyrus, and is trying to work harm to us, the friends of Cyrus. [6] Well, may these men be duly punished by the gods; we, however, seeing their deeds, must never again be deceived by them, but must fight as stoutly as we can and meet whatever fortune the gods may please to send." [7]

Hereupon Xenophon arose, arrayed for war in his finest dress. For he thought that if the gods should grant victory, the finest raiment was suited to victory; and if it should be his fate to die, it was proper,

he thought, that inasmuch as he had accounted his office worthy of the most beautiful attire, in this attire he should meet his death. He began his speech as follows: [8] “The perjury and faithlessness of the barbarians has been spoken of by Cleanor and is understood, I imagine, by the rest of you. If, then, it is our desire to be again on terms of friendship with them, we must needs feel great despondency when we see the fate of our generals, who trustingly put themselves in their hands; but if our intention is to rely upon our arms, and not only to inflict punishment upon them for their past deeds, but henceforth to wage implacable war with them, we have — the gods willing — many fair hopes of deliverance.” [9]

As he was saying this a man sneezed, and when the soldiers heard it, they all with one impulse made obeisance to the god; and Xenophon said, “I move, gentlemen, since at the moment when we were talking about deliverance an omen from Zeus the Saviour was revealed to us, that we make a vow to sacrifice to that god thank-offerings for deliverance as soon as we reach a friendly land; and that we add a further vow to make sacrifices, to the extent of our ability, to the other gods also. All who are in favour of this motion,” he said, “will raise their hands.” And every man in the assembly raised his hand. Thereupon they made their vows and struck up the paean. These ceremonies duly performed, Xenophon began again with these words: [10]

“I was saying that we have many fair hopes of deliverance. For, in the first place, we are standing true to the oaths we took in the name of the gods, while our enemies have perjured themselves and, in violation of their oaths, have broken the truce. This being so, it is fair to assume that the gods are their foes and our allies — and the gods are able speedily to make the strong weak and, when they so will, easily to deliver the weak, even though they be in dire perils. [11] Secondly, I would remind you of the perils of our own forefathers, to show you not only that it is your right to be brave men, but that brave men are delivered, with the help of the gods, even out of most dreadful dangers. For when the Persians and their followers came with a vast array to blot Athens out of existence, the Athenians dared, unaided, to withstand them, and won the victory. [12] And while they had vowed to Artemis that for every man they might slay

of the enemy they would sacrifice a goat to the goddess, they were unable to find goats enough; so they resolved to offer five hundred every year, and this sacrifice they are paying even to this day. [13] Again, when Xerxes at a later time gathered together that countless host and came against Greece, then too our forefathers were victorious, both by land and by sea, over the forefathers of our enemies. As tokens of these victories we may, indeed, still behold the trophies, but the strongest witness to them is the freedom of the states in which you were born and bred; for to no human creature do you pay homage as master, but to the gods alone. [14] It is from such ancestors, then, that you are sprung.

“Now I am far from intending to say that you disgrace them; in fact, not many days ago you set yourselves in array against these descendants of those ancient Persians and were victorious, with the aid of the gods, over many times your own numbers. [15] And then, mark you, it was in Cyrus’ contest for the throne that you proved yourselves brave men; but now, when the struggle is for your own safety, it is surely fitting that you should be far braver and more zealous. [16] Furthermore, you ought now to be more confident in facing the enemy. For then you were unacquainted with them, you saw that their numbers were beyond counting, and you nevertheless dared, with all the spirit of your fathers, to charge upon them; but now, when you have already made actual trial of them and find that they have no desire, even though they are many times your number, to await your attack, what reason can remain for your being afraid of them? [17]

“Again, do not suppose that you are the worse off because the followers of Ariaeus, who were formerly marshalled with us, have now deserted us. For they are even greater cowards than the men we defeated; at any rate they took to flight before them, leaving us to shift for ourselves. And when we find men who are ready to set the example of flight, it is far better to see them drawn up with the enemy than on our own side. [18]

“But if anyone of you is despondent because we are without horsemen while the enemy have plenty at hand, let him reflect that your ten thousand horsemen are nothing more than ten thousand men; for nobody ever lost his life in battle from the bite or kick of a

horse, but it is the men who do whatever is done in battles. [19] Moreover, we are on a far surer foundation than your horsemen: they are hanging on their horses' backs, afraid not only of us, but also of falling off; while we, standing upon the ground, shall strike with far greater force if anyone comes upon us and shall be far more likely to hit whomsoever we aim at. In one point alone your horsemen have the advantage — flight is safer for them than it is for us. [20] Suppose, however, that you do not lack confidence about the fighting, but are troubled because you are no longer to have Tissaphernes to guide you or the King to provide a market. If this be the case, I ask you to consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for a guide, the man who is manifestly plotting against us, or such people as we may ourselves capture and may order to serve as guides, men who will know that if they make any mistake in aught that concerns us, they will be making a mistake in that which concerns their own lives and limbs. [21] And as for provisions, is it the better plan to buy from the market which these barbarians have provided — small measures for large prices, when we have no money left, either — or to appropriate for ourselves, in case we are victorious, and to use as large a measure as each one of us pleases? [22]

“But in these points, let us say, you realize that our present situation is better; you believe, however, that the rivers are a difficulty, and you think you were immensely deceived when you crossed them; then consider whether this is not really a surpassingly foolish thing that the barbarians have done. For all rivers, even though they be impassable at a distance from their sources, become passable, without even wetting your knees, as you approach toward the sources. [23]

“But assume that the rivers will not afford us a crossing and that we shall find no one to guide us; even in that case we ought not to be despondent. For we know that the Mysians, whom we should not admit to be better men than ourselves, inhabit many large and prosperous cities in the King's territory, we know that the same is true of the Pisidians, and as for the Lycaonians we even saw with our own eyes that they had seized the strongholds in the plains and were reaping for themselves the lands of these Persians; [24] so, in our case, my own view would be that we ought not yet to let it be seen that we

have set out for home; we ought, rather, to be making our arrangements as if we intended to settle here. For I know that to the Mysians the King would not only give plenty of guides, but plenty of hostages, to guarantee a safe conduct for them out of his country; in fact, he would build a road for them, even if they wanted to take their departure in four-horse chariots. And I know that he would be thrice glad to do the same for us, if he saw that we were preparing to stay here. [25] I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians, we may, like the lotus-eaters, forget our homeward way. [26] Therefore, I think it is right and proper that our first endeavour should be to return to our kindred and friends in Greece, and to point out to the Greeks that it is by their own choice that they are poor; for they could bring here the people who are now living a hard life at home, and could see them in the enjoyment of riches.

“It is really a plain fact, gentlemen, that all these good things belong to those who have the strength to possess them; [27] but I must go on to another point, how we can march most safely and, if we have to fight, can fight to the best advantage. In the first place, then,” Xenophon proceeded, “I think we should burn up the wagons which we have, so that our cattle may not be our captains, but we can take whatever route may be best for the army. Secondly, we should burn up our tents also; for these, again, are a bother to carry, and no help at all either for fighting or for obtaining provisions. [28] Furthermore, let us abandon all our other superfluous baggage, keeping only such articles as we use for war, or in eating and drinking, in order that we may have the largest possible number of men under arms and the least number carrying baggage. For when men are conquered, you are aware that all their possessions become the property of others; but if we are victorious, we may regard the enemy as our pack-bearers. [29]

“It remains for me to mention the one matter which I believe is really of the greatest importance. You observe that our enemies did not muster up courage to begin hostilities against us until they had seized our generals; for they believed that so long as we had our commanders and were obedient to them, we were able to worst them

in war, but when they had got possession of our commanders, they believed that the want of leadership and of discipline would be the ruin of us. [30] Therefore our present commanders must show themselves far more vigilant than their predecessors, and the men in the ranks must be far more orderly and more obedient to their commanders now than they used to be. [31] We must pass a vote that, in case anyone is disobedient, whoever of you may be at hand at the time shall join with the officer in punishing him; in this way the enemy will find themselves mightily deceived; for to-day they will behold, not one Clearchus, but ten thousand, who will not suffer anybody to be a bad soldier. [32] But it is time now to be acting instead of talking; for perhaps the enemy will soon be at hand. Whoever, then, thinks that these proposals are good should ratify them with all speed, that they may be carried out in action. But if any other plan is thought better than mine, let anyone, even though he be a private soldier, feel free to present it; for the safety of all is the need of all.” [33]

After this Cheirisophus said: “We shall be able to consider presently whether we need to do anything else besides what Xenophon proposes, but on the proposals which he has already made I think it is best for us to vote as speedily as possible. Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand.” [34] They all raised their hands.

Then Xenophon arose once more and said: “Give ear, gentlemen, to the further proposals I have to present. It is clear that we must make our way to a place where we can get provisions; and I hear that there are fine villages at a distance of not more than twenty stadia. [35] We should not be surprised, then, if the enemy — after the fashion of cowardly dogs that chase passers-by and bite them, if they can, but run away from anyone who chases them — if the enemy in the same way should follow at our heels as we retire. [36] Hence it will be safer, perhaps, for us to march with the hoplites formed into a hollow square, so that the baggage train and the great crowd of camp followers may be in a safer place. If, then, it should be settled at once who are to lead the square and marshal the van, who are to be on either flank, and who to guard the rear, we should not need to be taking counsel at the time when the enemy comes upon us, but we

should find our men at once in their places ready for action. [37] Now if anyone sees another plan which is better, let us follow that plan; but if not, I propose that Cheirisophus take the lead, especially since he is a Lacedaemonian, that the two oldest generals have charge of the two flanks, and that, for the present, we who are the youngest, Timasion and I, command the rear. [38] And for the future, as we make trial of this formation we can adopt whatever course may seem from time to time to be best. If anyone sees a better plan, let him present it.” No one having any opposing view to express, Xenophon said: “Whoever is in favour of these measures, let him raise his hand.” The motion was carried. [39] “And now,” he continued, “we must go back and put into execution what has been resolved upon. And whoever among you desires to see his friends again, let him remember to show himself a brave man; for in no other way can he accomplish this desire. Again, whoever is desirous of saving his life, let him strive for victory; for it is the victors that slay and the defeated that are slain. Or if anyone longs for wealth, let him also strive to conquer; for conquerors not only keep their own possessions, but gain the possessions of the conquered.”

3. After these words of Xenophon’s the assembly arose, and all went back to camp and proceeded to burn the wagons and the tents. As for the superfluous articles of baggage, whatever anybody needed they shared with one another, but the rest they threw into the fire. When they had done all this, they set about preparing breakfast; and while they were so engaged, Mithradates approached with about thirty horsemen, summoned the Greek generals within earshot, and spoke as follows: [2] “Men of Greece, I was faithful to Cyrus, as you know for yourselves, and I am now friendly to you; indeed, I am tarrying here in great fear. Therefore if I should see that you were taking salutary measures, I should join you and bring all my retainers with me. Tell me, then, what you have in mind, in the assurance that I am your friend and well-wisher, and am desirous of making the journey in company with you.” [3] The generals held council and voted to return the following answer, Cheirisophus acting as spokesman: “It is our resolve, in case no one hinders our homeward march, to proceed through the country doing the least possible damage, but if anyone tries to prevent us from making the journey, to

fight it out with him to the best of our power.” [4] Thereupon Mithradates undertook to show that there was no possibility of their effecting a safe return unless the King so pleased. Then it became clear to the Greeks that his mission was a treacherous one; indeed, one of Tissaphernes’ relatives had followed along, to see that he kept faith. [5] The generals consequently decided that it was best to pass a decree that there should be no negotiations with the enemy in this war so long as they should be in the enemy’s country. For the barbarians kept coming and trying to corrupt the soldiers; in the case of one captain, Nicarchus the Arcadian, they actually succeeded, and he decamped during the night, taking with him about twenty men. [6]

After this they took breakfast, crossed the Zapatas river, and set out on the march in the formation decided upon, with the baggage animals and the camp followers in the middle of the square. They had not proceeded far when Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by about two hundred horsemen and by bowmen and slingers — exceedingly active and nimble troops — to the number of four hundred. [7] He approached the Greeks as if he were a friend, but when his party had got close at hand, on a sudden some of them, horse and foot alike, began shooting with their bows and others with slings, and they inflicted wounds. And the Greek rearguard, while suffering severely, could not retaliate at all; for the Cretan bowmen not only had a shorter range than the Persians, but besides, since they had no armour, they were shut in within the lines of the hoplites; and the Greek javelin-men could not throw far enough to reach the enemy’s slingers. [8] Xenophon consequently decided that they must pursue the Persians, and this they did, with such of the hoplites and peltasts as were guarding the rear with him; but in their pursuit they failed to catch a single man of the enemy. [9] For the Greeks had no horsemen, and their foot-soldiers were not able to overtake the enemy’s foot-soldiers — since the latter had a long start in their flight — within a short distance; and a long pursuit, far away from the main Greek army, was not possible. [10] Again, the barbarian horsemen even while they were in flight would inflict wounds by shooting behind them from their horses; and whatever distance the Greeks might at any time cover in their pursuit, all that distance they were obliged to fall back fighting. [11] The result was that during the

whole day they travelled not more than twenty-five stadia. They did arrive, however, towards evening at the villages.

Here again there was despondency. And Cheirisophus and the eldest of the generals found fault with Xenophon for leaving the main body of the army to undertake a pursuit, and thus endangering himself without being able, for all that, to do the enemy any harm. [12] When Xenophon heard their words, he replied that they were right in finding fault with him, and that the outcome bore witness of itself for their view. "But," he continued, "I was compelled to pursue when I saw that by keeping our places we were suffering severely and were still unable to strike a blow ourselves. [13] As to what happened, however, when we did pursue, you are quite right: we were no better able to inflict harm upon the enemy, and it was only with the utmost difficulty that we effected our own withdrawal. [14] Let us thank the gods, therefore, that they came, not with a large force, but with a handful, so that without doing us any great damage they have revealed our needs. [15] For at present the enemy can shoot arrows and sling stones so far that neither our Cretan bowmen nor our javelin-men can reach them in reply; and when we pursue them, a long chase, away from our main body, is out of the question, and in a short chase no foot-soldier, even if he is swift, can overtake another foot-soldier who has a bow-shot the start of him. [16] Hence, if we should propose to put an end to the possibility of their harming us on our march, we need slingers ourselves at once, and horsemen also. Now I am told that there are Rhodians in our army, that most of them understand the use of the sling, and that their missile carries no less than twice as far as those from the Persian slings. [17] For the latter have only a short range because the stones that are used in them are as large as the hand can hold; the Rhodians, however, are versed also in the art of slinging leaden bullets. [18] If, therefore, we should ascertain who among them possess slings, and should not only pay these people for their slings, but likewise pay anyone who is willing to plait new ones, and if, furthermore, we should devise some sort of exemption for the man who will volunteer to serve as a slinger at his appointed post, it may be that men will come forward who will be capable of helping us. [19] Again, I observe that there are horses in the army — a few at my own quarters, others that made part of

Clearchus' troop and were left behind, and many others that have been taken from the enemy and are used as pack-animals. If, then, we should pick out all these horses, replacing them with mules, and should equip them for cavalry, it may be that this cavalry also will cause some annoyance to the enemy when they are in flight." [20] These proposals also were adopted, and in the course of that night a company of two hundred slingers was organized, while on the following day horses and horsemen to the number of fifty were examined and accepted, and jerkins and cuirasses were provided for them; and Lycius, the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was put in command of the troop.

4. That day they remained quiet, but the next morning they set forth, after rising earlier than usual; for there was a gorge they had to cross, and they were afraid that the enemy might attack them as they were crossing. [2] It was only after they had crossed it, however, that Mithradates appeared again, accompanied by a thousand horsemen and about four thousand bowmen and slingers. For these were the numbers he had requested from Tissaphernes, and these numbers he had obtained upon his promise that, if such a force were given him, he would deliver the Greeks into Tissaphernes' hands; for he had come to despise them, seeing that in his earlier attack with a small force he had done a great deal of harm, as he thought, without suffering any loss himself. [3] When, accordingly, the Greeks were across the gorge and about eight stadia beyond it, Mithradates also proceeded to make the crossing with his troops. Now orders had already been given to such of the Greek peltasts and hoplites as were to pursue the enemy, and the horsemen had been directed to be bold in urging the pursuit, in the assurance that an adequate force would follow at their heels. [4] As soon, then, as Mithradates had caught up, so that his sling-stones and arrows were just beginning to reach their marks, the trumpet gave its signal to the Greeks, and on the instant the foot-soldiers who were under orders rushed upon the enemy and the horsemen charged; and the enemy did not await their attack, but fled towards the gorge. [5] In this pursuit the barbarians had many of their infantry killed, while of their cavalry no less than eighteen were taken alive in the gorge. And the Greek troops, unbidden save by their own impulse, disfigured the bodies of the dead, in order that the

sight of them might inspire the utmost terror in the enemy. [6]

After faring thus badly the enemy departed, while the Greeks continued their march unmolested through the remainder of the day and arrived at the Tigris river. [7] Here was a large deserted city; its name was Larisa, and it was inhabited in ancient times by the Medes. Its wall was twenty-five feet in breadth and a hundred in height, and the whole circuit of the wall was two parasangs. It was built of clay bricks, and rested upon a stone foundation twenty feet high. [8] This city was besieged by the king of the Persians at the time when the Persians were seeking to wrest from the Medes their empire, but he could in no way capture it. A cloud, however, overspread the sun and hid it from sight until the inhabitants abandoned their city; and thus it was taken. [9] Near by this city was a pyramid of stone, a plethrum in breadth and two plethra in height; and upon this pyramid were many barbarians who had fled away from the neighbouring villages. [10]

From this place they marched one stage, six parasangs, to a great stronghold, deserted and lying in ruins. The name of this city was Mespila, and it was once inhabited by the Medes. The foundation of its wall was made of polished stone full of shells, and was fifty feet in breadth and fifty in height. [11] Upon this foundation was built a wall of brick, fifty feet in breadth and a hundred in height; and the circuit of the wall was six parasangs. Here, as the story goes, Medea, the king's wife, took refuge at the time when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. [12] To this city also the king of the Persians laid siege, but he was unable to capture it either by length of siege or by storm; Zeus, however, terrified the inhabitants with thunder, and thus the city was taken. [13]

From this place they marched one stage, four parasangs. In the course of this stage Tissaphernes made his appearance, having under his command the cavalry which he had himself brought with him, the troops of Orontas, who was married to the King's daughter, the barbarians whom Cyrus had brought with him on his upward march, and those with whom the King's brother had come to the aid of the King; besides these contingents Tissaphernes had all the troops that the King had given him; the result was, that his army appeared exceedingly large. [14] When he got near the Greeks, he stationed some of his battalions in their rear and moved others into position on

their flanks; then, although he could not muster up the courage to close with them and had no desire to risk a decisive battle, he ordered his men to discharge their slings and let fly their arrows. [15] But when the Rhodian slingers and the bowmen, posted at intervals here and there, sent back an answering volley, and not a man among them missed his mark (for even if he had been very eager to do so, it would not have been easy), then Tissaphernes withdrew out of range with all speed, and the other battalions followed his example. [16]

For the rest of the day the one army continued its march and the other its pursuit. And the barbarians were no longer able to do any harm by their skirmishing at long range; for the Rhodian slingers carried farther with their missiles than the Persians, farther even than the Persian bowmen. [17] The Persian bows are also large, and consequently the Cretans could make good use of all the arrows that fell into their hands; in fact, they were continually using the enemy's arrows, and practised themselves in long-range work by shooting them into the air. In the villages, furthermore, the Greeks found gut in abundance and lead for the use of their slingers. [18] As for that day's doings, when the Greeks came upon some villages and proceeded to encamp, the barbarians withdrew, having had the worst of it in the skirmishing. The following day the Greeks remained quiet and collected supplies, for there was an abundance of corn in the villages. On the day thereafter they continued their march through the plain, and Tissaphernes hung upon their rear and kept up the skirmishing. [19]

Then it was that the Greeks found out that a square is a poor formation when an enemy is following. For if the wings draw together, either because a road is unusually narrow or because mountains or a bridge make it necessary, it is inevitable that the hoplites should be squeezed out of line and should march with difficulty, inasmuch as they are crowded together and are likewise in confusion; the result is that, being in disorder, they are of little service. [20] Furthermore, when the wings draw apart again, those who were lately squeezed out are inevitably scattered, the space between the wings is left unoccupied, and the men affected are out of spirits when an enemy is close behind them. Again, as often as the army had to pass over a bridge or make any other crossing, every

man would hurry, in the desire to be the first one across, and that gave the enemy a fine chance to make an attack. [21] When the generals came to realize these difficulties, they formed six companies of a hundred men each and put a captain at the head of each company, adding also platoon and squad commanders. Then in case the wings drew together on the march, these companies would drop back, so as not to interfere with the wings, and for the time being would move along behind the wings; [22] and when the flanks of the square drew apart again, they would fill up the space between the wings, by companies in case this space was rather narrow, by platoons in case it was broader, or, if it was very broad, by squads — the idea being, to have the gap filled up in any event. [23] Again, if the army had to make some crossing or to pass over a bridge, there was no confusion, but each company crossed over in its turn; and if any help was needed in any part of the army, these troops would make their way to the spot. In this fashion the Greeks proceeded four stages. [24]

In the course of the fifth stage they caught sight of a palace of some sort, with many villages round about it, and they observed that the road to this place passed over high hills, which stretched down from the mountain at whose foot the villages were situated. And the Greeks were well pleased to see the hills, as was natural considering that the enemy's force was cavalry; [25] when, however, in their march out of the plain they had mounted to the top of the first hill, and were descending it, so as to ascend the next, at this moment the barbarians came upon them and down from the hilltop discharged their missiles and sling-stones and arrows, fighting under the lash. [26] They not only inflicted many wounds, but they got the better of the Greek light troops and shut them up within the lines of the hoplites, so that these troops, being mingled with the non-combatants, were entirely useless throughout that day, slingers and bowmen alike. [27] And when the Greeks, hard-pressed as they were, undertook to pursue the attacking force, they reached the hilltop but slowly, being heavy troops, while the enemy sprang quickly out of reach; [28] and every time they returned from a pursuit to join the main army, they suffered again in the same way. On the second hill the same experiences were repeated, and hence after ascending the third hill they decided not to

stir the troops from its crest until they had led up a force of peltasts from the right flank of the square to a position on the mountain. [29] As soon as this force had got above the hostile troops that were hanging upon the Greek rear, the latter desisted from attacking the Greek army in its descent, for fear that they might be cut off and find themselves enclosed on both sides by their foes. [30] In this way the Greeks continued their march for the remainder of the day, the one division by the road leading over the hills while the other followed a parallel course along the mountain slope, and so arrived at the villages. There they appointed eight surgeons, for the wounded were many. [31]

In these villages they remained for three days, not only for the sake of the wounded, but likewise because they had provisions in abundance — flour, wine, and great stores of barley that had been collected for horses, all these supplies having been gathered together by the acting satrap of the district. [32] On the fourth day they proceeded to descend into the plain. But when Tissaphernes and his command overtook them, necessity taught them to encamp in the first village they caught sight of, and not to continue the plan of marching and fighting at the same time; for a large number of the Greeks were hors de combat, not only the wounded, but also those who were carrying them and the men who took in charge the arms of these carriers. [33] When they had encamped, and the barbarians, approaching toward the village, essayed to attack them at long range, the Greeks had much the better of it; for to occupy a position and therefrom ward off an attack was a very different thing from being on the march and fighting with the enemy as they followed after. [34]

As soon as it came to be late in the afternoon, it was time for the enemy to withdraw. For in no instance did the barbarians encamp at a distance of less than sixty stadia from the Greek camp, out of fear that the Greeks might attack them during the night. [35] For a Persian army at night is a sorry thing. Their horses are tethered, and usually hobbled also to prevent their running away if they get loose from the tether, and hence in case of any alarm a Persian has to put saddle-cloth and bridle on his horse, and then has also to put on his own breastplate and mount his horse — and all these things are difficult at night and in the midst of confusion. It was for this reason that the

Persians encamped at a considerable distance from the Greeks. [36]

When the Greeks became aware that they were desirous of withdrawing and were passing the word along, the order to pack up luggage was proclaimed to the Greek troops within hearing of the enemy. For a time the barbarians delayed their setting out, but when it began to grow late, they went off; for they thought it did not pay to be on the march and arriving at their camp in the night. [37] When the Greeks saw at length that they were manifestly departing, they broke camp and took the road themselves, and accomplished a march of no less than sixty stadia. Thus the two armies got so far apart that on the next day the enemy did not appear, nor yet on the third; on the fourth day, however, after pushing forward by night the barbarians occupied a high position on the right of the road by which the Greeks were to pass, a spur of the mountain, namely, along the base of which ran the route leading down into the plain. [38]

As soon as Cheirisophus observed that the spur was already occupied, he summoned Xenophon from the rear, directing him to come to the front and bring the peltasts with him. [39] Xenophon, however, would not bring the peltasts, for he could see Tissaphernes and his whole army coming into view; but he rode forward himself and asked, "Why are you summoning me?" Cheirisophus replied, "It is perfectly evident; the hill overhanging our downward road has been occupied, and there is no getting by unless we dislodge these people. [40] Why did you not bring the peltasts?" Xenophon answered that he had not thought it best to leave the rear unprotected when hostile troops were coming into sight. "Well, at any rate," said Cheirisophus, "it is high time to be thinking how we are to drive these fellows from the height." [41] Then Xenophon observed that the summit of the mountain was close above their own army and that from this summit there was a way of approach to the hill where the enemy were; and he said, "Our best plan, Cheirisophus, is to drive with all speed for the mountain top; for if we once get possession of that, those men above our road will not be able to hold their position. If you choose, then, stay in command of the army, and I will go; or, if you prefer, you make for the mountain top, and I will stay here." [42] "Well," said Cheirisophus, "I leave it to you to choose whichever part you wish." Then Xenophon, with the remark that he was the

younger, elected to go, but he urged Cheirisophus to send with him some troops from the front; for it would have been too long a journey to bring up men from the rear. [43] Cheirisophus accordingly sent with him the peltasts at the front, replacing them with those that were inside the square; he also ordered the three hundred picked men under his own command at the front of the square to join Xenophon's force. [44]

Then they set out with all possible speed. But no sooner had the enemy upon the hill observed their dash for the summit of the mountain than they also set off, to race with the Greeks for this summit. [45] Then there was a deal of shouting from the Greek army as they urged on their friends, and just as much shouting from Tissaphernes' troops to urge on their men. [46] And Xenophon, riding along the lines upon his horse, cheered his troops forward: "My good men," he said, "believe that now you are racing for Greece, racing this very hour back to your wives and children, a little toil for this one moment and no more fighting for the rest of our journey." [47] But Soteridas the Sicyonian said: "We are not on an equality, Xenophon; you are riding on horseback, while I am desperately tired with carrying my shield." [48] When Xenophon heard that, he leaped down from his horse and pushed Soteridas out of his place in the line, then took his shield away from him and marched on with it as fast as he could; he had on also, as it happened, his cavalry breastplate, and the result was that he was heavily burdened. And he urged the men in front of him to keep going, while he told those who were behind to pass along by him, for he found it hard to keep up. [49] The rest of the soldiers, however, struck and pelted and abused Soteridas until they forced him to take back his shield and march on. Then Xenophon remounted, and as long as riding was possible, led the way on horseback, but when the ground became too difficult, he left his horse behind and hurried forward on foot. And they reached the summit before the enemy.

5. Then it was that the barbarians turned about and fled, every man for himself, while the Greeks held possession of the summit. As for the troops under Tissaphernes and Ariaeus, they turned off by another road and were gone; and the army under Cheirisophus descended into the plain and proceeded to encamp in a village stored

with abundant supplies. There were likewise many other villages richly stored with supplies in this plain on the banks of the Tigris. [2] When it came to be late in the day, all of a sudden the enemy appeared in the plain and cut to pieces some of the Greeks who were scattered about there in quest of plunder; in fact, many herds of cattle had been captured while they were being taken across to the other side of the river. [3] Then Tissaphernes and his followers attempted to burn the villages; and some of the Greeks got exceedingly despondent, out of apprehension that they would not have a place from which to get provisions in case the enemy should succeed in this attempt. [4] Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his men, who had gone to the rescue of the plunderers, were returning; and when Xenophon had come down from the mountain, he rode along the lines upon falling in with the Greeks of the rescuing party and said: [5] "Do you observe, men of Greece, that they admit the country is now ours? For while they stipulated when they made the treaty that there should be no burning of the King's territory, now they are doing that very thing themselves, as though the land were another's. At any rate, if they leave supplies anywhere for their own use, they shall behold us also proceeding to that spot. [6] But, Cheirisophus," he went on, "it seems to me that we ought to sally forth against these incendiaries, like men defending their own country." "Well, it doesn't seem so to me," said Cheirisophus; "rather, let us set about burning ourselves, and then they will stop the sooner." [7]

When they had come to their quarters, the troops were busy about provisions, but the generals and captains gathered in council. And here there was great despondency. For on one side of them were exceedingly high mountains and on the other side a river so deep that not even their spears reached above water when they tried its depth. [8] In the midst of their perplexity a Rhodian came to them and said: "I stand ready, gentlemen, to set you across the river, four thousand hoplites at a time, if you will provide me with the means that I require and give me a talent for pay." [9] Upon being asked what his requirements were, he replied: "I shall need two thousand skins. I see plenty of sheep and goats and cattle and asses; take off their skins and blow them up, and they would easily provide the means of crossing. [10] I shall want also the girths which you use on the beasts

of burden; with these I shall tie the skins to one another and also moor each skin by fastening stones to the girths and letting them down into the water like anchors; then I shall carry the line of skins across the river, make it fast at both ends, and pile on brushwood and earth. [11] As for your not sinking, then, you may be sure in an instant on that point, for every skin will keep two men from sinking; [12] and as regards slipping, the brushwood and the earth will prevent that.” After hearing these words the generals thought that while the idea was a clever one, the execution of it was impossible. For there were people on the other side of the river to thwart it, a large force of horsemen, namely, who at the very outset would prevent the first comers from carrying out any part of the plan. [13]

Under these circumstances they marched all the next day in the reverse direction, going back to the unburned villages, after burning the one from which they withdrew. The result was that, instead of making an attack, the enemy merely gazed at the Greeks, and appeared to be wondering where in the world they would turn and what they had in mind. [14] At the close of the day, while the rest of the army went after provisions, the generals held another meeting, at which they brought together the prisoners that had been taken and enquired of them about each district of all the surrounding country. [15] The prisoners said that the region to the south lay on the road towards Babylon and Media, the identical province they had just passed through; that the road to the eastward led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the King is said to spend his summers; across the river and on to the west was the way to Lydia and Ionia; while the route through the mountains and northward led to the country of the Carduchians. [16] These Carduchians, they said, dwelt up among the mountains, were a warlike people, and were not subjects of the King; in fact, a royal army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had once invaded them, and, by reason of the ruggedness of the country, not a man of all that number came back. Still, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of the people of the plain did have dealings with the Carduchians and some of the Carduchians with them. [17]

After listening to these statements from the men who claimed to know the way in every direction, the generals caused them to

withdraw, without giving them the least clue as to the direction in which they proposed to march. The opinion of the generals however, was that they must make their way through the mountains into the country of the Carduchians; for the prisoners said that after passing through this country they would come to Armenia, the large and prosperous province of which Orontas was ruler; and from there, they said, it was easy to go in any direction one chose. [18] Thereupon the generals offered sacrifice, so that they could begin the march at the moment they thought best — for they feared that the pass over the mountains might be occupied in advance; and they issued orders that when the troops had dined, every man should pack up his belongings and go to rest, and then fall into line as soon as the word of command was given.

BOOK IV.

1. [The preceding narrative has described all that took place on the upward march until the time of the battle, all that happened after the battle during the truce concluded by the King and the Greeks who had made the upward march in company with Cyrus, and likewise the whole course of the warfare carried on against the Greeks after the King and Tissaphernes had broken the truce, when the Persian army was hanging upon the Greek rear. [2] When the Greeks finally reached a point where the Tigris river was quite impassable by reason of its depth and width, and where there was no passage-way alongside the river, since the Carduchian mountains hung sheer and close above it, the generals were forced to the conclusion that they must make their way through the mountains. [3] For they heard from the prisoners who were taken that once they had passed through the Carduchian mountains and reached Armenia, they could there cross the headwaters of the Tigris river, if they so desired, or, if they preferred, could go round them. They were also informed that the headwaters of the Euphrates were not far from those of the Tigris, — and such is indeed the case. [4] Now they conducted their invasion of the country of the Carduchians in the following way, since they were seeking not only to escape observation, but at the same time to reach the heights before the enemy could take possession of them.] [5]

When it was about the last watch, and enough of the night remained to allow them to cross the plain in the dark, at that time they arose upon the word of command and set out on their march; and they reached the mountain at daybreak. [6] Here Cheirisophus, with his own division and all the light-armed troops, led the van, while Xenophon followed behind with the hoplites of the rearguard, but without any light troops at all; for there seemed to be no danger of any pursuit from behind while they were proceeding uphill. [7] And Cheirisophus reached the summit of the pass before any of the enemy perceived him; then he led on slowly, and each division of the army as it passed over the summit followed along to the villages which lay in the hollows and nooks of the mountains. [8] Then it was that the Carduchians abandoned their houses and fled to the mountains with

their wives and children. As for provisions, there was an abundance for the Greeks to take, and the houses were also supplied with bronze vessels in great numbers; the Greeks, however, did not carry off any of these, and did not pursue the people themselves, refraining from harshness on the chance that the Carduchians might perhaps be willing to let them pass through their country in friendship, seeing that they also were enemies of the King; [9] but they did take whatever they chanced upon in the way of provisions, for that was necessary. The Carduchians, however, would neither listen when they called to them nor give any other sign of friendliness. [10] And when the rearguard of the Greeks was descending from the summit of the pass to the villages — and by this time it was dark, for on account of the road being narrow their ascent and descent lasted through the entire day — at this moment some of the Carduchians gathered together and attacked the hindmost Greeks; and they killed some and wounded others severely with stones and arrows, though they were themselves but few in number; for the Greek army had come upon them unexpectedly. [11] If, however, a larger number of them had gathered together at that time, a great part of the army would have been in danger of being destroyed. Thus the Greeks bivouacked for that night in the villages, while the Carduchians kindled many fires round about upon the mountains and kept shouting to one another. [12]

At daybreak the generals and captains of the Greeks came together and resolved to keep with them on the march only the indispensable and most powerful baggage animals and to leave the rest behind; likewise, to let go all the newly-taken captives that were in the army, to the last man. [13] For the baggage animals and the captives, numerous as they were, made the march slow, and the large number of men who had charge of them were thus taken out of the fighting line; besides, with so many people to feed it was necessary to procure and to carry twice the amount of provisions. This decision once reached, they published the order to carry it into effect. [14]

When they had breakfasted and were setting out upon the march, the generals quietly stationed men in the defile and proceeded to take away from the troops such of the things specified as had not been given up if they found any; and the soldiers submitted, except in

cases where a man had smuggled through a handsome boy or woman, for example, that he had set his heart upon. So they went on for that day, now fighting a little and now resting. [15] On the next day there was a heavy storm, but they had to continue their march, for they had not an adequate supply of provisions; and Cheirisophus led the way while Xenophon commanded the rearguard. [16] Here the enemy began a vigorous attack, and in the narrow places on the road came close up to discharge their bows and slings. The result was that the Greeks were forced to give chase and then fall back, and hence made but slow progress; and time after time, when the enemy pressed them hard, Xenophon would send word to Cheirisophus to wait a little. [17] Now while Cheirisophus was accustomed to wait whenever such word was given, on this occasion he did not do so, but led on rapidly and passed back the order to keep up with him. It was evident, therefore, that something was the matter, but there was no time to go forward and find out the reason for his haste; consequently the progress of the rearguard became more like a flight than a march. [18] Then it was that a brave man was killed, Leonymus the Laconian, who was pierced in the side by an arrow that went through his shield and cuirass; also Basias the Arcadian, who was shot clean through the head. [19]

As soon as they reached a halting place, Xenophon went straight to Cheirisophus, just as he was, and proceeded to reproach him for not waiting, but compelling them to flee and fight at the same time; "and now," he went on, "two fine, brave fellows have lost their lives, and we were not able to pick up their bodies or bury them." [20] Cheirisophus' reply was, "Take a look," said he, "at the mountains, and observe how impassable all of them are. The only road is the one there, which you see, a steep one, too, and on that you can see the great crowd of people who have taken possession of it and are guarding our way out. [21] That's the reason why I was hurrying and why I would not wait for you, for I hoped to reach the pass and occupy it before they did. The guides that we have say there is no other road." [22] And Xenophon answered, "Well, I also have two men. For at the time when the enemy were giving us trouble, we set an ambush. It allowed us, for one thing, to catch our breath; but, besides, we killed a number of them, and we took especial pains to

get some prisoners for this very purpose, of being able to employ as guides men who know the country.” [23]

They brought up the two men at once and questioned them separately as to whether they knew any other road besides the one that was in plain sight. The first man said he did not, despite all the numerous threats that were made to him; and since he would give no information, he was slaughtered before the eyes of the second one. [24] The latter now said that the reason why this first man had maintained that he did not know any other road, was because he chanced to have a daughter living in that neighbourhood with a husband to whom he had given her; but as for himself, he said that he would lead the Greeks by a road that could be traversed even by baggage animals. [25] Upon being asked whether there was any point on it which was difficult to pass, he replied that there was a height which they could not possibly pass unless they should seize it beforehand. [26]

Thereupon it was decided to call together the captains, both of peltasts and hoplites, to set forth to them the existing situation, and to ask if there was any one among them who would like to prove himself a brave man and to undertake this expedition as a volunteer. [27] Volunteers came forward, from the hoplites Aristonymus of Methydrium and Agasias of Stymphalus, while in rivalry with them Callimachus of Parrhasia said that he was ready to make the expedition and take with him volunteers from the entire army; “for I know,” he continued, “that many of the young men will follow if I am in the lead.” [28] Then they asked whether any one among the captains of light troops wanted to join in the march. The volunteer was Aristetas of Chios, who on many occasions proved himself valuable to the army for such services.

2. It was now late afternoon, and they ordered the volunteers to take a snatch of food and set out. They also bound the guide and turned him over to the volunteers, and made an agreement with them that in case they should capture the height, they were to guard it through the night and give a signal at daybreak with the trumpet; then those on the height were to proceed against the Carduchians who were holding the visible way out, while the main army was to come to their support, pushing forward as fast as it could. [2] This

agreement concluded, the volunteers, about two thousand in number, set out on their march; and there was a heavy downpour of rain; at the same time Xenophon with the rearguard began advancing toward the visible way out, in order that the enemy might be giving their attention to that road and that the party taking the roundabout route might, so far as possible, escape observation. [3] But as soon as the troops of the rearguard were at a gorge which they had to cross before marching up the steep hill, at that moment the barbarians began to roll down round stones large enough for a wagon-load, with larger and smaller ones also; they came down with a crash upon the rocks below and the fragments of them flew in all directions, so that it was quite impossible even to approach the ascending road. [4] Then some of the captains, unable to proceed by this route, would try another, and they kept this up until darkness came on. It was not until they imagined that their withdrawal would be unobserved that they went back to dinner — and it chanced that they had had no breakfast either. The enemy, however, never stopped rolling down their stones all through the night, as one could judge from the noise. [5]

Meanwhile the party with the guide, proceeding by a roundabout route, found the guards sitting around a fire, and after killing some of them and chasing away the others they remained at the post themselves, supposing that they held the height. [6] In fact, they were not holding it, for it was a round hill above them and past it ran this narrow road upon which the guards had been sitting. Nevertheless, from the place they did hold there was a way of approach to the spot, upon the visible road, where the main body of the enemy were stationed. [7] At this place, then, they passed the night, and when day was beginning to break, they took up their march silently in battle array against the enemy; for there was a mist, and consequently they got close up to them without being observed. When they did catch sight of one another, the trumpet sounded and the Greeks raised the battle cry and rushed upon the enemy. And the Carduchians did not meet their attack, but abandoned the road and took to flight; only a few of them, however, were killed, for they were agile fellows. [8] Meanwhile Cheirisophus and his command, hearing the trumpet, charged immediately up the visible road; and some of the other generals made their way without following any road from the points

where they severally chanced to be and, clambering up as best they could, pulled one another up with their spears; [9] and it was they who were first to join the troops that had already gained possession of the place.

But Xenophon with half the rearguard set out by the same route which the party with the guide had followed, because this was the easiest route for the baggage animals; and behind the baggage animals he posted the other half of the rearguard. [10] As they proceeded they came upon a hill above the road which had been seized by the enemy, and found themselves compelled either to dislodge them or be completely separated from the rest of the Greeks; and while, so far as the troops themselves were concerned, they might have taken the same route that the rest followed, the baggage animals could not get through by any other road than this one by which Xenophon was proceeding. [11] Then and there, accordingly, with words of cheer to one another, they charged upon the hill with their companies in column, not surrounding it, but leaving the enemy a way of retreat in case they chose to use it. [12] For a while, as the Greeks were climbing up by whatever way they severally could, the barbarians discharged arrows and other missiles upon them; they did not let them get near, however, but took to flight and abandoned the place. No sooner had the Greeks passed by this hill, than they saw a second one ahead similarly occupied by the enemy, and decided to proceed against this one in its turn. [13] Xenophon, however, becoming apprehensive lest, if he should leave unoccupied the hill he had just captured, the enemy might take possession of it again and attack the baggage train as it passed (and the train stretched out a long way because of the narrowness of the road it was following), left three captains upon the hill, Cephisodorus, son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, Amphicrates, son of Amphidemus, also an Athenian, and Archagoras, an Argive exile; while he himself with the rest of the troops proceeded against the second hill, which they captured in the same fashion as the first. [14]

There still remained a third round hill, far the steepest of them all, the one that rose above the guard post, by the fire, which had been captured during the night by the volunteers. [15] But when the Greeks got near this hill, the barbarians abandoned it without striking a blow,

so that everybody was filled with surprise and imagined that they had quit the place out of fear that they might be surrounded and blockaded. As it proved, however, they had seen, looking down from their height, what was going on farther back, and were all setting out to attack the Greek rearguard. [16] Meanwhile Xenophon proceeded to climb the abandoned height with his youngest troops, ordering the rest to move on slowly in order that the hindmost companies might catch up; then they were to advance along the road and halt under arms on the plateau at the top of the pass. [17]

At this time Archagoras the Argive came up in flight and reported that the Greeks had been dislodged from the first hill, that Cephisodorus and Amphicrates had been killed, and likewise all the rest except such as had leaped down the rocks and reached the rearguard. [18] After accomplishing this achievement the barbarians came to a hill opposite the round hill, and Xenophon, through an interpreter, held a colloquy with them in regard to a truce and asked them to give back the bodies of the Greek dead. [19] They replied that they would give them back on condition that the Greeks should not burn their houses. To this Xenophon agreed. But while the rest of the army was passing by and they were engaged in this conference, all the enemy from that neighbourhood had streamed together to the spot; [20] and as soon as Xenophon and his men began to descend from the round hill, in order to join the rest of the Greeks at the place where they were halted under arms, the enemy took this opportunity to rush upon them in great force and with a great deal of uproar. When they had reached the crest of the hill from which Xenophon was descending, they proceeded to roll down stones. They broke one man's leg, and Xenophon found himself deserted by the servant who was carrying his shield; [21] but Eurylochus of Lusi, a hoplite, ran up to him and, keeping his shield held out in front of them both, fell back with him; and the rest also made good their retreat to the main array. [22]

Then the entire Greek army united, and the troops took up quarters there in many fine houses and in the midst of abundant supplies; for the inhabitants had wine in such quantities that they kept it in cemented cisterns. [23] Meanwhile Xenophon and Cheirisophus effected an arrangement by which they recovered the

bodies of their dead and gave back the guide; and they rendered to the dead, so far as their means permitted, all the usual honours that are paid to brave men. [24]

On the next day they continued their march without a guide, while the enemy, by fighting and by seizing positions in advance wherever the road was narrow, tried to prevent their passage. [25] Accordingly, whenever they blocked the march of the van, Xenophon would push forward from the rear to the mountains and break the blockade of the road for the van by trying to get higher than those who were halting it, [26] and whenever they attacked the rear, Cheirisophus would sally forth and, by trying to get higher than the obstructing force, would break the blockade of the passage-way for the rear; in this way they continually aided one another and took zealous care for one another. [27] There were times, indeed, when the barbarians caused a great deal of trouble even to the troops who had climbed to a higher position, when they were coming down again; for their men were so agile that even if they took to flight from close at hand, they could escape; for they had nothing to carry except bows and slings. [28] As bowmen they were most excellent; they had bows nearly three cubits long and their arrows were more than two cubits, and when they shot, they would draw their strings by pressing with the left foot against the lower end of the bow; and their arrows would go straight through shields and breastplates. Whenever they got hold of them, the Greeks would use these arrows as javelins, fitting them with thongs. In these regions the Cretans made themselves exceedingly useful. They were commanded by a Cretan named Stratocles.

3. For that day again they found quarters in the villages that lie above the plain bordering the Centrites river, which is about two plethra in width and separates Armenia and the country of the Carduchians. There the Greeks took breath, glad to behold a plain; for the river was distant six or seven stadia from the mountains of the Carduchians. [2] At the time, then, they went into their quarters very happily, for they had provisions and likewise many recollections of the hardships that were now past. For during all the seven days of their march through the land of the Carduchians they were continually fighting, and they suffered more evils than all which they had suffered taken together at the hands of the King and

Tissaphernes. In the feeling, therefore, that they were rid of these troubles they lay down happily to rest. [3]

At daybreak, however, they caught sight of horsemen at a place across the river, fully armed and ready to dispute their passage, and likewise foot-soldiers drawn up in line of battle upon the bluffs above the horsemen, to prevent their pushing up into Armenia. [4] All these were the troops of Orontas and Artuchas, and consisted of Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldaean mercenaries. The Chaldaeans were said to be an independent and valiant people; they had as weapons long wicker shields and lances. [5] Now the bluffs just mentioned, upon which these troops were drawn up, were distant three or four plethra from the river, and there was only one road to be seen that led up them, apparently an artificial road; so at this point the Greeks undertook to cross the river. [6] When they made the attempt, however, the water proved to be more than breast deep and the river bed was rough with large, slippery stones; furthermore, they could not carry their shields in the water, for if they tried that, the current would snatch them away, while if a man carried them on his head, his body was left unprotected against arrows and other missiles; so they turned back and went into camp there by the side of the river. [7] Meanwhile, at the point where they had themselves spent the previous night, on the mountain side, they could see the Carduchians gathered together under arms in great numbers. Then it was that deep despondency fell upon the Greeks, as they saw before them a river difficult to cross, beyond it troops that would obstruct their crossing, and behind them the Carduchians, ready to fall upon their rear when they tried to cross. [8]

That day and night, accordingly, they remained there, in great perplexity. But Xenophon had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that the fetters fell off from him of their own accord, so that he was released and could take as long steps as he pleased. When dawn came, he went to Cheirisophus, told him he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. [9] Cheirisophus was pleased, and as soon as day began to break, all the generals were at hand and proceeded to offer sacrifices. And with the very first victim the omens were favourable. Then the generals and captains withdrew from the sacrifice and gave orders to the troops to get their

breakfasts. [10]

While Xenophon was breakfasting, two young men came running up to him; for all knew that they might go to him whether he was breakfasting or dining, and that if he were asleep, they might awaken him and tell him whatever they might have to tell that concerned the war. [11] In the present case the young men reported that they had happened to be gathering dry sticks for the purpose of making a fire, and that while so occupied they had descried across the river, among some rocks that reached down to the very edge of the river, an old man and a woman and some little girls putting away what looked like bags of clothes in a cavernous rock. [12] When they saw this proceeding, they said, they made up their minds that it was safe for them to cross, for this was a place that was not accesible to the enemy's cavalry. They accordingly stripped, keeping only their daggers, and started across naked, supposing that they would have to swim; but they went on and got across without wetting themselves up to the middle; once on the other side, they took the clothes and came back again. [13]

Upon hearing this report Xenophon immediately proceeded to pour a libation himself, and directed his attendants to fill a cup for the young men and to pray to the gods who had revealed the dream and the ford, to bring to fulfilment the other blessings also. The libation accomplished, he at once led the young men to Cheirisophus, and they repeated their story to him. [14] And upon hearing it Cheirisophus also made libation. Thereafter they gave orders to the troops to pack up their baggage, while they themselves called together the generals and took counsel as to how they might best effect a crossing so as to defeat the enemy in front without suffering any harm from those in their rear. [15] The decision was, that Cheirisophus should take the lead with half the army and attempt a crossing, that the other half with Xenophon should stay behind for a while, and that the baggage animals and camp followers should cross between the two divisions. [16]

When these arrangements had been satisfactorily made, they set out, the young men leading the way and keeping the river on the left; and the distance to the ford was about four stadia. [17] As they proceeded, the squadrons of the enemy's cavalry kept along opposite

to them. When they reached the ford, they halted under arms, and Cheirisophus put a wreath upon his head, threw off his cloak, and took up his arms, giving orders to all the others to do the same; he also directed the captains to lead their companies in column, part of them upon his left and the rest upon his right. Meanwhile the soothsayers were offering sacrifice to the river, [18] and the enemy were shooting arrows and discharging slings, [19] but not yet reaching their mark; and when the sacrifices proved favourable, all the soldiers struck up the paean and raised the war shout, while the women, everyone of them, joined their cries with the shouting of the men — for there were a large number of women in the camp. [20]

Then Cheirisophus and his division proceeded into the river; but Xenophon took the nimblest troops of the rearguard and began running back at full speed to the ford that was opposite the road which led out into the Armenian mountains, pretending that he meant to cross at that point and thus cut off the horsemen who were by the side of the river. [21] The enemy thereupon, when they saw Cheirisophus and his division crossing the river without difficulty and likewise saw Xenophon and his men running back, were seized with fear that they might be cut off, and they fled at full speed to reach the road which led up from the river. This road once gained, they hastened on upward in the direction of the mountain. [22] Then Lycius, who commanded the squadron of Greek cavalry, and Aeschines, commander of the battalion of peltasts that was with Cheirisophus, upon seeing the enemy in full flight set off in pursuit, while the rest of the Greek troops shouted to them not to fall behind, but to follow the fugitives right up to the mountain. [23] As for Cheirisophus, after getting across he chose not to pursue the hostile cavalry, but immediately pushed up over the bluffs that reached down to the river against the infantry on top of them. And these troops, seeing their own cavalry in flight and hoplites advancing upon them, abandoned the heights above the river. [24]

Xenophon no sooner saw that all was going well on the other side than he started back with all speed to join the troops that were crossing, for by this time the Carduchians could be seen descending into the plain with the manifest intention of attacking the hindmost. [25] Meanwhile Cheirisophus was in possession of the bluffs, and

Lycius, venturing a pursuit with his small squadron, had captured the straggling portion of the enemy's baggage train, and with it fine apparel and drinking cups. [26] And now, with the Greek baggage train and the camp followers in the very act of crossing, Xenophon wheeled his troops so that they took a position facing the Carduchians, and gave orders to the captains that each man of them should form his own company by squads, moving each squad by the left into line of battle; then the captains and squad leaders were to face toward the Carduchians and station file closers on the side next to the river. [27] But as soon as the Carduchians saw the rearguard stripped of the crowd of camp followers and looking now like a small body, they advanced to the attack all the more rapidly, singing a kind of songs. As for Cheirisophus, since everything was safe on his side, he sent back to Xenophon the peltasts, slingers, and bowmen, and directed them to do whatever Xenophon might order. [28] But when he saw them beginning to cross, Xenophon sent a messenger and directed them to stay where they were, on the bank of the river, without crossing; at the moment, however, when his own men should begin to cross, they were to enter the river opposite them, on this side and that, as though they were going to cross it, the javelin men with hand on the thong and the bowmen with arrow on the string; but they were not to proceed far into the river. [29] The orders he gave to his own men were, that when sling-stones reached them and shields rang, they were to strike up the paean and charge upon the enemy, and when the enemy turned to flight and the trumpeter on the river-bank sounded the charge, they were to face about to the right, the file closers were to take the lead, and all of them were to run and cross as fast as they could with every man keeping his proper place in the line, so that they should not interfere with one another; and he that got to the other side first would be the best man. [30]

Now the Carduchians, seeing that those who were left were by this time few in number (for many even of those detailed to stay had gone off to look after pack animals or baggage or women, as the case might be), at that moment proceeded to press upon them boldly and began to sling stones and shoot arrows. [31] Then the Greeks struck up the paean and charged at them on the run, and they did not meet the

attack; for while they were equipped well enough for attack and retreat in the mountains, their equipment was not adequate for hand-to-hand fighting. [32] At that instant the Greek trumpeter sounded his signal; and while the enemy began to flee much faster than before, the Greeks turned about and set out on their own flight through the river at top speed. [33] Some few of the enemy, perceiving this movement, ran back to the river and wounded a few Greeks with arrows, but most of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, could still be seen continuing their flight. [34] But the troops that came to meet Xenophon, behaving like men and advancing farther than they should have gone, crossed back again in the rear of Xenophon's command; and some of them also were wounded.

4. When they had accomplished the crossing, they formed in line of battle about midday and marched through Armenia, over entirely level country and gently sloping hills, not less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river because of the wars between the Armenians and Carduchians. [2] The village which they finally reached was a large one and had a palace for the satrap, while most of the houses were surmounted by turrets; and provisions were plentiful. [3] From there they marched two stages, ten parasangs, until they passed the headwaters of the Tigris river. From there they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, to the Teleboas river. This was a beautiful river, though not a large one, and there were many villages about it. [4] This region was called Western Armenia. Its lieutenant-governor was Tiribazus, who had proved himself a friend to the King and, so often as he was present, was the only man permitted to help the King mount his horse. [5] He rode up to the Greeks with a body of horsemen, and sending forward an interpreter, said that he wished to confer with their commanders. The generals decided to hear what he had to say, and, after approaching within hearing distance, they asked him what he wanted. [6] He replied that he wished to conclude a treaty with these conditions, that he on his side would not harm the Greeks, and that they should not burn the houses, but might take all the provisions they needed. This proposition was accepted by the generals, and they concluded a treaty on these terms. [7]

From there they marched three stages, fifteen parasangs, through

level country, Tiribazus and his command following along at a distance of about ten stadia from them; and they reached a palace with many villages round about it full of provisions in abundance. [8] While they were in camp there, there was a heavy fall of snow during the night, and in the morning they decided to quarter the several divisions of the army, with their commanders, in the different villages; for there was no enemy within sight, and the plan seemed to be a safe one by reason of the great quantity of snow. [9] There they had all possible good things in the way of supplies — animals for sacrifice, grain, old wines with a fine bouquet, dried grapes, and beans of all sorts. But some men who straggled away from their quarters reported that they saw in the night the gleam of a great many fires. [10] The generals accordingly decided that it was unsafe to have their divisions in separate quarters, and that they must bring all the troops together again; so they came together, especially as the storm seemed to be clearing up. [11] But there came such a tremendous fall of snow while they were bivouacked there that it completely covered both the arms and the men as they slept, besides hampering the baggage animals; and everybody was very reluctant to get up, for as the men lay there the snow that had fallen upon them — in case it did not slip off — was a source of warmth. [12] But once Xenophon had mustered the courage to get up without his cloak and set about splitting wood, another man also speedily got up, took the axe away from him, and went on with the splitting. Thereupon still others got up and proceeded to build fires and anoint themselves; [13] for they found ointment there in abundance which they used in place of olive oil — made of pork fat, sesame, bitter almonds, or turpentine. They found also a fragrant oil made out of these same ingredients. [14]

After this it was deemed necessary to distribute the troops again to quarters in the houses of the several villages. Then followed plenty of joyful shouting as the men went back to their houses and provisions, and all those who just before had wantonly burned the houses they were leaving, paid the penalty by getting poor quarters. [15] After this they sent Democrates of Temnus with a body of troops during the night to the mountains where the stragglers said they had seen the fires; for this Democrates enjoyed the reputation of having made accurate reports in many previous cases of the same sort,

describing what were facts as facts and what were fictions as fictions. [16] Upon his return he stated that he had not seen the fires; he had captured, however, and brought back with him a man with a Persian bow and quiver and a battleaxe of the same sort that Amazons carry. [17] When this man was asked from what country he came, he said he was a Persian and was on his way from the camp of Tiribazus to get provisions. They asked him how large Tiribazus' army was and for what purpose it had been gathered. [18] He replied that it was Tiribazus with his own forces and Chalybian and Taochian mercenaries, and that he had made his preparations with the idea of taking a position upon the mountain pass, in the defile through which ran the only road, and there attacking the Greeks. [19]

When the generals heard these statements, they resolved to bring the troops together into a camp; then, after leaving a garrison and Sophænētus the Stymphalian as general in command of those who stayed behind, they set out at once, with the captured man as guide. [20] As soon as they had begun to cross the mountains, the peltasts, pushing on ahead and descrying the enemy's camp, did not wait for the hoplites, but raised a shout and charged upon the camp. [21] When the barbarians heard the uproar, they did not wait to offer resistance, but took to flight; nevertheless, some of them were killed, about twenty horses were captured, and likewise Tiribazus' tent, with silver-footed couches in it, and drinking cups, and people who said they were his bakers and his cup-bearers. [22] As soon as the generals of the hoplites learned of these results, they deemed it best to go back as speedily as possible to their own camp, lest some attack might be made upon those they had left behind. So they immediately sounded the recall with the trumpet and set out on the return journey, arriving at their camp on the same day.

5. On the next day it seemed that they must continue their march with all speed, before the hostile army could be gathered together again and take possession of the narrow passes. They accordingly packed up and set out at once, marching through deep snow with a large number of guides; and before the day ended they crossed over the summit at which Tiribazus was intending to attack them and went into camp. [2] From there they marched three stages through desert country, fifteen parasangs, to the Euphrates river, and crossed it,

wetting themselves up to the navel; [3] and report was that the sources of the river were not far distant.

From there they marched over a plain and through deep snow three stages, thirteen parasangs. The third stage proved a hard one, with the north wind, which blew full in their faces, absolutely blasting everything and freezing the men. [4] Then it was that one of the soothsayers bade them offer sacrifice to the wind, and sacrifice was offered; and it seemed quite clear to everybody that the violence of the wind abated. But the depth of the snow was a fathom, so that many of the baggage animals and slaves perished, and about thirty of the soldiers. [5] They got through that night by keeping up fires, for there was wood in abundance at the halting-place; those who came up late, however, had none, and consequently the men who had arrived early and were keeping a fire would not allow the late comers to get near it unless they gave them a share of their wheat or anything else they had that was edible. [6] So then they shared with one another what they severally possessed. Now where the fire was kindled the snow melted, and the result was great holes clear down to the ground; and there, of course, one could measure the depth of the snow. [7]

From there they marched all the following day through snow, and many of the men fell ill with hunger-faintness. And Xenophon, with the rear-guard, as he came upon the men who were falling by the way, did not know what the trouble was. [8] But as soon as a person who was acquainted with the disease had told him that they manifestly had hunger-faintness, and if they were given something to eat would be able to get up, he went around among the baggage animals, and wherever he saw anything that was edible, he would distribute it among the sick men, or send hither and thither people who had the strength to run along the lines, to give it to them. [9] And when they had eaten something, they would get up and continue the march.

As the army went on, Cheirisophus reached a village about dusk, and found at the spring outside the wall women and girls who had come from the village to fetch water. [10] They asked the Greeks who they were, and the interpreter replied in Persian that they were on their way from the King to the satrap. The women answered that he

was not there, but about a parasang away. Then, inasmuch as it was late, the Greeks accompanied the water-carriers within the wall to visit the village chief. [11] So it was that Cheirisophus and all the troops who could muster strength enough to reach the village, went into quarters there, but such of the others as were unable to complete the journey spent the night in the open without food or fire; and in this way some of the soldiers perished. [12]

Meanwhile they were being followed by the enemy, some of whom had banded together and were seizing such of the pack animals as lacked the strength to go on, and fighting over them with one another. Some of the soldiers likewise were falling behind — those whose eyes had been blinded by the snow, or whose toes had rotted off by reason of the cold. [13] It was a protection to the eyes against the snow if a man marched with something black in front of them, and a protection to the feet if one kept moving and never quiet, and if he took off his shoes for the night; [14] but in all cases where men slept with their shoes on, the straps sunk into their flesh and the shoes froze on their feet; for what they were wearing, since their old shoes had given out, were brogues made of freshly flayed ox-hides. [15]

It was under compulsion of such difficulties that some of the soldiers were falling behind; and espying a spot that was dark because the snow just there had disappeared, they surmised that it had melted; and in fact it had melted, on account of a spring which was near by, steaming in a dell; here they turned aside and sat down, refusing to go any farther. [16] But when Xenophon with some of the rearguard observed them, he begged them by all manner of means not to be left behind, telling them that a large body of the enemy had gathered and were pursuing, and finally he became angry. They told him, however, to kill them, for they could not go on. [17] In this situation it seemed to be best to frighten the pursuing enemy, if they could, in order to prevent their falling upon the sick men. It was dark by this time, and the enemy were coming on with a great uproar, quarrelling over the booty they had. [18] Then the men of the rearguard, since they were sound and well, started up and charged upon the enemy, while the invalids raised as big a shout as they could and clashed their shields against their spears. And the enemy, seized

with fear, threw themselves down over the snow into the dell, and not a sound was heard from them afterwards. [19]

Thereupon Xenophon and his men, after telling the invalids that on the next day people would come back after them, continued their march, but before they had gone four stadia they came upon their comrades lying down in the road upon the snow, wrapped up in their cloaks, and without so much as a single guard posted. They tried to get them up, but the men said that the troops in front would not make way for them. [20] Xenophon accordingly passed along and, sending forward the strongest of the peltasts, directed them to see what the hindrance was. They reported back that the whole army was resting in this way. [21] Thereupon Xenophon also and his party bivouacked where they were, without a fire and without dinner, after stationing such guards as they could. When it came toward morning, Xenophon sent the youngest of his troops to the sick men with orders to make them get up and force them to proceed. [22]

Meanwhile Cheirisophus sent some of the troops quartered in the village to find out how the people at the rear were faring. Xenophon's party were glad enough to see them, and turned over the invalids to them to carry on to the camp, while they themselves continued their journey, and before completing twenty stadia reached the village where Cheirisophus was quartered. [23] When all had come together, the generals decided that it was safe for the different divisions of the army to take up quarters in the several villages. Cheirisophus accordingly remained where he was, while the other generals distributed by lot the villages within sight, and all set off with their respective commands. [24] Then it was that Polycrates, and Athenian captain, asked to be detached from his division; and with an active group of men he ran to the village which had fallen to Xenophon's lot and there took possession of all the villagers, the village chief included, seventeen colts which were being reared for tribute to the King, and the village chief's daughter, who had been married eight days before; her husband, however, was off hunting hares, and was not taken in the village. [25]

The houses here were underground, with a mouth like that of a well, but spacious below; and while entrances were tunnelled down for the beasts of burden, the human inhabitants descended by a

ladder. In the houses were goats, sheep, cattle, fowls, and their young; and all the animals were reared and took their fodder there in the houses. [26] Here were also wheat, barley, and beans, and barleywine in large bowls. Floating on the top of this drink were the barley-grains and in it were straws, some larger and others smaller, without joints; [27] and when one was thirsty, he had to take these straws into his mouth and suck. It was an extremely strong drink unless one diluted it with water, and extremely good when one was used to it. [28]

Xenophon made the chief man of this village his guest at dinner and bade him be of good cheer, telling him that he should not be deprived of his children, and that before they went away they would fill his house with provisions by way of reward in case he should prove to have given the army good guidance until they should reach another tribe. [29] He promised to do this, and in a spirit of kindness told them where there was wine buried. For that night, then, all Xenophon's soldiers, in this village where they were thus separately quartered, went to bed amid an abundance of everything, keeping the village chief under guard and his children all together within sight. [30]

On the next day Xenophon took the village chief and set out to visit Cheirisophus; whenever he passed a village, he would turn aside to visit the troops quartered there, and everywhere he found them faring sumptuously and in fine spirits; there was no place from which the men would let them go until they had served them a luncheon, [31] and no place where they did not serve on the same table lamb, kid, pork, veal, and poultry, together with many loaves of bread, some of wheat and some of barley. [32] And whenever a man wanted out of good fellowship to drink another's health, he would draw him to the bowl, and then one had to stoop over and drink from it, sucking like an ox. To the village chief they offered the privilege of taking whatever he wanted. He declined for the most part to accept anything, but whenever he caught sight of one of his kinsmen, he would always take the man to his side. [33] Again, when they reached Cheirisophus, they found his troops also feasting in their quarters, crowned with wreaths of hay and served by Armenian boys in their strange, foreign dress; and they were showing the boys what to do by

signs, as if they were deaf and dumb. [34]

As soon as Cheirisophus and Xenophon had exchanged warm greetings, they together asked the village chief, through their Persian-speaking interpreter, what this land was. He replied that it was Armenia. They asked him again for whom the horses were being reared. He answered, as tribute for the King; and he said that the neighbouring country was that of the Chalybians, and told them where the road was. [35] Then Xenophon took the village chief back for the time to his own household, and gave him a horse that he had got when it was rather old, to fatten up and sacrifice, for he understood that it was sacred to the Sun-god. He did this out of fear that the horse might die, for it had been injured by the journey; and he took for himself one of the colts and gave his captains also a colt apiece. [36] The horses of this region were smaller than the Persian horses, but very much more spirited. It was here also that the village chief instructed them about wrapping small bags round the feet of their horses and beasts of burden when they were going through the snow; for without these bags the animals would sink in up to their bellies.

6. When seven days had passed, Xenophon gave over the village chief to Cheirisophus to act as guide, leaving his family behind with the exception of his son, who was just coming into the prime of youth; this son he gave into the keeping of Pleisthenes of Amphipolis, in order that the father, if he should serve them well as guide, might take him also back with him. Then, after putting into his house as large a quantity of supplies as they could, they broke camp and set out upon the march. [2] The village chief, who was not bound, guided their way through the snow; but by the time they were on the third stage Cheirisophus got angry with him for not leading them to villages. He replied that there were none in this region. [3] Then Cheirisophus struck him, but neglected to bind him. The result was that he stole away during the night, leaving his son behind. And this was the only cause of difference between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the course of the march, this ill-treatment of the guide and carelessness in not guarding him. Pleisthenes, however, fell in love with the boy, took him home with him, and found him absolutely faithful. [4]

After this they marched seven stages at the rate of five parasangs a day to the Phasis river, which was a plethrum in width. [5] From there they marched two stages, ten parasangs; and on the pass leading over to the plain they encountered a body of Chalybians, Taochians, and Phasians. [6] As soon as Cheirisophus caught sight of the enemy on the pass, he halted, while still at a distance of about thirty stadia, in order not to get near the enemy while his troops were marching in column; and he gave orders to the other officers also to move along their companies so as to bring the army into line of battle. [7] When the rearguard had come up, he called generals and captains together and spoke as follows: "The enemy, as you see, are in possession of the pass over the mountain, and it is time for us to take counsel as to how we can best make our fight. [8] My own view is, that we should give orders to the soldiers to get their breakfast while we ourselves consider whether it is best to attempt to cross over the mountain today or to-morrow." [9] "My opinion is," said Cleanor, "that as soon as we have breakfasted, we should arm ourselves and advance upon these men with all the strength we have. For if we waste this day, not only will the enemy who are now looking at us become bolder, but others, in greater numbers, when these are once emboldened, are likely to join them." [10]

After Cleanor had spoken, Xenophon said: "And I think this way: if it is necessary for us to fight, our preparation should have this end in view, to make the strongest possible fight; but if we wish to effect a passage in the easiest way we can, then, in my opinion, our consideration should be on this point, how we may sustain the fewest wounds and sacrifice the fewest lives. [11] Now this mountain — or the part of it that we see — extends over more than sixty stadia, but as for men to guard it against us, none are to be seen anywhere except on the road above; it is far better, therefore, to turn to the unoccupied part of the mountain and try either to steal a position by eluding the enemy's observation or to seize it by getting ahead of them, in whatever way we can, rather than to fight against strong places and men prepared. [12] For it is far easier to march uphill without fighting than over level ground with enemies on this side and that; one can see what is in front of him more easily by night if he is not fighting than by day if he is fighting; and the rough road is more

comfortable to men who are going over it without fighting than the smooth road to men who are being pelted on the head. [13] And as for stealing a position, that does not seem to me impossible, for we can go during the night so as not to be seen, and we can get far enough away from the enemy so as not to be heard. I do think, however, that if we should make a feint of attacking here, we should find the rest of the mountain all the more deserted, for the enemy would be more likely to remain in a body where they are. [14] But why should I be the man to make suggestions about stealing? For, as I hear, Cheirisophus, you Lacedaemonians, at least those among you who belong to the peers, practise stealing even from childhood, and count it not disgraceful but honourable to steal anything that the law does not prevent you from taking. [15] And in order that you may steal with all possible skill and may try not to be caught at it, it is the law of your land that, if you are caught stealing, you are flogged. Now, therefore, is just the time for you to display your training, and to take care that we do not get caught stealing any of the mountain, so that we shall not get a beating.” [16]

“Well, for all that,” said Cheirisophus, “I hear on my side that you Athenians are terribly clever at stealing the public funds, even though it is terribly dangerous for the stealer, and, in fact, that your best people do it most, at least if they really are your best who are deemed worthy to rule; hence it is time for you also to be displaying your training.” [17] “Well,” said Xenophon, “I am ready to set out with the rearguard, as soon as we have dined, to seize possession of the mountain. And I have guides, too; for the light troops set an ambush and captured some of the stealing rascals who are following us. From these fellows I also learn that the mountain is not impassable, but is pastured with goats and cattle; therefore if we once get possession of any part of the mountain, our pack animals also will find it passable. [18] And I hope that the enemy will remove themselves from our way as soon as they see us on a level with them upon the heights; for they are not willing now to come down and meet us on our level.” [19] Then Cheirisophus said: “But why should you be the one to go, and leave your post with the rearguard? Send others rather, unless some good men offer themselves as volunteers.” [20] At that, Aristonymus of Methydrium, commanding hoplites, came forward, and Aristetas

the Chian with light troops, and Nicomachus the Oetaean with light troops; and they made an agreement that as soon as they were in possession of the heights, they would kindle a number of fires. [21] This agreement concluded, they proceeded to take breakfast; and immediately after breakfast Cheirisophus led the whole army forward about ten stadia toward the enemy, in order to make them quite certain that he was going to advance upon them by this road. [22]

After they had had dinner and night had come on, the men appointed to the task set forward and gained possession of the mountain, while the remainder of the troops rested where they were. And when the enemy perceived that the mountain was occupied, they staid awake and kept many fires burning through the night. [23] As soon as day came Cheirisophus offered sacrifice and led the army forward along the road, while the party that had seized the mountain, advanced along the heights. [24] As for the enemy, the majority remained at the pass over the mountain, but a part of them went to meet the detachment on the heights. Now before the two main bodies got near one another, those upon the heights came to close combat, and the Greeks were victorious and began their pursuit. [25] Meanwhile the main body of the Greeks was moving upward from the plain, the peltasts charging at a run upon the enemy's battleline and Cheirisophus following at a quick-step with the hoplites. [26] But the enemy on the road no sooner saw their detachment on the heights being defeated than they took to flight; and while not many of them were killed, a great number of wicker shields were captured, which the Greeks rendered useless by slashing them with their sabres. [27] When they had climbed to the top of the pass, after offering sacrifice and setting up a trophy they descended into the plain on the farther side, and reached villages full of many good things.

7. After this they marched into the country of the Taochians five stages, thirty parasangs; and their provisions were running low, for the Taochians dwelt in strongholds, and in these strongholds they kept all their provisions stored away. [2] Now when the Greeks arrived at one of them which contained no town nor houses, but was only a place where men and women and a great number of cattle were gathered, Cheirisophus proceeded to attack this stronghold as soon as he reached it; and when his first battalion grew weary,

another advanced to the attack, and yet another; for it was not possible for them to surround the place in continuous line, because its sides were precipitous. [3]

The moment Xenophon came up with the rearguard, consisting of both peltasts and hoplites, Cheirisophus said to him: "You have come in the nick of time; for the place must be captured; for the army has no provisions unless we capture this place." [4] Then they took counsel together, and when Xenophon asked what it was that prevented their effecting an entrance, Cheirisophus replied: "There is this one way of approach which you see, but when one tries to go along by this way, they roll down stones from this overhanging rock; and whoever gets caught, is served in this fashion" — and with the words he pointed out men with their legs and ribs crushed. [5] "But suppose they use up their stones," said Xenophon, "there is nothing then, is there, to hinder one's passing? For surely there is nothing we can see on the other side except a few men yonder, and only two or three of them are armed. [6] Furthermore, as you can see for yourself, the distance we must traverse under attack is about a plethrum and a half. Now as much as a plethrum of that distance is covered with tall, scattered pine trees, and if men should stand behind them, what harm could they suffer either from the flying stones or the rolling ones? The remaining space, then, amounts to about half a plethrum, and that we must cross on the run at a moment when the stones stop coming." [7] "But," said Cheirisophus, "the very moment we begin to push out toward the trees, the stones fly in quantities." "Precisely the thing we want," said Xenophon, "for they will use up their stones the sooner. But let us make our way to a spot from which we shall have only a short distance to run across, in case we can do that, and an easy retreat, in case we choose to come back." [8]

Thereupon Cheirisophus and Xenophon set forth, and with them Callimachus of Parrhasia, a captain; for he was the officer of the day in command of the captains of the rearguard; and the other captains remained in a place of safety. Following this lead about seventy men got out under shelter of the trees, not all together, but one by one, each protecting himself as best he could. [9] But Agasias of Stymphalus and Aristonymus of Methydrium, who were likewise captains of the rearguard, and others also, took places outside the

cover of the trees, for not more than the one company could stand among them with safety. [10] At that moment Callimachus hit upon a scheme: he would run forward two or three steps from the particular tree he was under and, when the stones began to fly, would draw back without any trouble; and at every one of his dashes more than ten cart-loads of stones would be used up. [11] But when Agasias saw what Callimachus was doing, with the whole army for spectators, he became fearful that the other would be the first to make the run across to the stronghold; so without asking Aristonymus or Eurylochus of Lusi (though the former was close by and both were his friends) or any one else to join him, he dashed forward himself and proceeded to go past everybody. [12] Callimachus, however, when he saw him going by, seized the rim of his shield; and at that moment Aristonymus of Methydrium ran past both of them, and upon his heels Eurylochus of Lusi. For all these four were rivals in valour and continually striving with one another; and in thus contending they captured the stronghold, for once they had rushed in not a stone came down from above. [13]

Then came a dreadful spectacle: the women threw their little children down from the rocks and then threw themselves down after them, and the men did likewise. In the midst of this scene Aeneas of Stymphalus, a captain, catching sight of a man, who was wearing a fine robe, running to cast himself down, seized hold of him in order to stop him; [14] but the man dragged Aeneas along after him, and both went flying down the cliffs and were killed. In this stronghold only a very few human beings were captured, but they secured cattle and asses in large numbers and sheep. [15]

From there they marched through the land of the Chalybians seven stages, fifty parasangs. These were the most valiant of all the peoples they passed through, and would come to hand-to-hand encounter. They had corselets of linen reaching down to the groin, with a thick fringe of plaited cords instead of flaps. [16] They had greaves also and helmets, and at the girdle a knife about as long as a Laconian dagger, with which they would slaughter whomever they might be able to vanquish; then they would cut off their heads and carry them along on their march, and they would sing and dance whenever they were likely to be seen by the enemy. They carried also

a spear about five cubits long, with a point at only one end. [17] These people would stay within their towns, and when the Greeks had passed by, they would follow them, always ready to fight. Their dwellings were in strongholds, and therein they had stored away all their provisions; hence the Greeks could get nothing in this country, but they subsisted on the cattle they had taken from the Taochians. [18] Leaving this land, the Greeks arrived at the Harpasus river, which was four plethra in width. From there they marched through the territory of the Scythinians four stages, twenty parasangs, over a level plain, and they arrived at some villages, and there remained for three days and collected provisions. [19]

From there they journeyed four stages, twenty parasangs, to a large and prosperous inhabited city which was called Gymnias. From this city the ruler of the land sent the Greeks a guide, in order to lead them through territory that was hostile to his own. [20] When the guide came, he said that he would lead them within five days to a place from which they could see the sea; if he failed to do so, he was ready to accept death. Thus taking the lead, as soon as he had brought them into the hostile territory, he kept urging them to spread abroad fire and ruin, thereby making it clear that it was with this end in view that he had come, and not out of good-will toward the Greeks. [21] On the fifth day they did in fact reach the mountain; its name was Theches. Now as soon as the vanguard got to the top of the mountain, a great shout went up. [22] And when Xenophon and the rearguard heard it, they imagined that other enemies were attacking in front; for enemies were following behind them from the district that was in flames, and the rearguard had killed some of them and captured others by setting an ambush, and had also taken about twenty wicker shields covered with raw, shaggy ox-hides. [23] But as the shout kept getting louder and nearer, as the successive ranks that came up all began to run at full speed toward the ranks ahead that were one after another joining in the shout, and as the shout kept growing far louder as the number of men grew steadily greater, it became quite clear to Xenophon that here was something of unusual importance; [24] so he mounted a horse, took with him Lycius and the cavalry, and pushed ahead to lend aid; and in a moment they heard the soldiers shouting, "The Sea! The Sea!" and passing the word

along. Then all the troops of the rearguard likewise broke into a run, and the pack animals began racing ahead and the horses. [25] And when all had reached the summit, then indeed they fell to embracing one another, and generals and captains as well, with tears in their eyes. And on a sudden, at the bidding of some one or other, the soldiers began to bring stones and to build a great cairn. [26] Thereon they placed as offerings a quantity of raw ox-hides and walking-sticks and the captured wicker shields; and the guide not only cut these shields to pieces himself, but urged the others to do so. [27] After this the Greeks dismissed the guide with gifts from the common stock — a horse, a silver cup, a Persian dress, and ten darics; but what he particularly asked the men for was their rings, and he got a considerable number of them. Then he showed them a village to encamp in and the road they were to follow to the country of the Macronians, and, as soon as evening came, took his departure.

8. From there the Greeks marched through the country of the Macronians three stages, ten parasangs. On the first of these days they reached the river which separated the territory of the Macronians from that of the Scythinians. [2] There they had on the right, above them, an exceedingly difficult bit of ground, and on the left another river, into which the boundary stream that they had to cross emptied. Now this stream was fringed with trees, not large ones, but of thick growth, and when the Greeks came up, they began felling them in their haste to get out of the place as speedily as possible. [3] But the Macronians, armed with wicker shields and lances and hair tunics, were drawn up in line of battle opposite the place where the Greeks must cross, and they were cheering one another on and throwing stones, which fell into the stream; for they never reached the Greeks or did them any harm. [4]

At this moment one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, a man who said that he had been a slave at Athens, with word that he knew the language of these people; "I think," he went on, "that this is my native country, and if there is nothing to hinder, I should like to have a talk with them." [5] "Well, there is nothing to hinder," said Xenophon; "so talk with them, and learn, to begin with, who they are." In reply to his inquiry they said, "Macronians." "Well, then," said Xenophon, "ask them why they are arrayed against us and want

to be our enemies.” [6] They replied, “Because you are coming against our land.” The generals directed the man to say, “We have not come to do you any harm whatever, but we have been at war with the King and are on our way back to Greece, and we want to reach the sea.” [7] The Macronians asked whether they would give pledges to this effect. They replied that they were ready both to give and to receive pledges. Thereupon the Macronians gave the Greeks a barbarian lance and the Greeks gave them a Greek lance, for the Macronians said that these were pledges; and both sides called the gods to witness. [8]

After this exchange of pledges the Macronians at once began to help the Greeks cut down the trees and to build the road in order to get them across, mingling freely with the Greeks; and they supplied as good a market as they could, and conducted the Greeks on their way for three days, until they brought them to the boundaries of the Colchians. [9] At this place was a great mountain, and upon this mountain the Colchians were drawn up in line of battle. At first the Greeks formed an opposing line of battle, with the intention of advancing in this way upon the mountain, but afterwards the generals decided to gather together and take counsel as to how they could best make the contest. [10]

Xenophon accordingly said that in his opinion they should give up the line of battle and form the companies in column. “For the line,” he continued, “will be broken up at once; for we shall find the mountain hard to traverse at some points and easy at others; and the immediate result will be discouragement, when men who are formed in line of battle see the line broken up. [11] Furthermore, if we advance upon them formed in a line many ranks deep, the enemy will outflank us, and will use their outflanking wing for whatever purpose they please; on the other hand, if we are formed in a line a few ranks deep, it would be nothing surprising if our line should be cut through by a multitude both of missiles and men falling upon us in a mass; and if this happens at any point, it will be bad for the whole line. [12] But it seems to me we should form the companies in column and, by leaving spaces between them, cover enough ground so that the outermost companies should get beyond the enemy’s wings; in this way not only shall we outflank the enemy’s line, but advancing in

column our best men will be in the van of the attack, and wherever it is good going, there each captain will lead forward his men. [13] And it will not be easy for the enemy to push into the space between the columns when there are companies on this side and that, and not any easier for him to cut through a company that is advancing in column. Again, if any one of the companies is hard pressed, its neighbour will come to its aid; and if one single company can somehow climb to the summit, not a man of the enemy will stand any longer.” [14]

This plan was decided upon, and they proceeded to form the companies in column. And as Xenophon was going back from the right wing to the left, he said to the troops: “Soldiers, these men yonder whom you see are the only ones who still stand in the way of our being forthwith at the place we have long been striving to reach; if we possibly can, we must simply eat these fellows raw.” [15]

When the officers had got to their several positions and had formed their companies in column, the result was about eighty companies of hoplites with each company numbering close upon one hundred; the peltasts and the bowmen, on the other hand, they formed in three divisions, one beyond the left wing of the hoplites, the second beyond the right, and the third in the centre, each division numbering about six hundred men. [16] After this the generals passed along the order to offer prayer, and when they had prayed and sung the paean they set forth. Now Cheirisophus and Xenophon and the peltasts with them got beyond the wings of the enemy’s line in their advance; [17] and when the enemy saw this, they ran out, some to the right and others to the left, to confront them, with the result that their line was pulled apart and a large portion of it in the centre was left deserted. [18] Then the peltasts of the Arcadian division, who were commanded by Aeschines the Acarnanian, getting the idea that the enemy were in flight, set up a shout and began to run; and they were the first to reach the summit of the mountain, while following close after them came the Arcadian division of hoplites, under the command of Cleanor of Orchomenus. [19] As for the enemy, once the peltasts began to run they no longer stood their ground, but betook themselves hither and thither in flight.

After accomplishing the ascent the Greeks took up quarters in numerous villages, which contained provisions in abundance. [20]

Now for the most part there was nothing here which they really found strange; but the swarms of bees in the neighbourhood were numerous, and the soldiers who ate of the honey all went off their heads, and suffered from vomiting and diarrhoea, and not one of them could stand up, but those who had eaten a little were like people exceedingly drunk, while those who had eaten a great deal seemed like crazy, or even, in some cases, dying men. [21] So they lay there in great numbers as though the army had suffered a defeat, and great despondency prevailed. On the next day, however, no one had died, and at approximately the same hour as they had eaten the honey they began to come to their senses; and on the third or fourth day they got up, as if from a drugging. [22]

From there they marched two stages, seven parasangs, and reached the sea at Trapezus, an inhabited Greek city on the Euxine Sea, a colony of the Sinopeans in the territory of Colchis. There they remained about thirty days in the villages of the Colchians, and from these as a base plundered Colchis. [23] And the Trapezuntians supplied a market for the army, received the Greeks kindly, and gave them oxen, barley-meal, and wine as gifts of hospitality. [24] They likewise took part in negotiations with the Greeks in behalf of the near-by Colchians, who dwelt for the most part on the plain, and from these people also the Greeks received hospitable gifts of oxen. [25]

After this they made ready the sacrifice which they had vowed; and a sufficient number of oxen had come to them so that they could pay their thank-offerings to Zeus for deliverance, to Heracles for guidance, and to the other gods according as they had vowed. They instituted also athletic games on the mountain side, just where they were encamped; and they chose Dracontius, a Spartan, who had been exiled from home as a boy because he had accidentally killed another boy with the stroke of a dagger, to look out for a race-course and to act as manager of the games. [26] When, accordingly, the sacrifice had been completed, they turned over the hides to Dracontius and bade him lead the way to the place he had fixed upon for his race-course. He pointed out the precise spot where they chanced to be standing, and said, "This hill is superb for running, wherever you please." "How, then," they said, "can men wrestle on ground so hard and

overgrown as this is?" And he replied, "The one that is thrown will get hurt a bit more." [27] The events were, a stadium race for boys, most of them belonging to the captives, a long race, in which more than sixty Cretans took part, wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium; and it made a fine spectacle; for there were a great many entries and, inasmuch as the comrades of the contestants were looking on, there was a great deal of rivalry. [28] There were horseraces also, and the riders had to drive their horses down the steep slope, turn them around on the shore, and bring them back again to the altar. And on the way down most of the horses rolled over and over, while on the way up, against the exceedingly steep incline, they found it hard to keep on at a walk; so there was much shouting and laughter and cheering.

BOOK V.

1. [The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did on their upward march with Cyrus and on their journey to the shore of the Euxine Sea, how they arrived at the Greek city of Trapezus, and how they paid the thankofferings for deliverance which they had vowed to sacrifice at the place where they should first reach a friendly land.] [2]

After this they gathered together and proceeded to take counsel in regard to the remainder of their journey; and the first man to get up was Leon of Thuri, who spoke as follows: "Well, I, for my part, gentlemen," he said, "am tired by this time of packing up and walking and running and carrying my arms and being in line and standing guard and fighting, and what I long for now is to be rid of these toils, since we have the sea, and to sail the rest of the way, and so reach Greece stretched out on my back, like Odysseus." [3] Upon hearing these words the soldiers shouted out that he was quite right; and another man said the same thing, and in fact all who rose to speak. Then Cheirisophus got up and spoke as follows: [4] "I have a friend Anaxibius, gentlemen, and he happens also to be Admiral. So if you will send me to him, I presume I can bring back with me ships of war and merchant vessels to carry us; for yourselves, if you really wish to go by sea, wait until I return; and I shall return speedily." When they heard this, the soldiers were delighted, and voted that Cheirisophus should set sail with all speed. [5]

After him Xenophon rose and spoke as follows: "Cheirisophus, then, is setting off after ships, and we are to stay here; I am going to speak, therefore, of all the things that it seems to me proper for us to be doing while we wait. [6] In the first place, we must obtain provisions from hostile territory, for we neither have an adequate market, nor have we, with some few exceptions, the means wherewith to buy; but the territory is hostile, and hence there is danger that many of you will perish if you set out after provisions carelessly and unguardedly. [7] Rather, it seems to me that you ought to get your provisions in foraging parties and not roam about at random, in order that you may be kept safe, and that we generals

ought to have charge of this matter.” This proposal was adopted. [8]

“Listen, then, to this further point. Some of you are to journey forth after plunder. Now I think it is best for the man who is going out to inform us of the fact and to tell us also whither he is going, in order that we may know the number of men who are going out and the number who are staying behind; then we can help, if need be, in making preparations, and if there be occasion to go to any one’s assistance, we shall know whither we are to go with such assistance, and if a man who is without experience is making an attempt in any quarter, we can advise him by trying to ascertain the strength of those against whom he may be going.” This proposal also was adopted. [9]

“Then,” he said, “consider this matter also. Our enemies have leisure for plundering and they are plotting against us — quite properly, seeing that we have appropriated what was theirs; and they are posted up above us. So it seems to me that we ought to have guards around our camp; supposing, then, that we take turns in standing guard and keeping watch, the enemy would be less able to harry us. [10]

“Here is still another point to note. If we knew beyond doubt that Cheirisophus would bring back with him an adequate number of ships, there would be no need of what I am about to say; but since in fact that is uncertain, I think we should try to do our part by procuring ships here also. For if he does bring enough, then with those at hand here we shall have a more abundant supply to sail in, while if he does not, we shall use those which we have here. [11] Now I see ships sailing past frequently, and if we can get the Trapezuntians to give us men-of-war and so bring these ships into port and keep them under guard, unshipping their rudders meanwhile, until we get enough to carry us, perhaps we should not lack such means of transport as we need.” This proposal also was adopted. [12]

“Again,” he said, “do you not think it reasonable that we should maintain from our common fund the sailors we thus bring into port for as long a time as they may be waiting for our sakes, and that we should agree upon a price for our passage, so that in conferring a benefit upon us they may also benefit themselves?” This proposal also was adopted. [13]

“Now it seems to me,” he continued, “that if perchance this plan also shall fail to provide us with enough ships, we must turn to the roads, which we hear are difficult to travel, and direct the cities that are situated along the sea to repair them; for they will obey, not only from fear, but also from the desire to be rid of us.” [14]

At this the soldiers set up a shout, saying that they did not want to go by land. And Xenophon, realizing their foolishness, did not put any proposal regarding this matter to vote, but persuaded the cities to repair the roads voluntarily, urging that they would be rid of the army the more quickly if the roads should be made easy to travel. [15] Furthermore, they got a fifty-oared warship from the Trapezuntians, and put it under the command of Dexippus, a Laconian perioecus. This fellow, however, paying no heed to the duty of collecting vessels, slipped away with his man-of-war and left the Euxine. He did indeed get his deserts afterwards; for while engaged in some intrigue at the court of Seuthes in Thrace he was killed by Nicander the Laconian. [16] They also got a thirty-oared galley, and put it under the command of Polycrates the Athenian, who brought in to the camp all the merchant vessels that he captured. And they would unload the cargoes, in case the ships had any, and put them under guard, in order to keep these safe and to use the vessels themselves for transport service. [17] While these things were going on, the Greeks were making forays in quest of booty, and while some parties would secure it, others did not. And in one case, when Cleaenetus led forth his own company and another against a difficult stronghold, the commander himself was killed and many of his men besides.

2. The time came when it was no longer possible to obtain provisions and return to the camp on the same day. Then Xenophon took some Trapezuntians for guides and led forth half the army to the country of the Drilae, leaving the other half behind to guard the camp — because the Colchians, since they had been driven out of their houses, were now gathered together in one great body and had taken a position on the heights above the camp. [2] For the Trapezuntians would not lead the Greeks to districts from which provisions could be secured easily, because they were friendly to the people of those districts; but they were eager to lead them into the territory of the Drilae, at whose hands they were continually suffering losses, though

their country was mountainous and difficult to traverse and its inhabitants the most warlike of all that dwell upon the Euxine. [3]

When the Greeks had reached the highlands, the Drilae set fire to such of their strongholds as seemed to them easy to capture, and fell back; and the Greeks could secure nothing except an occasional pig or ox or other animal that had escaped the fire. There was one stronghold, however, which was their metropolis, and into this they had all streamed. Around it was an exceedingly deep ravine, and the approaches to the place were difficult. [4] Now the peltasts, who had run five or six stadia ahead of the hoplites, crossed this ravine and, seeing quantities of sheep and other property, essayed an attack upon the stronghold; in their train there followed a considerable number of spearmen who had set out after provisions, so that the party that crossed the ravine amounted to more than a thousand men. [5] But when they found themselves unable with all their fighting to capture the place (for there was a wide trench around it, backed by a rampart, and upon the rampart palisades had been set and wooden towers constructed at frequent intervals), their next move was to try to withdraw; and then the enemy pressed hard upon them. [6] To get away by running proved impossible, inasmuch as the descent from the stronghold to the ravine only allowed them to go in single file, and they accordingly sent a messenger to Xenophon, who was at the head of the hoplites. The messenger came and reported: [7] "There is a stronghold full of all kinds of stores. We cannot capture it, for it is strong; and we cannot easily get away, for the defenders rush out and attack us, and the road that leads back is a difficult one." [8]

Upon hearing this message Xenophon led on to the ravine, ordered the hoplites to halt there under arms, and himself crossed over with the captains and looked about to see whether it was better to withdraw the troops that had already crossed, or to lead over the hoplites also, on the presumption that the stronghold could be captured. [9] The withdrawal, it seemed clear, could not be accomplished without the loss of many lives, while the capture of the place, in the opinion of the captains, was feasible, and Xenophon fell in with their opinion, in reliance upon his sacrifices; for the seers had declared that while there would be fighting to do, the issue of the expedition would be fortunate. [10] Accordingly he sent the captains

to bring over the hoplites, while he himself remained on the further side, having drawn back the entire body of peltasts and forbidding any one to shoot at long range. [11] Upon the arrival of the hoplites he ordered each of the captains to form his company in the way he thought it would fight most effectively; for near one another were the captains who had all the time been vieing with one another in valour. [12] This order they proceeded to carry out, and meanwhile Xenophon passed word to all the peltasts to advance with hand on the thong, so that they could discharge their javelins when the signal should be given, to the bowmen to have their arrows upon the string, ready to shoot upon the signal, and to the slingers to have their bags full of stones; and he despatched the proper persons to look after all these things. [13]

When all preparations had been made and the captains, lieutenants, and those among the men who claimed to be not inferior to them in bravery were all grouped together in the line and, moreover, watching one another (for the line was crescent-shaped, to conform with the position they were attacking), [14] then they struck up the paean and the trumpet sounded, and then, at the same moment, they raised the war cry to Enyalios, the hoplites charged forward on the run, and the missiles began to fly all together — spears, arrows, sling-stones, and very many stones thrown by hand, while some of the men employed firebrands also. [15] By reason of the quantity of the missiles the enemy abandoned both their ramparts and their towers, so that Agasias the Stymphalian, putting aside his arms and clad only in his tunic, climbed up, then pulled up another man, and meanwhile another had made the climb, so that the capture of the stronghold was accomplished, as it seemed. [16]

Thereupon the peltasts and the light troops rushed in and proceeded to snatch whatever plunder they severally could; but Xenophon, taking his stand at the gates, kept out as many as he could of the hoplites, for the reason that other enemies were coming into view upon certain strong heights. [17] After no long interval a shout arose within and men came pouring forth in flight, some carrying with them what they had seized, then soon a number of men that were wounded; and there was a deal of pushing about the gates. When those who were tumbling out were questioned, they said that

there was a citadel within, that the enemy were numerous, and that they had sallied forth and were dealing blows upon the men inside. [18] Then Xenophon ordered Tolmides the herald to proclaim that whoever wanted to get any plunder should go in. At that many proceeded to rush into the gates, and the crowd that was pushing in overcame the crowd that was tumbling out and shut up the enemy again in their citadel. [19] So everything outside the citadel was seized and carried off by the Greeks, and the hoplites took up their position, some about the ramparts, others along the road leading up to the citadel. [20] Meanwhile Xenophon and the captains were looking to see whether it was possible to capture the citadel, for in that case their safety was secured, while otherwise they thought it would be very difficult to effect their withdrawal; but the upshot of their consideration was, that the place was quite impregnable. [21]

Then they made preparations for the withdrawal: they tore down the palisades, each division taking those on its own front, and sent off the men who were unfit for service or were carrying burdens, and likewise the greater part of the hoplites, the captains keeping behind only those troops that they each relied upon. [22] But the moment they began to retire, there rushed out upon them from within a great crowd of men armed with wicker shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets, while others set about climbing to the tops of the houses that were on either side of the road leading up to the citadel. [23] The result was that even a pursuit in the direction of the gates that led into the citadel was unsafe; for they would hurl down great logs from above, so that it was difficult either to remain or to retire. And the approach of night was also a cause for fear. [24]

In the midst of their fighting and perplexity some god gave to the Greeks a means of salvation. For of a sudden one of the houses on the right, set on fire by somebody or other, broke into a blaze; and as it began to fall in, there began a general flight from the other houses on the right side of the road. [25] The moment Xenophon grasped this lesson which chance had given him, he gave orders to set fire to the houses on the left also, which were of wood and so fell to burning very quickly. The result was that the people in these houses likewise took to flight. [26] It was only the enemy in their front who were now left to trouble the Greeks and manifestly intended to attack them as

they passed out and down the hill. At this stage Xenophon sent out orders that all who chanced to be out of range of the missiles should set about bringing up logs and put them in the open space between their own forces and the enemy. As soon as enough logs had been collected, they set fire to them; and meanwhile they set fire also to the houses which were close along the palisade, so that the enemy's attention might be occupied with these. [27] It was in this way that they effected, with difficulty, their withdrawal from the stronghold, by putting fire between themselves and the enemy. And the whole city was burned down, houses, towers, palisades, and everything else except the citadel. [28]

On the next day the Greeks were for returning to camp with their provisions. But inasmuch as they feared the descent to Trapezus (for the way was steep and narrow), they laid a sham ambushade: [29] a man of Mysia, who likewise bore the name of Mysus, took ten of the Cretans, stayed behind in a bit of undergrowth, and pretended to be trying to keep out of sight of the enemy; but their shields, which were of bronze, would now and then gleam through the bushes. [30] So the enemy, catching glimpses of these proceedings, were fearful that it was an ambushade; and meanwhile the Greek army was making its descent. When it seemed that they had got down far enough, a signal was given to the Mysian to flee at the top of his speed, and he and his companions arose and took to flight. [31] The Cretans of the party (finding, as they said, that they were like to be overtaken in the running) plunged out of the road into the woods, and by tumbling down through the ravines made their escape, [32] but the Mysian held to the road in his flight and kept shouting for help; and they did go to his aid, and picked him up wounded. Then the rescuers in their turn proceeded to retreat, faces to the front, while the enemy kept throwing missiles at them and some of the Cretans replied with their arrows. In this way they all reached the camp safe and sound.

3. And now, seeing that Cheirisophus was not returned that they had not an adequate number of ships, and that it was no longer possible to get provisions, they resolved to depart by land. On board the ships they embarked the sick, those who were more than forty years of age, the women and children, and all the baggage which they did not need to keep with them. They put aboard also Philesius

and Sophaenetus, the eldest of the generals, and bade them take charge of the enterprise; [2] then the rest took up the march, the road having been already constructed. And on the third day of their journey they reached Cerasus, a Greek city on the sea, being a colony planted by the Sinopeans in the territory of Colchis. [3] There they remained ten days; and the troops were reviewed under arms and numbered, and there proved to be eight thousand six hundred men. So many were left alive. The rest had perished at the hands of the enemy or in the snow, a few also by disease. [4]

There, also, they divided the money received from the sale of the booty. And the tithe, which they set apart for Apollo and for Artemis of the Ephesians, was distributed among the generals, each taking his portion to keep safely for the gods; and the portion that fell to Cheirisophus was given to Neon the Asinaean. [5] As for Xenophon, he caused a votive offering to be made out of Apollo's share of his portion and dedicated it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing upon it his own name and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus; for Proxenus was his friend. [6] The share which belonged to Artemis of the Ephesians he left behind, at the time when he was returning from Asia with Agesilaus to take part in the campaign against Boeotia, in charge of Megabyzus, the sacristan of Artemis, for the reason that his own journey seemed likely to be a dangerous one; and his instructions were that in case he should escape with his life, the money was to be returned to him, but in case any ill should befall him, Megabyzus was to cause to be made and dedicated to Artemis whatever offering he thought would please the goddess. [7]

In the time of Xenophon's exile and while he was living at Scillus, near Olympia, where he had been established as a colonist by the Lacedaemonians, Megabyzus came to Olympia to attend the games and returned to him his deposit. Upon receiving it Xenophon bought a plot of ground for the goddess in a place which Apollo's oracle appointed. [8] As it chanced, there flowed through the plot a river named Selinus; and at Ephesus likewise a Selinus river flows past the temple of Artemis. In both streams, moreover, there are fish and mussels, while in the plot at Scillus there is hunting of all manner of beasts of the chase. [9] Here Xenophon built an altar and a temple

with the sacred money, and from that time forth he would every year take the tithe of the products of the land in their season and offer sacrifice to the goddess, all the citizens and the men and women of the neighbourhood taking part in the festival. And the goddess would provide for the banqueters barley meal and loaves of bread, wine and sweetmeats, and a portion of the sacrificial victims from the sacred herd as well as of the victims taken in the chase. [10] For Xenophon's sons and the sons of the other citizens used to have a hunting expedition at the time of the festival, and any grown men who so wished would join them; and they captured their game partly from the sacred precinct itself and partly from Mount Pholoe — boars and gazelles and stags. [11]

The place is situated on the road which leads from Lacedaemon to Olympia, and is about twenty stadia from the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Within the sacred precinct there is meadowland and treecovered hills, suited for the rearing of swine, goats, cattle and horses, so that even the draught animals which bring people to the festival have their feast also. [12] Immediately surrounding the temple is a grove of cultivated trees, producing all sorts of dessert fruits in their season. The temple itself is like the one at Ephesus, although small as compared with great, and the image of the goddess, although cypress wood as compared with gold, is like the Ephesian image. [13] Beside the temple stands a tablet with this inscription: "The place is sacred to Artemis. He who holds it and enjoys its fruits must offer the tithe every year in sacrifice, and from the remainder must keep the temple in repair. If any one leaves these things undone, the goddess will look to it."

4. Leaving Cerasus, the people who had thus far been conveyed by sea went on as before, while the rest continued their journey by land. [2] When they reached the boundary of the Mossynoecians, they sent to them Timesitheus the Trapezuntian, who was official representative of the Mossynoecians at Trapezus, and asked whether in marching through their country they were to regard it as friendly or hostile. The Mossynoecians replied that they would not permit them to pass through; [3] for they trusted in their strongholds. Then Timesitheus told the Greeks that the Mossynoecians who dwelt farther on were hostile to these people, and it was decided to

summon them and see whether they wanted to conclude an alliance; so Timesitheus was sent to them, and brought back with him their chiefs. [4] When they arrived, these chiefs of the Mossynoecians and the generals of the Greeks met together; [5] and Xenophon spoke as follows, Timesitheus acting as interpreter: "Mossynoecians, we desire to make our way to Greece in safety by land, for we have no ships; but these people, who, as we hear, are your enemies, are trying to block our passage. [6] If you wish, therefore, it is within your power to secure us as allies, to exact vengeance for any wrong these people have ever done you, and to make them henceforth your subjects. [7] But if you dismiss us with a refusal, where, bethink you, could you ever again secure so large a force to help fight your battles?" [8] To these words the chief of the Mossynoecians replied that they desired this arrangement and accepted the alliance. [9] "Well, then," said Xenophon, "what use will you want to make of us if we become your allies, and what assistance will you, in your turn, be able to render us in the matter of our passage through this territory?" [10] They replied: "We are able to invade this land of your enemies and ours from the opposite side, and to send to you here not only ships, but men who will aid you in the fighting and will guide you on your way." [11]

After confirming this agreement by giving and receiving pledges they departed. The next day they returned, bringing with them three hundred canoes, each made out of a single log and each containing three men, two of whom disembarked and fell into line under arms, while the third remained in the canoe. [12] Then the second group took their canoes and sailed back again, and those who stayed behind marshalled themselves in the following way. They took position in lines of about a hundred each, like choral dancers ranged opposite one another, all of them with wicker shields covered with white, shaggy ox-hide and like an ivy leaf in shape, and each man holding in his right hand a lance about six cubits long, with a spearhead at one end and a round ball at the butt end of the shaft. [13] They wore short tunics which did not reach their knees and were as thick as a linen bag for bedclothes, and upon their heads leathern helmets just such as the Paphlagonian helmets, with a tuft in the middle very like a tiara in shape; and they had also iron battle-axes. [14] After they had

formed their lines one of them led off, and the rest after him, every man of them, fell into a rhythmic march and song, and passing through the battalions and through the quarters of the Greeks they went straight on against the enemy, toward a stronghold which seemed to be especially assailable. [15] It was situated in front of the city which is called by them Metropolis and contains the chief citadel of the Mossynoecians. In fact, it was for the possession of this citadel that the war was going on; for those who at any time held it were deemed to be masters of all the other Mossynoecians, and they said that the present occupants did not hold it by right, but that it was common property and they had seized it in order to gain a selfish advantage. [16]

The attacking party was followed by some of the Greeks, not under orders from their generals, but seeking plunder. As they approached, the enemy for a time kept quiet; but when they had got near the stronghold, they sallied forth and put them to flight, killing a considerable number of the barbarians and some of the Greeks who had gone up the hill with them, and pursuing the rest until they saw the Greeks coming to the rescue; [17] then they turned and fell back, and after cutting off the heads of the dead men displayed them to the Greeks and to their own enemies, at the same time dancing to a kind of strain which they sang. [18] And the Greeks were exceedingly angry, not only because the enemy had been made bolder, but because the Greeks who went to the attack with the barbarians had taken to flight, though in very considerable numbers — a thing which they had never done before in the course of the expedition. [19]

Then Xenophon called the Greeks together and said: "Fellow-soldiers, do not by any means lose heart on account of what has happened; for be sure that a good thing also has happened, no less important than the evil thing. [20] In the first place, you know that those who are to guide us are really enemies to the people whose enemies we also are compelled to be; secondly, and touching our own men, those among them who took little thought of the battle formation we use and got the idea that they could accomplish the same results in company with the barbarians as they could with us, have paid the penalty, — another time they will be less likely to leave our ordered lines. [21] But you must make ready to prove to our

friends among the barbarians that you are better men than they, and to show the enemy that they are not going to fight against the same sort of men now as the disorderly mass they met before.” [22]

It was thus that the Greeks spent that day; but on the next, after obtaining favourable omens from their sacrifices, they took breakfast, formed the companies in column, and began the march, with the barbarians in the same formation posted on the left, the bowmen distributed in the spaces between the companies, and the van of the hoplites a little farther back. [23] For the enemy had some nimble troops who kept running down the hill and pelting the Greeks with stones, and these fellows were held back by the bowmen and peltasts. The rest of the Greek army, proceeding at a walk, advanced first against the stronghold from which the barbarians and those with them had been put to flight on the preceding day; for it was there that the enemy were now drawn up to oppose them. [24] The barbarians did, indeed, meet the attack of the peltasts and engaged them in battle, but when the hoplites got near them, they turned to flight. The peltasts at once made after them and pursued them up the hill to the city, while the hoplites followed along, still keeping their lines. [25] When they were at the top and near the houses of Metropolis, at that moment all the troops of the enemy massed together and did battle; they hurled their lances, and with other spears which they had, so thick and long that a man could only carry them with difficulty, tried to defend themselves in hand to hand fighting. [26] As the Greeks, however, refused to give way, but kept pushing on to close quarters, the barbarians took to flight from that point also, every man of them abandoning the fortress. Their king in his wooden tower built upon the citadel, whom all the people jointly maintain and guard in his abiding place there, refused to come forth, as did also the commander of the stronghold which had been captured earlier, so they were burned up where they were, along with their towers. [27]

In plundering the strongholds the Greeks found in the houses ancestral stores, as the Mossynoecians described them, of heaped up loaves, while the new corn was laid away with the straw, the most of it being spelt. [28] They also found slices of dolphin salted away in jars, and in other vessels dolphin blubber, which the Mossynoecians used in the same way as the Greeks use olive oil; [29] and on the upper

floors of the houses there were large quantities of flat nuts, without any divisions. Out of these nuts, by boiling them and baking them into loaves, they made the bread which they used most. The Greeks also found wine, which by reason of its harshness appeared to be sharp when taken unmixed, but mixed with water was fragrant and delicious. [30]

When they had breakfasted there, the Greeks took up their onward march, after handing over the fortress to the Mossynoecians who had helped them in the fighting. As for the other strongholds which they passed by, belonging to those who sided with the enemy, the most accessible were in some cases abandoned by their occupants, in other cases surrendered voluntarily. [31] The greater part of these places were of the following description: The towns were eighty stadia distant from one another, some more, and some less; but the inhabitants could hear one another shouting from one town to the next, such heights and valleys there were in the country. [32] And when the Greeks, as they proceeded, were among the friendly Mossynoecians, they would exhibit to them fattened children of the wealthy inhabitants, who had been nourished on boiled nuts and were soft and white to an extraordinary degree, and pretty nearly equal in length and breadth, with their backs adorned with many colours and their fore parts all tattooed with flower patterns. [33] These Mossynoecians wanted also to have intercourse openly with the women who accompanied the Greeks, for that was their own fashion. And all of them were white, the men and the women alike. [34] They were set down by the Greeks who served through the expedition, as the most uncivilized people whose country they traversed, the furthest removed from Greek customs. For they habitually did in public the things that other people would do only in private, and when they were alone they would behave just as if they were in the company of others, talking to themselves, laughing at themselves, and dancing in whatever spot they chanced to be, as though they were giving an exhibition to others.

5. Through this country, both the hostile and the friendly portions of it, the Greeks marched eight stages, reaching then the land of the Chalybians. These people were few in number and subject to the Mossynoecians, and most of them gained their livelihood from

working in iron. [2] Next they reached the country of the Tibarenians, which was much more level and had fortresses upon the seacoast that were less strong. The generals were desirous of attacking these fortresses, so as to get a little something for the army, and accordingly they would not accept the gifts of hospitality which came from the Tibarenians, but, directing them to wait until they should take counsel, proceeded to offer sacrifices. [3] After many victims had been sacrificed all the seers finally declared the opinion that the gods in no wise permitted war. So then the generals accepted the gifts of hospitality, and proceeding as through a friendly country for two days, they arrived at Cotyora, a Greek city and a colony of the Sinopeans, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians. [4]

[As far as this point the army travelled by land. The length in distance of the downward journey, from the battlefield near Babylon to Cotyora, was one hundred and twenty-two stages, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen thousand, six hundred stadia; and in time, eight months.] [5] There they remained forty-five days. During this time they first of all sacrificed to the gods, and all the several groups of the Greeks, nation by nation, instituted festal processions and athletic contests. [6] As for provisions, they got them partly from Paphlagonia and partly from the estates of the Cotyorites; for the latter would not provide them with a market, nor would they receive their sick within the walls of the city. [7]

Meanwhile ambassadors came from Sinope, full of fears not only for the city of the Cotyorites (for it belonged to them and its inhabitants paid them tribute), but also for its territory, because they heard it was being laid waste. And coming to the Greek camp they spoke as follows, Hecatonymus, who was regarded as a clever orator, being their spokesman: [8] "Soldiers," he said, "the city of the Sinopeans has sent us, first, to applaud you as Greeks who stand victors over barbarians, and, secondly, to congratulate you that you have made your way through many dreadful troubles, as we have heard, in safety to this place. [9] Now we claim, being ourselves Greeks, to receive from you, who are Greeks also, good treatment and no ill; for we, on our side, have never set the example by doing you any manner of harm. [10] These Cotyorites are our colonists, and it was we who gave over to them this land, after we had taken it

away from barbarians; therefore they pay us a stated tribute, as do the people of Cerasus and Trapezus; hence whatever harm you may do to these Cotyorites, the city of the Sinopeans regards as done to itself. [11] At present we hear, firstly, that you have made your way into the city by force, some of you, and are quartered in the houses, and, secondly, that you are taking from the estates by force whatever you may need without asking leave. [12] Now these things we do not deem proper; and if you continue to do them, you force us to make friends with Corylas and the Paphlagonians and whomever else we can.” [13]

In reply to these words Xenophon, on behalf of the soldiers, rose and said: “For ourselves, men of Sinope, we have come back well content to have saved our bodies and our arms; for it was not possible at one and the same time to gather plunder and to fight with the enemy. [14] As to our doings now, since we have reached Greek cities, we got our provisions in Trapezus by purchase, for the Trapezuntians provided us a market, and in return for the honours they bestowed upon us and the gifts of hospitality they gave the army, we paid them like honours; if any of the barbarians were their friends, we kept our hands off them, while upon their enemies, against whom they would themselves lead us, we wrought all the harm we could. [15] Ask them what sort of people they found us to be; for the men are here present whom the city of Trapezus, out of friendship, sent with us as guides. [16] On the other hand, wherever we come, whether it be to a barbarian or to a Greek land, and have no market at which to buy, we take provisions, not out of wantonness, but from necessity. [17] The Carduchians, for example, and the Taochians and Chaldaeans were not subjects of the King and were exceedingly formidable, yet, even so, we made enemies of them because of this necessity of taking provisions, inasmuch as they would not provide a market. [18] The Macronians, however, provided us as good a market as they could, and we therefore regarded them as friends, barbarians though they were, and took by force not a thing that belonged to them. [19]

“As for the Cotyorites, whom you claim as yours, if we have taken anything that belonged to them, they are themselves to blame; for they did not behave toward us as friends, but shut their gates and would neither admit us within nor send a market without; and they

alleged that the governor set over them by you was responsible for this conduct. [20] In regard to your statement about people making their way into the city by force and being quartered there, we asked them to receive our sick into their houses; but when they refused to open their gates, we went in at a point where the place of itself received us; and we have done no deed of force save only that our sick are quartered in the houses, paying their own expenses, and that we are guarding the gates, in order that our sick may not be in the power of your governor, but that it may be in our power to get them back when we so wish. [21] The rest of us, as you see, are quartered in the open in our regular formation, all ready, in case one does us a kindness, to return the like, or if it is an injury, to return that. [22]

“As to the threat you uttered, that if you thought best you would enlist Corylas and the Paphlagonians as allies against us, we on our side are quite ready to make war with you both if it be necessary; for we have made war ere now with others who were many times your numbers. But if we think best to make a friend of the Paphlagonian — [23] and we hear that he has a desire for your city and strongholds on the coast — we shall try to prove ourselves his friends by aiding him to accomplish his desires.” [24]

Hereupon Hecatonymus' fellow-ambassadors made it very clear that they were angry with him for the words he had spoken, and one of them took the floor and said that they had not come to make war, but to show that they were friends. “And if you come,” he continued, “to the city of the Sinopeans, we shall receive you there with gifts of hospitality, and now we shall direct the people of this city to give you what they can; for we see that all you say is true.” [25] After this the Cotyrorites sent gifts of hospitality, and the generals of the Greeks entertained the ambassadors of the Sinopeans, and they had a great deal of friendly conversation with one another on general matters, while in particular they made such inquiries as each party wished in regard to the rest of the journey.

6. Such was the end of that day. On the next the generals called an assembly of the soldiers, and they decided to invite the Sinopeans to join them in deliberating about the rest of their journey. For if they should have to proceed by land, it seemed that the Sinopeans would be useful to them, by virtue of their acquaintance with Paphlagonia;

and if they were to go by sea, there was still need, they thought, of the Sinopeans, inasmuch as they were the only people who could provide ships enough for the army. [2] They accordingly invited the ambassadors in and proceeded to take counsel with them, asking them, as Greeks dealing with Greeks, to make a beginning of their kindly reception by showing friendliness and offering the best advice. [3]

Then Hecatonymus rose and, in the first place, defended himself in the matter of his remark that they would make a friend of the Paphlagonian, by saying that he did not mean that his own people would make war upon the Greeks, but rather that despite the opportunity they had to be friends of the barbarians they would choose the Greeks instead. But when they told him to proceed to give some advice, he began with a prayer to the gods as follows: [4] “If I should give the advice which in my judgment is best, may many blessings come to me; otherwise, the opposite. For what men term ‘sacred counsel’ seems verily to be my portion; since to-day if I be found to have given good counsel, there will be many to praise me, but if it be ill, there will be many among you to curse me. [5] Now I know that we shall have far more trouble if you are conveyed by sea, for upon us will fall the duty of providing the ships; while if you journey by land, upon you will fall the task of doing the fighting. [6] Nevertheless, I must say what I believe; for I am acquainted with both the country of the Paphlagonians and their power. Their country possesses these two things, the fairest plains and the loftiest mountains. [7] And, in the first place, I know at once where you must make your entry: there is no place save where the peaks of the mountains rise high on either side of the road; holding these peaks a mere handful of men could command the pass, and if they are so held, not all the men in the world could effect a passage. All this I could even point out if you should care to send some one to the spot with me. [8] Secondly, I know that they have plains and a cavalry which the barbarians themselves regard as superior to the whole of the King’s cavalry. Indeed, only now these Paphlagonians have failed to present themselves when the King summoned them, for their ruler is too proud to obey. [9]

“If you should, after all, find yourselves able not only to seize the

mountains, whether by stealth or by anticipating the enemy, but also on the plain to conquer in battle both their cavalry and their more than one hundred and twenty thousand infantry, you will come to the rivers. First is the Thermodon, three plethra in width, which I fancy would be difficult to cross, especially with great numbers of the enemy in front and great numbers following behind; second, the Iris, likewise three plethra wide; third, the Halys, not less than two stadia in width, which you could not cross without boats — and who will there be to supply you with boats? — and similarly impassable is the Parthenius also, to which you would come if you should get across the Halys. [10]

“For my part, therefore, I believe that this journey is not merely difficult for you, but a thing of utter impossibility. If you go by sea, however, you can coast along from here to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heracleia; and from Heracleia on there is no difficulty either by land or by water, for there are ships in abundance at Heracleia.” [11]

When he had thus spoken, some of his hearers were suspicious that he spoke as he did out of friendship for Corylas, for he was his official representative at Sinope; others imagined that he even had the idea of obtaining gifts on account of this advice; while still others suspected that the real purpose of his speech was to prevent the Greeks from going by land and so doing some harm to the territory of the Sinopeans. At any rate, however, the Greeks voted to make the journey by sea. [12] After this Xenophon said: “Men of Sinope, my troops have chosen the route which you advise; but the matter stands in this way: if there are to be ships enough so that not so much as one man will be left behind here, we shall set sail; but if the plan should be to let some of us stay behind and others sail, we shall not set foot on the ships. [13] For we know that wherever we hold the upper hand, we should be able both to keep ourselves safe and to obtain provisions; but let us once get caught where we are weaker than the enemy, and it is perfectly clear that we shall be in the position of slaves.” Upon hearing these words the Sinopeans told them to send ambassadors. [14] And they sent Callimachus the Arcadian, Ariston the Athenian, and Samolas the Achaean. These men accordingly set out. [15]

At this time, as Xenophon’s eyes rested upon a great body of

Greek hoplites, and likewise upon a great body of peltasts, bowmen, slingers, and horsemen also, all of them now exceedingly efficient through constant service and all there in Pontus, where so large a force could not have been gathered by any slight outlay of money, it seemed to him that it was a fine thing to gain additional territory and power for Greece by founding a city. [16] It would become a great city, he thought, as he reckoned up their own numbers and the peoples who dwelt around the Euxine. And with a view to this project, before speaking about it to any of the soldiers, he offered sacrifices, summoning for that purpose Silanus the Ambraciot, who had been the soothsayer of Cyrus. [17] Silanus, however, fearing that this thing might come to pass and that the army might settle down somewhere, carried forth to the troops a report that Xenophon wanted them to settle down, so that he could found a city and win for himself a name and power. [18] As for Silanus, his own desire was to reach Greece as quickly as possible; for the three thousand darics, which he had received from Cyrus at the time when he sacrificed for him and had told the truth about the ten days, he had brought safely through. [19]

When the soldiers heard this report, some of them thought it was best to settle down, but the majority thought otherwise. And Timasion the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian said to some Heracleot and Sinopean merchants who were there, that if they did not provide pay for the troops so that they would have provisions for the voyage from Cotyora, there would be danger of that great force remaining in Pontus. “For Xenophon,” they went on, “wishes and is urging that as soon as the ships come, we should then say all of a sudden to the army: [20] ‘Soldiers, now we see that you are without means either to supply yourselves with provisions on the homeward voyage, or to do anything for your people at home when you have got back there; but if you wish to pick out some spot in the country that lies round about the Euxine and put to shore wherever you may wish — he who so desires to go back home and he who so desires to stay behind — here are your ships, so that you could make a sudden attack at whatever point you may wish.’” [21]

Upon hearing this statement the merchants carried it back to their cities; and along with them Timasion the Dardanian sent Eurymachus

the Dardanian and Thorax the Boeotian to tell the same story. When the Sinopeans and Heracleots heard it, they sent to Timasion and urged him to take in charge, for a fee, the matter of getting the army to sail away. [22] He received this proposal gladly, and when the soldiers were gathered in assembly addressed them as follows: "You ought not, soldiers, to set your thoughts on remaining here, nor to esteem anything more highly than Greece. But I hear that certain people are offering sacrifices over this matter, with not so much as a word to you. [23] Now I promise, in case you set sail from here, to provide you with pay from the first of the month at the rate of a Cyzicene per month to each man; and I will take you to Troas, the place from which I am an exile, and my city will be at your service; for they will receive me willingly. [24] Then I myself will lead you to places from which you will get an abundance of wealth. I am acquainted with Aeolis, Phrygia, Troas, and the entire province of Pharnabazus, partly because I come from that region, and partly because I have campaigned there with Clearchus and Dercylidas." [25]

Next rose Thorax the Boeotian, who was at odds with Xenophon over the generalship of the army, and said that once they got out of the Euxine they would have the Chersonese, a fair and prosperous country, where any one who so desired might dwell, while any who did not desire to do this, might return home. It was ridiculous, he said, when there was plenty of fertile land in Greece, to be hunting for it in the domain of the barbarians. [26] "And until you reach that spot," he continued, "I also, like Timasion, promise you regular pay." All this he said with full knowledge of what the Heracleots and the Sinopeans were promising Timasion for getting the army to sail away. Xenophon meanwhile was silent. [27]

Then Philesius and Lycon the Achaeans rose and said that it was outrageous for Xenophon to be privately urging people to settle down and sacrificing with a view to that plan, while publicly saying not a word about the matter. Thus Xenophon was compelled to rise and speak as follows: [28] "I offer, soldiers, as you see, all the sacrifices I can both on your behalf and my own in order that I may perchance say and think and do such things as will be fairest and best both for you and me. And in the present case I was sacrificing for guidance on this point only, whether it was better to begin to speak

before you and to act regarding this project, or not to touch the matter at all. [29] Now Silanus, the soothsayer, answered me in respect to the main issue that the omens were favourable (for he knew well enough that I was not unacquainted with divination, from being always present at the sacrifices); but he said that there appeared in the omens a kind of fraud and plot against me, manifestly because he knew that he was himself plotting to traduce me before you. For he spread abroad the report that I was intending to do these things at once, without getting your consent. [30] Now if I saw that you were without resources, I should be looking about for a plan by which you might get possession of a city, with the provision that afterwards he who chose might sail back home at once, while he who did not wish to go at once might return after he had accumulated enough to bestow a little something upon his people at home. [31] But since, in fact, I see that the Heracleots and Sinopeans are sending you the ships in which to sail away, and that men are promising you pay from the first of the month, it seems to me it is a fine thing to be carried safely where we want to go and at the same time to receive pay for our preservation; therefore I renounce that other project for myself, and I say, to all those who have come to me and expressed the view that it ought to be carried out, that they also should renounce it. [32]

“For I hold this opinion: standing together and in force, as you are now, I think you will be held in honour and will have provisions, for in strength lies the opportunity to wrest away the possessions of the weaker; but let yourselves get separated and your force broken up into small parts, and you would neither be able to obtain food to live on nor would you come off unharmed. [33] I think, therefore, just as you do, that we should set out for Greece, and that if it does come to pass that any man is caught deserting before the entire army is in a place of safety, he should be brought to trial as a wrong-doer. And whoever is of this opinion,” he continued, “let him raise his hand.” Up went every hand. [34]

Silanus, however, began shouting, and attempted to say that it was fair for any one who so chose to leave the army. But the soldiers would not allow him to speak, and they threatened him that as surely as they caught him running away, they would inflict due punishment upon him. [35] After that, when the Heracleots learned that it had been

voted to sail away, and that Xenophon himself had put the question to vote, they did send the ships, but in the matter of the money they had promised to Timasion and Thorax they turned out to be deceivers. [36] Consequently the men who had promised the pay were panic-stricken, and stood in fear of the army. They therefore took with them the other generals to whom they had communicated their earlier doings — namely, all the generals except Neon the Asinaean, who was acting as lieutenant for Cheirisophus because Cheirisophus had not yet returned — and came to Xenophon, with the message that they had changed their minds and thought it was best to sail to the Phasis, inasmuch as there were ships at hand, and seize the land of the Phasians. [37] Their king, as it chanced, was a grandson of Aeetes. Xenophon replied that he would not say a word to the army about this plan; “but,” he went on, “gather the men together and speak to them yourselves, if you wish.” Then Timasion the Dardanian declared it as his opinion that they should not hold an assembly, but that each general should first endeavour to persuade his own captains. So they went away and set about doing this.

7. The soldiers, accordingly, learned by inquiry that this plan was being agitated. And Neon said that Xenophon had won over the other generals and was intending to deceive the soldiers and lead them back to the Phasis. [2] Upon hearing these words the soldiers were exceedingly angry; meetings were held, groups of them collected, and it was greatly to be feared that they would do the sort of things they had done to the heralds of the Colchians and the market clerks. [3] When Xenophon became aware of the situation, he decided to call an assembly of the men as speedily as possible and not to allow them to gather of their own accord; so he directed the herald to call an assembly. [4] And as soon as the soldiers heard the herald, they rushed together with the utmost readiness. Then Xenophon, without mentioning against the generals the matter of their visit to him, spoke as follows: [5]

“I hear, soldiers, that some one is bringing a charge against me, namely, that I am going to deceive you and lead you to the Phasis. In the name of the gods, then, give ear to my words, and if it appears that I am guilty of wrong, I ought not to leave this spot without paying the penalty; but if it appears to you that my accusers are

guilty of wrong, they ought to be dealt with in such manner as they deserve. [6] You doubtless know," he continued, "where the sun rises and where it sets; likewise, that if a man is to go to Greece, he must journey toward the west, while if he wishes to go to the lands of the barbarians, he must travel in the opposite direction, that is, toward the east. Now is there any one who could deceive you in this matter, by maintaining that the place where the sun rises is the one where it sets and the place where it sets is the one where it rises? [7] Again, you surely know this also, that the north wind carries one out of the Euxine to Greece, while the south wind carries you within, to the Phasis — indeed, the saying is, 'When the north wind doth blow, fair voyaging to Greece.' In this matter, again, is it possible that any one could deceive you into embarking when the south wind is blowing? [8] But I am going to put you aboard, you may say, when it is calm. Well, I shall be sailing on one ship, you on a hundred at least. How, then, could I either force you to voyage along with me if you did not choose, or deceive you into following my lead? [9] But suppose you have been deceived and bewitched by me and we have come to the Phasis; we accordingly disembark upon the shore; you will perceive, likely enough, that you are not in Greece; and I, who have done the deceiving, will be one lone man, while you, the deceived, will be close to ten thousand, with arms in your hands. Then how could a man bring down punishment upon himself more surely than by planning in that way for himself and for you? [10]

"Nay, these are the stories of foolish men, jealous of me because I enjoy honour at your hands. And yet they should not in fairness feel such jealousy; for whom among them do I hinder either from saying any good word he can before you, or from fighting if he will in your behalf and his own, or from being watchful in his care for your safety? Well, then, do I stand in any one's way when you are choosing commanders? I yield, let him be commander; only let it be shown that he renders you good service. [11] For my part, however, what I have said on these points seems to me sufficient; but if any one among you imagines either that he could be deceived himself by such tales, or could deceive another by these tales, let him speak and explain. [12] And when you have had enough of this, do not go away until you have heard what manner of evil I see beginning to show

itself in the army; for if it comes upon us and proves to be as serious as it now shows signs of being, it is time for us to be taking counsel for ourselves, in order that we may not stand revealed as most wicked and base men, both in the sight of gods and mankind, of friends and enemies.” [13]

Upon hearing these words the soldiers fell to wondering what the thing was, and they bade Xenophon go on. So he began again: “You know, perhaps, that in the mountains there were barbarian strongholds, friendly to the Cerasuntians, from which people would come down and sell you cattle and other things which they had, and also, I believe, some of you went to the nearest of these strongholds and did some buying and came back again. [14] Clearetus the captain, learning that this place was not only small, but also unguarded, for the reason that its inhabitants deemed themselves friendly, set forth against them by night with the idea of plundering the place, and without a word to any one of us. [15] It was his intention, in case he should capture this stronghold, not to come back again to the army, but to embark on a vessel upon which his messmates chanced to be sailing along the coast, to put aboard whatever plunder he might secure, and sailing out of the Euxine to go away. Indeed, as I now learn, his messmates on the vessel had concluded an agreement with him to this effect. [16] He accordingly summoned all the men he could persuade, and set out at their head to march against the stronghold. While he was still on the march, however, the break of day surprised him, and the people of the place gathered together and, by throwing missiles and dealing blows from strong positions, killed Clearetus and a good many of his followers, although some of them did make their way back to Cerasus. [17] All this happened on the day when we were setting forth to come hither by land; and some of those who were going by sea were still at Cerasus, not having as yet set sail.

“After this, as the Cerasuntians say, there arrived at Cerasus three of the inhabitants of the stronghold, all elderly men, desiring to come before our general assembly. [18] But since they did not find us, they addressed themselves to the Cerasuntians, saying that they wondered why we had seen fit to make an attack upon them. When, however, the Cerasuntians replied, so their statement ran, that it was not by public authority that the affair took place, the envoys were pleased,

and were intending to sail hither in order to tell us what had happened, and to urge that we should ourselves take and bury the bodies of our dead. [19] Now it chanced that some of the Greeks who had escaped were still at Cerasus; and when they learned whither the barbarians were going, they committed the shamelessness of not only attacking them with stones themselves, but urging others to do the same. And the men were killed, these three, who were ambassadors — stoned to death. [20]

“When this had taken place, the Cerasuntians came to us and told us of the affair; and we generals, upon hearing the story, were distressed at what had happened, and we proceeded to take counsel with the Cerasuntians as to how the bodies of the Greek dead might be buried. [21] While we were in session outside the camp, we suddenly heard a great uproar and shouts of ‘Strike! strike! pelt! pelt!’ and in a moment we saw a crowd of men rushing toward us with stones in their hands and others picking up stones. [22] And the Cerasuntians, having witnessed, mark you, the affair in their own city, were naturally terrified, and hurried back toward their ships. For that matter, by Zeus, there were some of our own number who were terrified. [23] I went up to the men, however, and asked what the trouble was. Some of them did not know at all, but nevertheless they had stones in their hands. When I did come upon a man who knew, he told me that the market-clerks were treating the army most outrageously. [24] At this moment some one saw the market-clerk, Zelarchus, retreating toward the sea, and set up a shout; and when the rest heard it, they rushed upon him as though a wild boar or a stag had been sighted. [25] And now the Cerasuntians, seeing this rush in their neighbourhood and believing it was undoubtedly directed against themselves, took to running in their flight and threw themselves into the sea. Some of our own men also plunged in with them, and any who did not chance to know how to swim were drowned. [26] Now what think you about these Cerasuntians? They had done no wrong, but they were afraid that a kind of madness, such as attacks dogs, had seized upon us.

“Now if these doings are to go on in this way, observe what the situation of your army will be. [27] You, the general body, will not have it in your power either to undertake war upon whom you please

or to bring war to an end, but any individual who wishes will be leading an army to gain any end he may desire. And if people come to you as ambassadors, desiring peace or anything else, any who choose will kill them and prevent you from hearing the words of those who come to confer with you. [28] Furthermore, the men whom you as a body may choose for commanders will be of no account, but whoever may choose himself general and will raise the cry 'Pelt, pelt,' that man will have the power to slay either commander or private, any one of you he pleases, without a trial, provided — as indeed it came about in the present case — there are people who will obey him. [29] Consider the sort of things these self-chosen generals have actually accomplished for you. Take Zelarchus, the market-clerk: supposing he has done you wrong, he has sailed off without paying you the penalty; supposing he is not guilty, he has fled from the army out of fear that he might be slain unjustly and without a trial. [30] Take those who stoned to death the ambassadors: they have accomplished this result, that you alone of all the Greeks cannot go to Cerasus safely unless you arrive there with a strong force; and as for the dead whom previously the very men who killed them proposed burying, the result accomplished is, that now it is not safe to pick up their bodies even for one who carries a herald's staff. For who will care to go as herald when he has the blood of heralds upon his hands? So we requested the Cerasuntians to bury them. [31]

“Now if these things are right, do you so resolve, in order that, with the understanding that such deeds are to be done, a man may establish his own private guard and may endeavour to hold possession of the strong places overhanging him on the right when he encamps. [32] If, however, you think that such deeds are those of wild beasts and not of human beings, look about for some means of stopping them; otherwise, how, in the name of Zeus, shall we offer glad sacrifices to the gods when we are doing impious deeds, or how shall we fight with enemies if we are slaying one another? [33] And what friendly city will receive us when it sees so great lawlessness amongst us? Who will dare to supply us a market if in matters of the greatest import we show ourselves guilty of such offences? And in that land where we are always fancying that we shall obtain praise from every one, who will praise us if we are men of this sort? For we

ourselves, I am quite sure, should say that people who perform such deeds are scoundrels.” [34]

Hereupon all rose and proposed that the men who began this affair should be duly punished, and that henceforth no one should be again permitted to make a beginning of lawlessness; but if any should so begin, they were to be put on trial for their lives; and the generals were to bring all offenders to trial, and trials were likewise to be held in the matter of any other offences which any one had committed since the time when Cyrus was killed; and they appointed the captains to serve as a jury. [35] Further, upon the recommendation of Xenophon, and by the advice of the soothsayers, it was resolved to purify the army. So the rites of purification were performed.

8. It was likewise resolved that the generals should undergo an inquiry with reference to their past conduct. When they presented their statements, Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned, for their careless guarding of the merchantmen’s cargoes, to pay the loss incurred, namely, twenty minas, and Sophaenetos, for neglect of duty in the office to which he had been chosen, was fined ten minas.

Accusations were also made against Xenophon by certain men who claimed that he had beaten them, and so brought the charge of wanton assault. [2] Xenophon bade the first man who spoke to state where it was that he had struck him. He replied, “In the place where we were perishing with cold and there was an enormous amount of snow.” [3] And Xenophon said, “Well, really, with weather of the sort you describe and provisions used up and no chance even to get a smell of wine, when many of us were becoming exhausted with hardships and the enemy were at our heels, if at such a time as that I wantonly abused you, I admit that I am more wanton even than the ass, which, because of its wantonness, so the saying runs, is not subject to fatigue. Nevertheless, do tell us,” he said, “for what reason you were struck. [4] Did I ask you for something, and then strike you because you would not give it to me? Did I demand something back? Was it in a fight over a favourite? Was it an act of drunken violence?” [5] When the man replied that it was none of these things, Xenophon asked him if he was a hoplite. He said no. Was he a peltast, then? No, not that either, he said, but he had been detailed by his messmates, although he was a free man, to drive a mule. [6] At

that Xenophon recognized him, and asked: "Are you the fellow who carried the sick man?" "Yes, by Zeus," he replied, "for you forced me to do so; and you scattered my messmates' baggage all about." [7] "Why, the scattering," said Xenophon, "was after this fashion: I distributed it among others to carry and directed them to bring it back to me, and when I got it back, I returned the whole of it to you intact when you, for your part, had shown me the sick man. But listen, all of you," he continued, "and hear how the affair happened; for the story is worth hearing. [8]

"A man was being left behind because he was unable to keep going any longer. I was acquainted with the man only so far as to know that he was one of our number, and I forced you, sir, to carry him in order that he might not perish; for, as I remember, the enemy were following after us." To that the fellow agreed. [9] "Well," Xenophon continued, "after I had sent you on ahead, I overtook you again, as I came along with the rearguard, and found you digging a hole to bury the man in, and I stopped and commended you. [10] But when, as we were standing by, the man drew up his leg, all of us cried out, 'The man is alive'; and you said, 'Let him be alive just as much as he pleases, I, for my part, am not going to carry him.' Then I struck you; your story is true; for it looked to me as if you knew that he was alive." [11] "Well, what of that," the fellow said; "didn't he die all the same after I had shown him to you?" "Why," said Xenophon, "all of us are likewise going to die; but should we on that account be buried alive?" [12]

As for this fellow, everybody cried out that Xenophon had given him fewer blows than he deserved. Then he directed the rest to state the reason why each one of them had been struck. [13] When they failed to rise, he went on himself: "I admit, soldiers, that I have indeed struck men for neglect of discipline, the men who were content to be kept safe by you who marched in due order and fought wherever there was need, while they themselves would leave the ranks and run on ahead in the desire to secure plunder and to enjoy an advantage over you. For if all of us had behaved in this way, all of us alike would have perished. [14] Again, when a man behaved like a weakling and refused to get up, preferring to leave himself a prey to the enemy, I did indeed strike him and use violence to compel him to

go on. For once during the severe weather I myself remained seated for quite a long time, waiting for some people who were packing up, and I discovered that it was hard work to get up and stretch my legs. [15] Having tested the matter, then, in my own case, I used after that to drive on any other man whom I might see sitting down and shirking; for getting into motion and acting like a man produced a certain amount of warmth and suppleness, while sitting and keeping quiet tended, as I saw, to make the blood freeze and the toes rot off, just the misfortunes which many people suffered, as you know for yourselves. [16] In still another case, the man, perhaps, who fell behind somewhere out of indolence and prevented both you in the van and us in the rear from going on, I struck such a one with the fist in order that the enemy might not strike him with the lance. [17] Indeed, that is the reason why these people, having been saved, now have it in their power to obtain satisfaction for whatever they suffered unjustly at my hands. But if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, what suffering would they have experienced so great that they would now be asking to obtain satisfaction for it? [18]

“My defence,” he continued, “is simple: if it was for his good that I punished any one, I think I should render the sort of account that parents render to sons and teachers to pupils; for that matter, surgeons also burn and cut patients for their good; [19] but if you believe it was out of wantonness that I did these things, take note that now, by the blessing of the gods, I am more confident than I was then and that I am bolder now than then and drink more wine, but nevertheless I strike no man — for the reason that I see you are in calm waters. [20] But when it is stormy weather and a high sea is running, do you not observe that even for a mere nod the lookout gets angry with the people at the prow and the helmsman angry with the people at the stern? For in such a situation even small blunders are enough to ruin everything. [21] But you rendered judgment yourselves that I was justified in striking those men; for you stood by, with swords, not ballots, in your hands, and it was within your power to come to their aid if you chose; but, by Zeus, you would neither give those people aid nor would you join with me in striking such as violated discipline. [22] Consequently you gave the bad among them freedom to act wantonly by thus letting them alone.

“For I think, if you care to look into the matter, you will find it is the very same men who were then most cowardly that are now most wanton. [23] At any rate, Boiscus the boxer, of Thessaly, then fought hard to escape carrying his shield, on the plea that he was tired, but now, as I hear, he has already stripped off the clothes of many Cotyorites. [24] If you are wise, therefore, you will do to this fellow the opposite of what people do to dogs; for dogs that are savage are tied up by day and let loose by night, but this fellow, if you are wise, you will tie up by night and let loose by day. [25]

“But really,” he continued, “I am surprised that if ever I incurred the ill-will of any one among you, you remember that and are not silent about it, while if I protected any one from the cold, or warded off an enemy from him, or helped to provide something for him when he was sick or in want, these acts, on the other hand, are not remembered by anybody; nor, again, if I praised a man for a deed well done, or honoured according to my ability a man who was brave, do you remember any of these things. [26] Yet surely it is more honourable and fair, more righteous and gracious to remember good deeds than evil.”

Then people began getting up and recalling past incidents, and in the end all was pleasant.

BOOK VI.

1. After this, while they delayed at Cotyora, some of the men lived by purchasing from the market and others by pillaging the territory of Paphlagonia. The Paphlagonians, however, were extremely clever in kidnapping the stragglers, and at night time they tried to inflict harm upon such of the Greeks as were quartered at some distance from the rest; consequently they and the Greeks were in a very hostile mood toward one another. [2] Then Corylas, who chanced at the time to be ruler of Paphlagonia, sent ambassadors to the Greeks, with horses and fine raiment, bearing word that Corylas was ready to do the Greeks no wrong and to suffer no wrong at their hands. [3] The generals replied that they would take counsel with the army on this matter, but meanwhile they received the ambassadors as their guests at dinner, inviting in also such of the other men in the army as seemed to them best entitled to an invitation. [4] By sacrificing some of the cattle they had captured and also other animals they provided an adequate feast, and they dined reclining upon couches and drank from cups made of horn which they found in the country. [5]

After they had made libations and sung the paeon, two Thracians rose up first and began a dance in full armour to the music of a flute, leaping high and lightly and using their sabres; finally, one struck the other, as everybody thought, and the second man fell, in a rather skilful way. [6] And the Paphlagonians set up a cry. Then the first man despoiled the other of his arms and marched out singing the Sitalcas, while other Thracians carried off the fallen dancer, as though he were dead; in fact, he had not been hurt at all. [7] After this some Aenianians and Magnesians arose and danced under arms the so-called carpaea. [8] The manner of the dance was this: a man is sowing and driving a yoke of oxen, his arms laid at one side, and he turns about frequently as one in fear; a robber approaches; as soon as the sower sees him coming, he snatches up his arms, goes to meet him, and fights with him to save his oxen. The two men do all this in rhythm to the music of the flute. Finally, the robber binds the man and drives off the oxen; or sometimes the master of the oxen binds the robber, and then he yokes him alongside the oxen, his hands tied

behind him, and drives off. [9] After this a Mysian came in carrying a light shield in each hand, and at one moment in his dance he would go through a pantomime as though two men were arrayed against him, again he would use his shields as though against one antagonist, and again he would whirl and throw somersaults while holding the shields in his hands, so that the spectacle was a fine one. [10] Lastly, he danced the Persian dance, clashing his shields together and crouching down and then rising up again; and all this he did, keeping time to the music of the flute. [11] After him the Mantineans and some of the other Arcadians arose, arrayed in the finest arms and accoutrements they could command, and marched in time to the accompaniment of a flute playing the martial rhythm and sang the paeon and danced, just as the Arcadians do in their festal processions in honour of the gods. And the Paphlagonians, as they looked on, thought it most strange that all the dances were under arms. [12] Thereupon the Mysian, seeing how astounded they were, persuaded one of the Arcadians who had a dancing girl to let him bring her in, after dressing her up in the finest way he could and giving her a light shield. [13] And she danced the Pyrrhic with grace. Then there was great applause, and the Paphlagonians asked whether women also fought by their side. And the Greeks replied that these women were precisely the ones who put the King to flight from his camp. Such was the end of that evening. [14]

On the next day they introduced the ambassadors to the army, and the soldiers passed a resolution to do the Paphlagonians no wrong and to suffer no wrong at their hands. After this the ambassadors departed, and the Greeks, inasmuch as it seemed that vessels enough were at hand, embarked and sailed for a day and a night with a fair wind, keeping Paphlagonia on the left. [15] On the second day they reached Sinope, and came to anchor at Harmene, in the territory of Sinope. The Sinopeans dwell, indeed, in Paphlagonia, but are colonists of the Milesians. And they sent to the Greeks, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand medimni of barley meal and fifteen hundred jars of wine. [16]

Here Cheirisophus also came, with a man-of-war. And the soldiers expected that he had brought them something; in fact, however, he brought nothing, save the report that the admiral Anaxibius and the

others commended them, and that Anaxibius promised that if they got outside the Euxine, they should have regular pay. [17] Here at Harmene the troops remained for five days.

By this time, since it seemed that they were getting near Greece, the question came into their minds more than before how they might reach home with a little something in hand. [18] They came to the conclusion, therefore, that if they should choose one commander, that one man would be able to handle the army better, whether by night or day, than a number of commanders — that if there should be need of concealment, he would be better able to keep matters secret, or again, if there should be need of getting ahead of an adversary, he would be less likely to be too late; for, thought the soldiers, there would be no need of conferences of generals with one another, but the plan resolved upon by the one man would be carried through, whereas in the past the generals had acted in all matters in accordance with a majority vote. [19]

As they thought over these things they turned to Xenophon; the captains came to him and said that this was the opinion of the army, and each one of them, with manifestations of good will, urged him to undertake the command. [20] As for Xenophon, he was inclined on some accounts to accept the command, for he thought that if he did so the greater would be the honour he would enjoy among his friends and the greater his name when it should reach his city, while, furthermore, it might chance that he could be the means of accomplishing some good thing for the army. [21] Such considerations, then, roused in him an earnest desire to become sole commander. On the other hand, when he reflected that no man can see clearly how the future will turn out and that for this reason there was danger that he might even lose the reputation he had already won, he was doubtful. [22]

Quite unable as he was to decide the question, it seemed best to him to consult the gods; and he accordingly brought two victims to the altar and proceeded to offer sacrifice to King Zeus, the very god that the oracle at Delphi had prescribed for him; and it was likewise from this god, as he believed, that the dream came which he had at the time when he took the first steps toward assuming a share in the charge of the army. [23] Moreover, he recalled that when he was

setting out from Ephesus to be introduced to Cyrus, an eagle screamed upon his right; it was sitting, however, and the soothsayer who was conducting him said that while the omen was one suited to the great rather than to an ordinary person, and while it betokened glory, it nevertheless portended suffering, for the reason that other birds are most apt to attack the eagle when it is sitting; still, he said, the omen did not betoken gain, for it is rather while the eagle is on the wing that it gets its food. [24] So it was, then, that Xenophon made sacrifice, and the god signified to him quite clearly that he should neither strive for the command nor accept it in case he should be chosen. Such was the issue of this matter. [25]

Then the army came together, and all the speakers urged that a single commander be chosen; when this had been resolved upon, they proceeded to nominate Xenophon. And when it seemed clear that they would elect him as soon as the question should be put to vote, he arose and spoke as follows: [26]

“I am happy, soldiers, since I am a human being, to be honoured by you, and I am grateful also, and I pray that the gods may grant me opportunity to be the means of bringing you some benefit; still, I think that for me to be preferred by you as commander when a Lacedaemonian is at hand, is not expedient for you, — for you would be less likely on this account to obtain any favour you might desire from the Lacedaemonians — and for myself, on the other hand, I believe it is not altogether safe. [27] For I see that the Lacedaemonians did not cease waging war upon my native state until they had made all her citizens acknowledge that the Lacedaemonians were their leaders also. [28] But just as soon as this acknowledgment had been made, they straightway ceased waging war and no longer continued to besiege the city. Now if I, being aware of these things, should seem to be trying to make their authority null and void wherever I could, I suspect that I might very speedily be brought back to reason on that point. [29] As to your own thought, that there would be less factiousness with one commander than with many, be well assured that if you choose another, you will not find me acting factiously, — for I believe that when a man engaged in war factiously opposes a commander, that man is factiously opposing his own safety; but if you choose me, I should not be surprised if you should find some one

else feeling angry both with you and with myself.” [30]

When he had thus spoken, a much larger number of people arose, saying that he ought to be commander. And Agasias the Stymphalian said that it was ridiculous if the situation was as Xenophon described it. “Will the Lacedaemonians also be angry,” he said, “if guests at dinner come together and fail to choose a Lacedaemonian as master of the feast? For if the matter stands in that way, we are not free even to be captains, it would seem, because we are Arcadians.” Thereupon the soldiers raised a shout, saying that Agasias was quite right. [31]

Then Xenophon, seeing that something more was needed, came forward and spoke again: “Well, soldiers,” he said, “that you may understand the matter fully I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses that in very truth, so soon as I became aware of your intention, I offered sacrifices to learn whether it was best for you to entrust to me this command and for me to undertake it; and the gods gave me such signs in the sacrifices that even a layman could perceive that I must withhold myself from accepting the sole command.” [32]

Under these circumstances, then, they chose Cheirisophus. And after being chosen Cheirisophus came forward and spoke as follows: “Well, soldiers, be sure of this, that I also should not have acted factiously if you had chosen another; as for Xenophon, however,” he continued, “you did him a kindness by not choosing him; for even now Dexippus has already been falsely accusing him, as far as he could, to Anaxibius, even though I tried hard to silence him. He said he believed that Xenophon would rather share the command of Clearchus’ army with Timasion, a Dardanian, than with himself, a Laconian. [33] “However,” Cheirisophus went on, “since you have chosen me, I shall endeavour to render you whatever service I can. And do you make your preparations to put to sea to-morrow if it be sailing weather. The voyage will be to Heracleia; every one of us, therefore, must try to come to land there; and we shall take counsel about our further doings when we have arrived there.”

2. On the next day they set sail from Sinope and voyaged for two days with a fair wind along the coast. And coursing along, [they saw Jason’s Cape, where the Argo is said to have come to anchor, and the mouths of the rivers, first the Thermodon, then the Iris, third the

Halys, and after that the Parthenius; and after they had passed this river]they arrived at Heracleia, a Greek city and a colony of the Megarians, situated in the territory of the Mariandynians. [2] And they came to anchor alongside the Acherusian Chersonese, where Heracles is said to have descended to Hades after the dog Cerberus, at a spot where they now show the marks of his descent, reaching to a depth of more than two stadia. [3] Here the Heracleots sent to the Greeks, as gifts of hospitality, three thousand medimni of barley meal, two thousand jars of wine, twenty cattle, and a hundred sheep. And in this place there flows through the plain a river named the Lycus, about two plethra in width. [4]

Then the soldiers gathered together and proceeded to take counsel about the remainder of the journey, that is, whether they had better go on from the Euxine by land or by sea. And Lycon the Achaean rose and said: "I am astonished, soldiers, that the generals do not endeavour to supply us with money to buy provisions; for our gifts of hospitality will not make three days' rations for the army; and there is no place," said he, "from which we can procure provisions before beginning our journey. I move, therefore, that we demand of the Heracleots not less than three thousand Cyzicenes" — [5] another man said, not less than ten thousand—"and that we choose ambassadors this very moment, while we are in session here, send them to the city, hear whatever report they may bring back, and take counsel in the light of that." [6] Thereupon they went to nominating ambassadors, first Cheirisophus, because he had been chosen commander, and some nominated Xenophon also. Both men, however, offered vigorous resistance; for both held the same view — that they ought not to coerce a friendly city of Greeks into giving what they did not offer of their own accord. [7] As these two seemed disinclined to act, they sent Lycon the Achaean, Callimachus the Parrhasian, and Agasias the Stymphalian. These men went and put before the Heracleots the resolutions adopted by the army; and Lycon, so the report ran, even added threats, in case they should refuse compliance. [8] After hearing the ambassadors, the Heracleots said that they would consider the matter; and immediately they set about gathering their property from the country and moved the market within the walls; meanwhile the gates had been closed and arms were to be seen upon

the walls. [9]

Thereupon those who had brought about this agitation accused the generals of spoiling their undertaking; and the Arcadians and Achaeans proceeded to band themselves together, under the leadership particularly of Callimachus the Parrhasian and Lycon the Achaean. [10] Their words were to this effect, that it was shameful that Peloponnesians should be under the command of an Athenian and a Lacedaemonian who contributed no troops to the army, and that the hardships should fall to themselves and the gains to others, all despite the fact that the preservation of the army was their achievement; for it was, they said, the Arcadians and Achaeans who had achieved this result, and the rest of the army amounted to nothing (in truth more than half the army did consist of Arcadians and Achaeans); [11] if they were wise, therefore, they would band together by themselves, choose generals from their own number, make the journey by themselves, and try to get a little good out of it. [12] This course was resolved upon, and whatever Arcadians or Achaeans there were with Cheirisophus and Xenophon left these commanders and joined forces, and they chose ten generals from their own number, decreeing that these ten were to do whatever might be decided upon by vote of the majority. So it was that the supreme command of Cheirisophus came to an end then and there, on the sixth or seventh day from the day of his election. [13]

Xenophon, however, was desirous of making the journey in company with Cheirisophus, believing that this was a safer plan than for each of them to proceed independently; but Neon urged him to go by himself, for he had heard from Cheirisophus that Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor at Byzantium, had said he was coming to Calpe Harbour with triremes; [14] it was Neon's purpose, then, that no one else should get a share in this opportunity, but that he himself and Cheirisophus and their soldiers should sail away upon the triremes, and this was the reason for his advice to Xenophon. As for Cheirisophus, he was so despondent over what had happened and, besides, felt such hatred toward the army for its action, that he allowed Neon to do whatever he chose. [15] For a time, indeed, Xenophon did try to get clear of the army and sail away home; but when he sacrificed to Heracles the Leader, consulting him as to

whether it was better and more proper for him to continue the journey with such of the soldiers as had remained with him, or to be rid of them, the god indicated to him by the sacrifices that he should stay with them. [16] Thus the army was split into three parts: first, the Arcadians and Achaeans, more than four thousand in number, all hoplites; secondly, Cheirisophus' troops, to the number of fourteen hundred hoplites and seven hundred peltasts, the latter being Clearchus' Thracians; and thirdly, Xenophon's force, numbering seventeen hundred hoplites and three hundred peltasts; Xenophon alone, however, had horsemen, to the number of about forty. [17]

The Arcadians, managing to obtain ships from the Heracleots, set sail first, with the intention of making an unexpected descent upon the Bithynians and thus securing the greatest possible amount of booty; and they disembarked at Calpe Harbour, about midway of the Thracian coast. [18] But Cheirisophus went by land from the very beginning of his journey from the city of the Heracleots, travelling across country; when, however, he had entered Thrace, he proceeded along the coast, for the reason that he was ill. [19] Xenophon, finally, took ships, disembarked at the boundaries separating Thrace and the territory of Heracleia, and pursued his way through the back country.

3. [2]

The fortunes of the several divisions were as follows. The Arcadians after disembarking by night at Calpe Harbour proceeded to the first villages, about thirty stadia from the sea. When daylight came, each general led his own company against a village, except that where a village seemed unusually large, the generals combined two companies for the attack upon it. [3] They also fixed upon a hill as the place where all the troops were afterwards to gather; and since their onset was unexpected, they took many captives and were in a fair way to secure a large number of sheep. [4] The Thracians who escaped them, however, began to gather — and many had escaped, inasmuch as they were light troops as against hoplites, from the very hands of the Arcadians. When they had come together in a body, they first attacked the company under Smicres, one of the Arcadian generals, as it was already withdrawing to the appointed place with a great quantity of booty. [5] For a while the Greeks fought as they marched, but at the crossing of a gorge the Thracians put them to

roul, and they killed not only Smicres himself, but the rest of the company to a man; in another of the companies belonging to the ten generals, the one commanded by Hegesander, they left only eight men alive, Hegesander himself being one of them. [6]

The other companies succeeded in getting together, some of them with difficulty, other without any difficulty; but the Thracians, having gained this success, kept shouting to one another and collecting their forces energetically during the night. At daybreak they proceeded to form their lines all round the hill where the Greeks were encamping, their troops consisting of horsemen in large numbers and peltasts, while still more were continually streaming together; [7] and they made attacks upon the hoplites without danger to themselves, inasmuch as the Greeks had neither bowman nor javelin-thrower nor horseman; so they would come running or riding up and throw their javelins, and when the Greeks charged upon them, they would easily get away; [8] and different parties kept attacking at different points. Hence on the one side many were being wounded, on the other side not a man; the result was, that the Greeks were not able to stir from the spot, and at last the Thracians were even cutting them off from their water supply. [9] When their embarrassment became serious, they opened negotiations for a truce; and on every other point an agreement had been reached, but the Thracians refused to give the hostages which the Greeks demanded, and in this particular there was a hitch. Such, then, was the situation of the Arcadians. [10]

As to Cheirisophus, he pursued his march in safety along the coast and arrived at Calpe Harbour.

Xenophon, lastly, was proceeding through the back country when his horsemen, riding on in advance, chanced upon some old men who were journeying somewhere or other. When they were brought to Xenophon, he asked them whether they had heard of another army anywhere, a Greek army. [11] And they told him all that had happened, adding that at present the Greeks were being besieged upon a hill, with the Thracians in full force completely surrounding them. Then Xenophon kept these men under strict guard, in order that they might serve as guides wherever he might need to go; and after stationing watchers he called the troops together and spoke as follows: [12]

“Fellow soldiers, some of the Arcadians have been killed and the remainder of them are being besieged upon a certain hill. Now it is my own belief that if they are to perish, there is no salvation for us either, the enemy being so numerous and made so confident by their success. [13] Therefore it is best for us to go to the rescue of these men with all speed, so that if they are still alive, we may have their aid in the fighting, instead of being left alone and alone facing the danger. [16] For there is no place to which we can ourselves steal away from here; for to go back to Heracleia,” he said, “is a long journey, and it is a long journey through to Chrysopolis, and meanwhile the enemy are close at hand; to Calpe Harbour, where we presume Cheirisophus is, in case he has come through safely, is the shortest distance. But firstly, mark you, having arrived there we have neither ships wherein to sail away nor provisions for so much as a single day if we remain in the place; [17] and secondly, it is worse to have the blockaded force destroyed and take our chances in company with Cheirisophus’ troops only, than to have these men saved and then unite all our forces and together strive for deliverance. We must set forth, then, prepared in our minds for either meeting to-day a glorious death or accomplishing a most noble deed in saving so many Greeks. [18] And it may be that the god is guiding events in this way, he who wills that those who talked boastfully, as though possessed of superior wisdom, should be brought low, and that we, who always begin with the gods, should be set in a place of higher honour than those boasters. And now you must keep in line and on the alert, so that you can carry out the orders that are given. [14] For the present, then, let us go forward as far as may seem consistent with our time for dining, and then encamp; and so long as we are on the march, let Timasion with the cavalry ride on in advance, keeping us in sight, and spy out what is ahead, in order that nothing may escape our attention.” [15]

With these words he proceeded to lead the way. Furthermore, he sent out on the flanks and to the neighbouring heights some of the more active of the light-armed troops in order that they might signal to the army in case they should sight anything anywhere from any point of observation; and he directed them to burn everything they found that could be burned. [19] So the horsemen, scattering as widely as was proper, went to burning, the peltasts, making their way along

the heights abreast of the main army, burned all they saw which was combustible, and the main army likewise burned anything they found that had been passed over; the result was, that the whole country seemed to be ablaze and the army seemed to be a large one. [20] When the time had come, they ascended a hill and encamped; from there they could see the campfires of the enemy, distant about forty stadia, and they kindled as many fires themselves as they could. [21] Immediately after they had dined, however, the order was given to extinguish every one of the fires. Then, after stationing guards, they slept the night through; and at daybreak they offered prayer to the gods, formed their lines for battle, and set forth at the fastest possible pace. [22] And Timasion and the horsemen, riding on ahead with the guides, found themselves without knowing it upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged. They could see no army, however, either friendly or hostile (and this fact they reported back to Xenophon and the main body), but only some wretched old men and women and a few sheep and cattle that had been left behind. [23] At first they could only wonder what the thing was that had happened, but afterwards they managed to find out from the people who had been left behind that the Thracians had disappeared immediately after nightfall, and the Greeks also, they said, had gone; but whither, they did not know. [24]

Upon hearing this report Xenophon and his men packed up, as soon as they had breakfasted, and set forth, wishing as speedily as possible to join their comrades at Calpe Harbour. As they proceeded, they could see the track of the Arcadians and Achaeans along the road leading towards Calpe. When the two detachments came together, the men were delighted to see one another, and greeted one another like brothers. [25] And the Arcadians inquired of Xenophon's troops why they had put out their fires; "for we imagined at first," they said, "when we could no longer see your fires, that you meant to come against the enemy during the night; and the enemy likewise, so at least it seemed to us, feared this, and on that account departed; for it was at about that time that they went away. [26] But when you failed to arrive, although the requisite time had passed, we supposed that you had learned of our situation and, seized with fear, had stealthily made off toward the sea; and we thought it best not to be left behind.

That was the reason, then, why we also proceeded hither.”

4. During that day they bivouacked where they were, upon the beach by the harbour. Now this place which is called Calpe Harbour is situated in Thrace-in-Asia; and this portion of Thrace begins at the mouth of the Euxine and extends as far as Heracleia, being on the right as one sails into the Euxine. [2] It is a long day's journey for a trireme to row from Byzantium to Heracleia, and between the two places there is no other city, either friendly or Greek, only Bithynian Thracians; and they are said to abuse outrageously any Greeks they may find shipwrecked or may capture in any other way. [3] As for Calpe Harbour, it lies midway of the voyage between Heracleia and Byzantium and is a bit of land jutting out into the sea, the part of it which extends seaward being a precipitous mass of rock, not less than twenty fathoms high at its lowest point, and the isthmus which connects this head with the mainland being about four plethra in width; and the space to the seaward of the isthmus is large enough for ten thousand people to dwell in. [4] At the very foot of the rock there is a harbour whose beach faces toward the west, and an abundantly flowing spring of fresh water close to the shore of the sea and commanded by the headland. There is also a great deal of timber of various sorts, but an especially large amount of fine ship-timber, on the very shore of the sea. [5] The ridge extends back into the interior for about twenty stadia, and this stretch is deep-soiled and free from stones, while the land bordering the coast is thickly covered for a distance of more than twenty stadia with an abundance of heavy timber of all sorts. [6] The rest of the region is fair and extensive, and contains many inhabited villages; for the land produces barley, wheat, beans of all kinds, millet and sesame, a sufficient quantity of figs, an abundance of grapes which yield a good sweet wine, and in fact everything except olives. [7]

Such was the country thereabouts. The men took up quarters on the beach by the sea, refusing to encamp on the spot which might become a city; indeed, the fact of their coming to this place at all seemed to them the result of scheming on the part of some people who wished to found a city. [8] For most of the soldiers had sailed away from Greece to undertake this service for pay, not because their means were scanty, but because they knew by report of the noble

character of Cyrus; some brought other men with them, some had even spent money of their own on the enterprise, while still another class had abandoned fathers and mothers, or had left children behind with the idea of getting money to bring back to them, all because they heard that the other people who served with Cyrus enjoyed abundant good fortune. Being men of this sort, therefore, they longed to return in safety to Greece. [9]

On the day after the reunion of the three divisions Xenophon offered sacrifice with a view to an expedition; for it was necessary to go out after provisions and, besides, he intended to bury the Arcadian dead. When the sacrifices proved favourable, the Arcadians also followed with the rest, and they buried the greater part of the dead just where they each had fallen; for they had already lain unburied five days, and it was not now possible to carry away the bodies; some that lay upon the roads, however, they did gather together and honour with as fine a burial as their means allowed, while for those they could not find, they erected a great cenotaph, and placed wreaths upon it. [10] After doing all this they returned to their camp, and then took dinner and went to bed. On the following day all the soldiers held a meeting, the chief movers in the matter being Agasias the Stymphalian, a captain, Hieronymus the Elean, also a captain, and some others from among the eldest of the Arcadians. [11] They passed a resolution that if any man from this time forth should suggest dividing the army, he should be punished with death, and further, that the army should return to the same organization which formerly obtained, and that the former generals should resume command. Now by this time Cheirisophus had died, from the effects of a medicine which he took for a fever; and his command passed to Neon the Asinaean. [12]

After this Xenophon rose and said: "Fellow soldiers, our journey, it seems, must be made by land, for we have no ships; and we must set out at once, for we have no provisions if we remain here. We, then," he continued, "will sacrifice, and you must prepare yourselves to fight if ever you did; for the enemy have renewed their courage." [13] Thereupon the generals proceeded to sacrifice, the soothsayer who was present being Arexion the Arcadian; for Silanus the Ambraciot had by this time stolen away, on a vessel which he hired

at Heracleia. When they sacrificed, however, with a view to their departure, the victims would not prove favourable, [14] and they accordingly ceased their offerings for that day. Now some people had the effrontery to say that Xenophon, in his desire to found a city at this spot, had induced the soothsayer to declare that the sacrifices were not favourable for departure. [15] Consequently he made public proclamation that on the morrow any one who so chose might be present at the sacrifice, and if a man were a soothsayer, he sent him word to be at hand to participate in the inspection of the victims; so he made the offering in the immediate presence of many witnesses. [16] But though he sacrificed a second and a third time with a view to departure, the victims would not prove favourable. At that the soldiers were angry, for the provisions they brought with them had given out and there was not yet any market at hand. [17]

Therefore they held a meeting and Xenophon addressed them again. "Soldiers," he said, "as for setting out upon our journey, the sacrifices, as you see, do not yet prove favourable for that; but I am aware that you are in need of provisions; hence it seems to me that we must sacrifice in regard to this latter point alone." Then some one rose and said: [18] "There appears to be good reason why our sacrifices are not favourable; for as I heard from a man who chanced to arrive here yesterday on a ship, Cleander, the Lacedaemonian governor at Byzantium, is to come here with merchant vessels and men-of-war." [19] At that news all deemed it best to stay, but it was still necessary to go out after provisions. With this object in view Xenophon again sacrificed, going as far as three offerings, and the victims continued unfavourable. By this time people were even coming to Xenophon's tent and declaring that they had no provisions, but he said that he would not lead forth unless the sacrifices turned out favourable. [20]

On the next day he undertook to sacrifice again, and pretty nearly the entire army — for it was a matter of concern to every man — gathered about the place of sacrifice; but the victims had given out. Then the generals, while refusing to lead the men forth, called them together in assembly; [21] and Xenophon said: "It may be that the enemy are gathered together and that we must fight; if, then, we should leave our baggage in the strong place and set out prepared for

battle, perhaps our sacrifices would be successful.” [22] Upon hearing this, however, the soldiers cried out that it was not at all necessary to enter the place, but, rather, to offer sacrifice with all speed. Now they no longer had any sheep, but they bought a bullock that was yoked to a wagon and proceeded to sacrifice; and Xenophon requested Cleanor the Arcadian to give special attention to see if there was anything auspicious in this offering. But not even so did the omens prove favourable. [23]

Now Neon was general in place of Cheirisophus, and when he saw in what a terrible condition the soldiers were from want, he was desirous of doing them a kindness; so having found a certain Heracleot who claimed to know of villages near at hand from which it was possible to get provisions, he made proclamation that all who so wished were to go after provisions and that he would be their leader. There set out accordingly, with poles, wine-skins, bags, and other vessels, about two thousand men. [24] But when they had reached the villages and were scattering here and there for the purpose of securing plunder, they were attacked first of all by the horsemen of Pharnabazus; for they had come to the aid of the Bithynians, desiring in company with the Bithynians to prevent the Greeks, if they could, from entering Phrygia; these horsemen killed no fewer than five hundred of the soldiers, the rest fleeing for refuge to the heights. [25] After this one of the men who escaped brought back word to the camp of what had happened. And Xenophon, inasmuch as the sacrifices had not proved favourable on that day, took a bullock that was yoked to a wagon, — for there were no other sacrificial animals, — offered it up, and set out to the rescue, as did all the rest who were under thirty years of age, to the last man. [26] And they picked up the survivors and returned to the camp. By this time it was about sunset, and the Greeks were making preparations for dinner in a state of great despondency when suddenly through the thickets some of the Bithynians burst upon the outposts, killing some of them and pursuing the rest up to the camp. [27] An outcry was raised, and all the Greeks ran to their arms; still, it did not seem safe to undertake a pursuit or to move the camp during the night, seeing that the region was thickly overgrown; so they spent the night under arms, keeping plenty of sentinels on watch.

5. In this way they got through the night, but at daybreak the generals led the way to the strong place and the men followed, taking up their arms and baggage. Before breakfast time came, they proceeded to dig a trench across the way of approach to the place, and they backed it along its entire length with a palisade, leaving three gates. And now a vessel arrived from Heracleia, bringing barley meal, sacrificial victims, and wine. [2]

Xenophon arose early and sacrificed with a view to an expedition, and with the first offering the omens turned out favourable. Furthermore, just as the rites were nearing the end, the soothsayer, Arexion the Parrhasian, caught sight of an eagle in an auspicious quarter, and bade Xenophon lead on. [3] So they crossed the trench and grounded arms; then they made proclamation that after taking breakfast the troops were to march out under arms, while the camp-followers and captives were to be left behind where they were. [4] All the rest, then, proceeded to set forth, save only Neon; for it seemed best to leave him behind to keep guard over what was in the camp. But when his captains and soldiers began to abandon him, being ashamed not to follow along when the others were setting out, the generals left behind at the camp everybody who was over forty-five years of age. So these remained and the rest took up the march. [5] Before they had gone fifteen stadia they began to meet with dead bodies; and marching on until they had brought the rear of their column to a point opposite the first bodies which appeared, they proceeded to bury all that the column covered. [6] As soon as they had buried this first group, they marched forward and again brought the rear of the column into line with the first of the bodies which lay farther on, and then in the same way they buried all that the army covered. When, however, they had reached the road leading out of the villages, where the dead lay thick, they gathered them all together for burial. [7]

It was now past midday, and, still leading the army forward, they were engaged in getting provisions outside the villages — anything there was to be seen within the limits of their line — when suddenly they caught sight of the enemy passing over some hills which lay opposite them, his force consisting of horsemen in large numbers and foot soldiers, all in battle formation; in fact, it was Spithridates and

Rhathines, who had been sent out with their army by Pharnabazus. [8] As soon as the enemy sighted the Greeks, they came to a halt, at a distance from the Greeks of about fifteen stadia. Hereupon Arexion, the soothsayer of the Greeks, immediately offered sacrifice, and at the first victim the omens proved favourable. Then Xenophon said: [9] "It seems to me, fellow generals, that we should station reserve companies behind our phalanx, so that we may have men to come to the aid of the phalanx if aid is needed at any point, and that the enemy, after they have fallen into disorder, may come upon troops that are in good order and fresh." All shared this opinion. [10] "Well, then," said Xenophon, "do you lead on toward our adversaries, in order that we may not be standing still now that we have been seen by the enemy and have seen them; and I will come along after arranging the hindmost companies in the way you have decided upon." [11] So while the others led on quietly, he detached the three hindmost battalions, consisting of two hundred men each, and turned the first one to the right with orders to follow after the phalanx at a distance of about a plethrum; this battalion was commanded by Samolas the Achaean; the second battalion he posted at the centre, to follow on in the same way; this one was under the command of Pyrrhias the Arcadian; and the last one he stationed upon the left, Phrasias the Athenian being in command of it. [12]

Now when, as they advanced, the men who were in the lead reached a large ravine, difficult to pass, they halted, in doubt as to whether they ought to cross the ravine; and they passed along word for generals and captains to come up to the front. [13] Then Xenophon, wondering what it was that was holding up the march and speedily hearing the summons, rode forward in all haste. As soon as the officers had come together, Sophaenetus, who was the eldest of the generals, said that it was not a question worth considering whether they ought to cross such a ravine as that. [14]

Xenophon rejoined, with much earnestness: "Well, gentlemen, you know that I have never yet introduced you to any danger that was a matter of choice; for as I see the situation, you do not stand in need of reputation for bravery, but of a safe return. [15] But the conditions at this moment are these: there is no possibility of our getting away from here without a battle; for if we do not advance

upon the enemy ourselves, they will follow us when we undertake to retire and fall upon us. [16] Consider, then, whether it is better to go forward against these men with arms advanced, or with arms reversed to behold the enemy coming upon us from behind. [17] Yet you know that to retire before an enemy does not beseem any man of honour, while to be in pursuit creates courage even in cowards. For my part, at any rate, I should rather advance to the attack with half as many men than to retreat with twice as many. And as to those troops yonder, I know that if we advance upon them, you do not yourselves expect them to await our attack, while if we retire, we all know that they will have the courage to pursue us. [18] Again, to cross a difficult ravine and get it in your rear when you are about to fight, is not that an opportunity really worth seizing? For it is to the enemy that I should myself wish to have all roads seem easy — for their retreat; as for ourselves, we ought to learn from the very ground before us that there is no safety for us except in victory. [19] I do wonder, however, that any one regards this particular ravine as more dreadful than the rest of the country we have just marched through. For how is that plain to be recrossed unless we are victorious over the enemy's horsemen? how the mountains which we have passed through, if such a throng of peltasts are to be following at our heels? [20] Again, if we do reach the sea in safety, what a great ravine, one may say, is the Euxine! where we have neither ships to take us away nor food to subsist upon if we remain, while the sooner we reach there, the sooner we shall have to be off again in quest of provisions. [21] Well, then, it is better to fight to-day, with our breakfast already eaten, than to-morrow breakfastless. Gentlemen, our sacrificial victims were favourable, the bird-omens auspicious, the omens of the sacrifice most favourable; let us advance upon the enemy. These fellows, now that they have seen us at all, must not again get a pleasant dinner or encamp wherever they please.” [22]

After that the captains bade him lead on, and no one spoke in opposition. So he led the way, after giving orders that every man should cross at whatever point along the ravine he chanced to be; for it seemed that in this way the army would get together on the further side more quickly than if they defiled along the bridge which was over the ravine. [23] When they had crossed, he went along the lines

and said: "Soldiers, remember how many battles you have won, with the help of the gods, by coming to close quarters, remember what a fate they suffer who flee from the enemy, and bethink you of this, that we are at the doors of Greece. [24] Follow Heracles the Leader and summon one another on, calling each man by name. It will surely be sweet, through some manly and noble thing which one may say or do to-day, to keep himself in remembrance among those whom he wishes to remember him." [25]

Thus he spoke as he rode along, while at the same time he began to lead the troops on slowly in line of battle; and after they had got the peltasts into position on either flank, they took up the march against the enemy. The orders had been to keep their spears on the right shoulder until a signal should be given with the trumpet; then, lowering them for the attack, to follow on slowly, nobody to break into a run. And now the watchword was passed along, "Zeus Saviour, Heracles Leader." Meanwhile the enemy were standing their ground, thinking that the position they held was a good one. [26] When the Greeks were drawing near, the peltasts raised the battle-cry and proceeded to charge upon the enemy without waiting for any order; and the enemy rushed forward to meet them, both the horsemen and the mass of the Bithynians, and they put the peltasts to rout. [27] But when the phalanx of the hoplites kept moving on to meet them, marching rapidly, and at the same time the trumpet sounded, and they struck up the paean and after that raised the battle-cry, and at the same moment couched their spears, then the enemy no longer awaited the attack, but took to flight. [28] Timasion and the cavalry pursued, and killed as many as they could, considering their own small numbers. Now the left wing of the enemy, opposite which the Greek cavalry were stationed, was dispersed at once, but the right, since it was not vigorously pursued, got together upon a hill. [29] As soon as the Greeks saw that they were standing their ground there, they deemed it the easiest and safest course to charge upon them immediately. They accordingly struck up the paean and moved upon them at once; and they stood no longer. Thereupon the peltasts pursued until the right wing was dispersed; but few of the enemy, however, were killed, for his cavalry, numerous as they were, inspired fear. [30] But when the Greeks saw the cavalry of

Pharnabazus standing with ranks still unbroken, and the Bithynian horsemen gathering together to join this force and looking down from a hill at what was going on, although they were tired they nevertheless thought that they must make as stout an attack as they could upon these troops also, so that they should not be able to regain courage and get rested. Accordingly, they formed their lines and set forth. [31] Thereupon the enemy's horsemen fled down the slope just as if they were being pursued by horsemen; for a ravine was waiting to receive them, although the Greeks were not aware of the fact and hence turned aside from their pursuit before reaching it; for it was now late in the day. [32] So after returning to the spot where the first encounter took place and erecting a trophy, they set out on their way back to the sea at about sunset; and the distance to the camp was about sixty stadia.

6. After this the enemy occupied themselves with their own concerns, especially removing their slaves and property to the remotest point they could; meanwhile the Greeks were waiting for Cleander and the triremes and ships which were, presumably, coming, but every day they set forth with their baggage animals and slaves and fearlessly carried off wheat and barley, wine, beans, millet, and figs; for the country had all manner of good things, except olive oil. [2] Whenever the army remained in camp and rested, individuals were permitted to go out after plunder, and in that case kept what they got; but whenever the entire army set out, if an individual went off by himself and got anything, it was decreed to be public property. [3] And by this time there was an abundance of everything, for market products came in from the Greek cities on all sides, and people coasting past were glad to put in, since they heard that a city was being founded and that there was a harbour. [4] Even the hostile peoples who dwelt near by began now to send envoys to Xenophon — for they heard that he was the man who was making a city of the place — to ask what they must do in order to be his friends; and Xenophon would always show these envoys to the soldiers. [5]

Meanwhile Cleander arrived with two triremes, but not a single merchant ship. It so chanced that the army was out foraging when he arrived, while certain individuals had gone in quest of plunder to a

different place in the mountains and had secured a large number of sheep; so fearing that they might be deprived of them, they told their story to Dexippus, the man who slipped away from Trapezus with the fifty-oared warship, and urged him to save their sheep for them, with the understanding that he was to get some of the sheep himself and give the rest back to them. [6] So he immediately proceeded to drive away the soldiers who were standing about and declaring that the animals were public property, and then he went and told Cleander that they were attempting robbery. Cleander directed him to bring the robber before him. [7] So he seized a man and tried to take him to Cleander, but Agasias, happening to meet them, rescued the man, for he was one of his company. Then the other soldiers who were at hand set to work to stone Dexippus, calling him "The traitor." And many of the sailors from the triremes got frightened and began to flee toward the sea, and Cleander also fled. [8] Xenophon, however, and the other generals tried to hold them back, and told Cleander that nothing was the matter, but that the resolution of the army was the reason for this incident taking place. [9] But Cleander, goaded on by Dexippus and angered on his own account also because he had been frightened, declared that he would sail away and issue a proclamation forbidding any city to receive them, on the ground that they were enemies. And at this time the Lacedaemonians held the hegemony over all the Greeks. [10] Upon this the affair seemed to the Greeks a bad business, and they begged Cleander not to carry out his intention. He replied that no other course would be taken unless they should deliver up the man who began the stoning and the one who rescued Dexippus' prisoner. [11] Now Agasias, whom he thus demanded, had been a friend of Xenophon's all through — which was the very reason why Dexippus was slandering him.

After that the commanders, perplexed as they were, called a meeting of the army; and while some of them made light of Cleander, Xenophon thought that it was no trifling matter, and he arose and said: [12] "Fellow soldiers, it seems to me it is no trifling matter if Cleander is to go away with such an intention toward us as he has expressed. For the Greek cities are close by, the Lacedaemonians stand as the leaders of Greece, and they are able, nay, any single Lacedaemonian is able, to accomplish in the cities

whatever he pleases. [13] Hence if this man shall begin by shutting us out of Byzantium, and then shall send word to the other governors not to receive us into their cities, on the ground that we are disobedient to the Lacedaemonians and lawless, and if, further, this report about us shall reach Anaxibius, the Lacedaemonian admiral, it will be difficult for us either to remain or to sail away; for at present the Lacedaemonians are supreme both on land and sea. [14] Now the rest of us must not be kept away from Greece for the sake of one or two men, but we must obey whatever order the Lacedaemonians may give us; for the cities from which we come likewise obey them. [15] For my own part, therefore, — for I hear that Dexippus is saying to Cleander that Agasias would not have done what he did if I had not given him the order, — for my own part, I say, I relieve both you and Agasias of the accusation if Agasias himself shall say that I was in any way responsible for this occurrence, and I pass judgment against myself, if I have taken the lead in stone-throwing or any other sort of violence, that I deserve to suffer the uttermost penalty, and I shall submit to the penalty. [16] And I maintain also that if he holds any one else responsible, that man ought to put himself in Cleander's hands for trial; for in that way you would stand relieved of the accusation. But as matters are now, it will be hard if we who expected to obtain both praise and honour in Greece, shall find instead that we are not even on an equality with the rest of the Greeks, but are shut out from their cities.” [17]

After this Agasias rose and said: “Soldiers, I swear by the gods and goddesses that in very truth neither Xenophon nor any one else among you directed me to rescue the man; but when I saw a good man of my own company being led off by Dexippus, the one who betrayed you, as you know for yourselves, it seemed to me an outrage; and I rescued him, I admit it. [18] Now do not you deliver me up; but I will myself, as Xenophon proposes, put myself in Cleander's hands, so that he may try me and do with me whatever he may choose; do not for this cause make war upon the Lacedaemonians, but rather accomplish a safe return, each of you to the place where he wishes to go. I beg you, however, to choose some of your own number and send them with me to Cleander, so that if I pass over anything, they may speak, and act too, on my behalf.” [19]

Thereupon the army empowered him to choose whomever he wished and take them with him, and he chose the generals. After this Agasias set off to Cleander, and with him the generals and the man he had rescued. [20] And the generals said: "We have been sent to you, Cleander, by the army, and they ask you, in case you accuse them all, to bring them to trial yourself and deal with them as you please; or in case you accuse some one individual, or two or more, they demand of these men that they put themselves in your hands for trial. Therefore if you have any charge against any one of us, we are now here before you; if you have any charge against any one else, tell us; for no one who is ready to yield obedience to us will fail to present himself before you." [21] After this Agasias came forward and said: "I am the person, Cleander, who rescued this man here from Dexippus when he was leading him off, and who gave the order to strike Dexippus. [22] For I know that this soldier here is a good man, and I know also that Dexippus was chosen by the army to be commander of the fifty-oared warship which we begged for and obtained from the Trapezuntians on the understanding that with it we were to collect vessels whereon we might return in safety, and that this Dexippus slipped away from us, and betrayed the soldiers in whose company he had gained deliverance. [23] So we have robbed the Trapezuntians of their warship and are rascals in their estimation, all on account of this Dexippus; indeed, we have lost our very lives, so far as lay in this fellow's power; for he heard, just as we did, that it was impossible, returning by land, to cross the rivers and reach Greece in safety. [24] It was from that sort of a fellow, then, that I rescued his prisoner. Had it been you who were leading him off, or any one of your men, and not one of our runaways, be well assured that I should have done nothing of this kind. And believe that if you now put me to death, you are putting to death a good man for the sake of a coward and a scoundrel." [25]

Upon hearing these words Cleander said that he had no commendation for Dexippus if he had behaved in this way, but that he nevertheless thought that even if Dexippus were an utter scoundrel, he ought not to have suffered violence; "rather," he continued, "he should first have had a trial, just as you are yourselves asking in the present case, and should then have received his

punishment. [26] For the moment, therefore, go away, leaving this man here with me, and when I issue the order, be present for the trial. And I bring no charge either against the army or any other person now that this man himself admits that he rescued the prisoner.” [27] Then the one who had been rescued said: “For myself, Cleander, in case you really imagine that I was being led off for some wrong doing, I neither struck nor stoned anybody, but merely said that the sheep were public property. For a resolution had been passed by the soldiers that if any one should do any plundering on his own account when the entire army went out, what he secured was to be public property. [28] That was what I said, and thereupon this fellow seized me and proceeded to lead me off, in order that nobody might utter a word, but that he might save the booty for the plunderers in violation of the ordinance — and get his own share out of it.” In reply to this Cleander said: “Well, since that is your statement, stay behind, so that we can take up your case also.” [29]

After that Cleander and his party proceeded to breakfast; and Xenophon called a meeting of the army and advised the sending of a delegation to Cleander to intercede for the men. [30] Thereupon the troops resolved to send the generals and captains, Dracontius the Spartan, and such others as seemed fitted for the mission, and to request Cleander by all means to release the two men. [31] So Xenophon came before him and said: “You have the men, Cleander, and the army has submitted to you and allowed you to do what you pleased both with these men and with their entire body. But now they beg and entreat you to give them the two men, and not to put them to death; for many are the labours these two have performed for the army in the past. [32] Should they obtain this favour at your hands, they promise you in return that, if you wish to be their leader and if the gods are propitious, they will show you not only that they are orderly, but that they are able, with the help of the gods, while yielding obedience to their commander, to feel no fear of the enemy. [33] They make this further request of you, that when you have joined them and assumed command of them, you make trial both of Dexippus and of the rest of them to see how the two sorts of men compare, and then give to each his deserts.” [34] Upon hearing these words Cleander replied: “Well, by the twin gods, my answer to you

all will be speedy indeed. I give you the two men and I will myself join you, and if the gods so grant, I will lead you to Greece. These words of yours are decidedly the opposite of what I have been hearing about you from some people, namely, that you were trying to make the army disloyal to the Lacedaemonians.” [35]

After this they thanked him and departed, taking the two men with them; and Cleander undertook sacrifices with a view to the journey and associated amicably with Xenophon, so that the two men struck up a friendship. Furthermore, when Cleander came to see for himself that the troops carried out their orders with good discipline, he was more than ever eager to become their commander. [36] When, however, although he continued his sacrifices over three days, the victims would not prove favourable, he called a meeting of the generals and said: “The victims do not prove favourable to me as the man to lead you onward; but it is not for you to be despondent on that account, since to you, as it seems, is given the office of delivering these soldiers. To the road, then! And we shall give you, when you have reached your journey’s end, as splendid a reception as we can.” [37]

Thereupon the soldiers voted to present to him the sheep that were public property, and he accepted them, but gave them back again to the troops. Then he sailed away. And the soldiers, after selling the corn they had gathered together and the other booty they had secured, set out on their march through the country of the Bithynians. [38] But when in following the direct road they failed to find any booty, to enable them to reach friendly territory with a little something in hand, they resolved to turn about and take the opposite direction for one day and night. By so doing they secured slaves and sheep in abundance; and on the sixth day they arrived at Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, where they remained for seven days, selling their spoils.

BOOK VII.

1. [The preceding narrative has described all that the Greeks did on their upward march with Cyrus until the time of the battle, all that took place after the death of Cyrus on their journey to the Euxine Sea, and the whole course of their doings while they were travelling on, by land and water, from the Euxine, until they got beyond its mouth, arriving at Chrysopolis, in Asia.] [2]

After this Pharnabazus, in fear that the Greek army might carry on a campaign against his own land, sent to Anaxibius, the admiral, who chanced to be at Byzantium, and asked him to carry the army across out of Asia, promising to do everything for him that might be needful. [3] Anaxibius accordingly summoned the generals and captains to Byzantium, and gave them promises that if they crossed over, the soldiers would have regular pay. [4] The rest of the officers replied that they would consider the matter and report back to him, but Xenophon told him that he intended to part company with the army at once, and wanted to sail home. Anaxibius, however, bade him cross over with the others, and leave them only after that. Xenophon said, therefore, that he would do so. [5]

And now Seuthes the Thracian sent Medosades to Xenophon and urged him to help him to bring the army across, adding that if he did render such assistance, he would not be sorry for it. [6] Xenophon replied: "Why, the army is going to cross over; so far as that is concerned, let not Seuthes pay anything either to me or to any one else; but as soon as it has crossed, when I myself am to leave the army, let him deal with those who stay on and are in authority, in any way that may seem to him safe." [7]

After this all the soldiers crossed over to Byzantium. And Anaxibius would not give them pay, but made proclamation that the troops were to take their arms and their baggage and go forth from the city, saying that he was going to send them back home and at the same time to make an enumeration of them. At that the soldiers were angry, for they had no money with which to procure provisions for the journey, and they set about packing up with reluctance. [8] Xenophon meanwhile, since he had become a friend of Cleander, the

governor, called to take leave of him, saying that he was to sail home at once. And Cleander said to him: "Do not do so; if you do," said he, "you will be blamed, for even now certain people are laying it to your charge that the army is slow about moving away." [9] Xenophon replied: "Why, I am not responsible for that; it is rather that the soldiers lack food supplies and on that account are depressed about their going away." [10] "Nevertheless," said Cleander, "I advise you to go forth from the city as though you were planning to make the journey with them, and to leave them only when the army has got outside." "Well, then," said Xenophon, "we will go to Anaxibius and negotiate about this matter." So they went and put the question before him. [11] His orders were, that Xenophon was to follow the course proposed and that the troops were to pack up and leave the city with all speed; and he further declared that any one who was not present for the review and the enumeration would have himself to blame for the consequences. [12]

After that the army proceeded to march forth from the city, the generals at the head and then the rest. And now the entire body with the exception of a few men were outside, and Eteonicus was standing by the gates ready, as soon as the last man got out, to close the gates and thrust in the crossbar. [13] Then Anaxibius called together the generals and captains and said: "Get your provisions from the Thracian villages; there is an abundance there of barley and wheat and other supplies; when you have got them, proceed to the Chersonese, and there Cyniscus will take you into his pay." [14] And some of the soldiers, overhearing these words, or perhaps one of the captains, proceeded to spread the report of them through the army. Meanwhile the generals were inquiring about Seuthes, whether he was hostile or friendly, and whether they were to march by way of the Sacred Mountain or go round through the middle of Thrace. [15] While they were talking over these matters, the soldiers caught up their arms and rushed at full speed toward the gates, intending to get back inside the city wall. But when Eteonicus and his men saw the hoplites running towards them, they shut the gates and thrust in the bar. [16] The soldiers, however, set to hammering at the gates, and said that they were most unjustly treated in being cast out and left at the mercy of the enemy; and they declared that they would break through

the gates if the keepers did not open them of their own accord. [17] Meanwhile others ran down to the shore, made their way along the break-water, and thus scaled the wall and got into the city, while still others, who chanced to be within the walls, seeing what was going on at the gates, cut through the bar with their axes and threw the gates open, whereupon the rest rushed in. [18]

When Xenophon saw what was taking place, being seized with fear lest the army might fall to plundering and irreparable harm might be done to the city, to himself, and to the soldiers, he ran and plunged within the gates along with the rest of the throng. [19] As for the Byzantines, no sooner did they see the army bursting in by force than they fled from the market-place, some to their boats and others to their homes, while all who chanced to be indoors ran out, and some took to launching the ships-of-war in order to seek safety in them — all alike imagining that they were lost and the city captured. [20] Eteonicus made his escape to the citadel. Anaxibius ran down to the shore, sailed round in a fishing boat to the citadel, and immediately summoned the garrison from Calchedon; for the force in the citadel did not seem adequate to bring the Greek troops under control. [21]

As soon as the soldiers saw Xenophon, many of them rushed towards him and said: “Now is your opportunity, Xenophon, to prove yourself a man. You have a city, you have triremes, you have money, you have this great number of men. Now, should you so wish, you would render us a service and we should make you great.” [22] He replied, desiring to quiet them down: “Your advice is certainly good, and I shall do as you say; but if this is what you long for, ground your arms in line of battle with all speed.” Then he proceeded to pass along this order himself and bade the others send it on — to ground their arms in battle line. [23] The men acted as their own marshals, and within a short time the hoplites had fallen into line eight deep and the peltasts had got into position on either wing. [24] The place where they were, indeed, is a most excellent one for drawing out a line of troops, being the so-called Thracian Square, which is free of houses and level. As soon as their arms were grounded and they had quieted down, Xenophon called the troops together and spoke as follows: [25] “That you are angry, fellow soldiers, and believe you are

outrageously treated in being so deceived, I do not wonder. But if we indulge our anger, by taking vengeance for this deception upon the Lacedaemonians who are here and by sacking the city which is in no way to blame, consider the results that will follow. [26] We shall be declared to be at war with the Lacedaemonians and their allies. And what sort of a war that would prove to be one may at least conjecture by having seen and by recalling to mind the events which have quite lately taken place. [27] We Athenians, remember, entered upon our war against the Lacedaemonians and their allies with no fewer than three hundred triremes, some afloat and others in the dockyards, with an abundance of treasure already at hand in our city, and with a yearly revenue, accruing at home or coming in from our foreign possessions, of not less than a thousand talents; we ruled over all the islands, we possessed many cities in Asia, in Europe we possessed among many others this very city of Byzantium also, where we now are, — and we were vanquished, in the way that all of you remember. [28] What fate, then, may you and I expect to suffer now, when the Lacedaemonians still have their old allies, when the Athenians and all who at that time were allied with them have been added to the number, when Tissaphernes and all the rest of the barbarians on the coast are hostile to us, and most hostile of all the King himself, up in the interior, the man whom we came to deprive of his empire, and to kill if we could? With all these banded together against us, is there any man so witless as to suppose that we should come off victorious? [29] In the name of the gods let us not be mad, nor let us perish disgracefully as enemies both to our native states and to our own friends and kinsmen. For all of them are in the cities which will take the field against us, and will do so justly if we, after refraining from the seizure of any barbarian city, conquerors though we were, are to take the first Greek city we have come to and pillage that. [30] For my part, therefore, I pray that sooner than live to behold this deed wrought by you, I may be laid ten thousand fathoms underground. And to you my advice is, that being Greeks you endeavour to obtain your just rights by obedience to the leaders of the Greeks. If you are unable to accomplish this, we must not at any rate, even though wronged, be deprived of our return to Greece. [31] And now it is my opinion that we should send messengers to Anaxibius and say to

him: 'We have not made our way into the city to do any violence, but to obtain some good thing from you if we can, or if that is not possible, at least to show that we go forth, not because we are deceived, but because we are obedient.'” [32]

This course was resolved upon, and they sent Hieronymus the Elean, Eurylochus the Arcadian, and Philesius the Achaean to bear this message. So they departed to perform their mission. [33]

While the soldiers were still in session Coeratadas the Theban came in, a man who was going up and down Greece, not in exile, but because he was afflicted with a desire to be a general, and he was offering his services to any city or people that might be wanting a general; so at this time he came to the troops and said that he was ready to lead them to the Delta, as it is called, of Thrace, where they could get plenty of good things; and until they should reach there, he said he would supply them with food and drink in abundance. [34] When the soldiers heard this proposal and the word that came back at the same time from Anaxibius — his reply was, that if they were obedient they would not be sorry for it, but that he would report the matter to his government at home and would himself devise whatever good counsel he could in their case — [35] they thereupon accepted Coeratadas as general and withdrew outside the walls. And Coeratadas made an agreement with them that he would join the army on the next day with sacrificial victims and a soothsayer, as well as food and drink for the troops. [36] Meanwhile, as soon as they had gone forth from the city, Anaxibius closed the gates and made proclamation that any soldier who might be caught inside the city would be sold as a slave. [37] On the next day Coeratadas arrived with his sacrificial victims and his soothsayer, and there followed him twenty men loaded with barley-meal, another twenty with wine, three with olives, another man with as big a load of garlic as he could carry, and another with onions. After setting down all these things, as though for distribution, he proceeded to sacrifice. [38]

And now Xenophon sent for Cleander and urged him to make arrangements so that he could enter within the wall and thus sail homeward from Byzantium. [39] When Cleander returned, he said that it was only with very great difficulty that he had accomplished the arrangement; for Anaxibius said it was not well to have the soldiers

close by the wall and Xenophon within it; the Byzantines, moreover, were in a factious state and hostile to one another. "Nevertheless," Cleander continued, "he bade you come in if you are intending to sail away with him." [40] Xenophon accordingly took his leave of the soldiers and went back within the wall in company with Cleander. As for Coeratadas, on the first day he could not get good omens from his sacrifices nor did he serve out any rations at all to the troops; on the following day the victims were standing beside the altar and Coeratadas had on his chaplet, ready for the sacrifice, when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinaean, and Cleanor the Orchomenian came up and told him not to make the offering, for he was not to be leader of the army unless he should give them provisions. [41] So he ordered rations to be served out. When it proved, however, that his supply fell far short of amounting to a day's food for each of the soldiers, he took his victims and went away, renouncing his generalship.

2. There now remained in command of the army Neon the Asinaean, Phryniscus the Achaean, Philesius the Achaean, Xanthicles the Achaean, and Timasion the Dardanian, and they proceeded to some villages of the Thracians which were near Byzantium and there encamped. [2] Now the generals were at variance in their views: Cleanor and Phryniscus wanted to lead the army to Seuthes, for he had been trying to persuade them to this course and had given one of them a horse and the other a woman; Neon wanted to go to the Chersonese, thinking that if the troops should fall under the control of the Lacedaemonians, he would be leader of the entire army; and Timasion was eager to cross back again to Asia, for he thought that in this way he could accomplish his return home. As for the troops, to return home was what they also desired. [3] As time wore on, however, many of the soldiers either sold their arms up and down the country and set sail for home in any way they could, or else mingled with the people of the neighbouring Greek cities. [4] And Anaxibius was glad to hear the news that the army was breaking up; for he thought that if this process went on, Pharnabazus would be very greatly pleased. [5]

While Anaxibius was on his homeward voyage from Byzantium, he was met at Cyzicus by Aristarchus, Cleander's successor as

governor of Byzantium; and it was reported that his own successor as admiral, Polus, had by this time all but reached the Hellespont. [6] Anaxibius, then, charged Aristarchus to sell as slaves all the soldiers of Cyrus' army that he might find left behind at Byzantium. As for Cleander, he had not sold one of them, but had even been caring for their sick out of pity and compelling the Byzantines to receive them in their houses; but the moment Aristarchus arrived he sold no fewer than four hundred. [7] When Anaxibius had coasted along to Parium, he sent to Pharnabazus, according to the terms of their agreement. As soon as Pharnabazus learned, however, that Aristarchus had come to Byzantium as governor and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, he paid no heed to Anaxibius, but set about making the same arrangement with Aristarchus in regard to Cyrus' army as he had had with Anaxibius. [8]

Thereupon Anaxibius summoned Xenophon and urged him by all manner of means to set sail as quickly as possible and join the army, and not only to keep it together, but likewise to collect the greatest number he could of those who had become scattered from the main body, and then, after leading the entire force along the coast to Perinthus, to take it across to Asia with all speed; he also gave him a thirty-oared warship and a letter, and sent with him a man who was to order the Perinthians to furnish Xenophon with horses and speed him on his way to the army as rapidly as possible. So Xenophon sailed across to Perinthus and then made his way to the army; [9] and the soldiers received him with pleasure, and were glad to follow his lead at once, with the idea of crossing over from Thrace to Asia. [10]

Meanwhile Seuthes, upon hearing of Xenophon's arrival, sent Medosades to him again by sea, and begged him to bring the army to him, offering any promise whereby he imagined he could persuade him. Xenophon replied that it was not possible for anything of this sort to come to pass, and upon receiving this answer Medosades departed. [11] As for the Greeks, when they reached Perinthus, Neon with about eight hundred men parted company with the others and took up a separate camp; but all the rest of the army were together in the same place, beside the wall of the Perinthians. [12]

After this Xenophon proceeded to negotiate for ships, in order that they might cross over with all possible speed. But meantime

Aristarchus, the governor at Byzantium, arrived with two triremes and, having been persuaded to this course by Pharnabazus, not only forbade the shipmasters to carry the army across, but came to the camp and told the soldiers not to pass over into Asia. [13] Xenophon replied, "Anaxibius so ordered, and sent me here for that purpose." And Aristarchus retorted, "Anaxibius, mark you, is no longer admiral, and I am governor here; if I catch any one of you on the sea, I will sink him." With these words he departed within the walls of Perinthus. On the next day he sent for the generals and captains of the army. [14] When they were already near the wall, some one brought word to Xenophon that if he went in he would be seized, and would either meet some ill fate then and there or else be delivered over to Pharnabazus. Upon hearing this he sent the rest on ahead, telling them that he was desirous himself of offering a certain sacrifice. [15] Then he went back and sacrificed to learn whether the gods permitted of his endeavouring to take the army to Seuthes. For he saw that it was not safe for them to try to cross over to Asia when the man who intended to prevent their passage possessed triremes; on the other hand, it was not his desire that the army should go to the Chersonese and find itself shut up and in sore need of everything in a place where it would be necessary to obey the resident governor and where the army would not obtain anything in the way of provisions. [16]

While Xenophon was occupied with his sacrificing, the generals and captains returned from their visit to Aristarchus with word that he directed them to go away for the present, but to come back during the afternoon; at that report the design against Xenophon seemed to be even more manifest. [17] Since, therefore, the sacrifices appeared to be favourable, portending that he and the army might go to Seuthes in safety, Xenophon took Polycrates, the Athenian captain, and from each of the generals except Neon a man in whom each had confidence, and set off by night to visit Seuthes' army, sixty stadia away. [18] When they had got near it, he came upon watch-fires with no one about them. And at first he supposed that Seuthes had shifted his camp to some other place; but when he became aware of a general uproar and heard Seuthes' followers signalling to one another, he comprehended that the reason Seuthes had his watch-fires

kindled in front of the pickets was in order that the pickets might remain unseen, in the darkness as they were, so that no one could tell either how many they were or where they were, while on the other hand people who were approaching could not escape notice, but would be visible in the light of the fires. [19]

When he did see pickets, he sent forward the interpreter he chanced to have and bade them tell Seuthes that Xenophon had come and desired to meet with him. They asked whether he was an Athenian from the army. [20] And when Xenophon made reply that he was the man, they leaped up and hastened off; and a little afterwards about two hundred peltasts appeared, took Xenophon and his party, and proceeded to conduct them to Seuthes. [21] He was in a tower and well guarded, and all around the tower were horses ready bridled; for out of fear he gave his horses their fodder by day, and by night kept them ready bridled to guard himself with. [22] For there was a story that in time gone by Teres, an ancestor of Seuthes, being in this region with a large army, lost many of his troops and was robbed of his baggage train at the hands of the people of this neighbourhood; they were the Thynians, and were said to be the most warlike of all men, especially by night. [23]

When the Greek party had drawn near, Seuthes directed Xenophon to come in, with any two men he might choose to bring with him. As soon as they were inside, they first greeted one another and drank healths after the Thracian fashion in horns of wine; and Seuthes had Medosades present also, the same man who went everywhere as his envoy. [24] After that Xenophon began the speaking: "You sent to me, Seuthes, first at Calchedon, this man Medosades, with the request that I make every effort on your behalf to bring the army across from Asia, and with the promise that if I should do this, you would treat me well — as Medosades here declared." [25] After saying this, he asked Medosades whether this statement of the matter was a true one. He replied that it was. "Medosades here came to me a second time after I had crossed over from Parium to rejoin the army, and promised that if I should bring the army to you, you would not only treat me in all ways as a friend and a brother, but in particular would give me the places on the seacoast of which you hold possession." [26] Hereupon he again asked

Medosades whether this was what he said, and he again agreed that it was. "Come, now," Xenophon went on, "tell Seuthes what answer I made you that first time at Calchedon." [27] "You answered that the army was going to cross over to Byzantium and there was no need, so far as that was concerned, of paying anything to you or any one else; you also stated that when you had got across, you were yourself to leave the army; and it turned out just as you said." [28] "What then did I say," Xenophon asked, "at the time when you came to me near Selymbria?" "You said that the project was not possible, but that you were going to Perinthus and intended to cross over from there to Asia." [29] "Well, then," said Xenophon, "at this moment I am here myself, along with Phryniscus here, one of the generals, and Polycrates yonder, one of the captains, and outside are representatives of the other generals except Neon the Laconian, in each case the man most trusted by each general. [30] If you wish, therefore, to have the transaction better safeguarded, call them in also. Go and say to them, Polycrates, that I direct them to leave their arms behind, and do you yourself leave your sabre out there before coming back again." [31]

Upon hearing these words Seuthes said that he should not distrust any one who was an Athenian; for he knew, he said, that the Athenians were kinsmen of his, and he believed they were loyal friends. After this, when those who were to be present had come in, Xenophon began by asking Seuthes what use he wanted to make of the army. [32] Then Seuthes spoke as follows: "Maesades was my father, and his realm embraced the Melanditae, the Thynians, and the Tranipsae. Now when the affairs of the Odrysians fell into a bad state, my father was driven out of this country, and thereafter sickened and died, while I, the son, was brought up as an orphan at the court of Medocus, the present king. [33] When I became a young man, however, I could not endure to live with my eyes turned toward another's table; so I sat myself down on the same seat with Medocus as a suppliant and besought him to give me as many men as he could, in order that I might inflict whatever harm I could upon those who drove us out, and might live without turning my eyes toward his table. [34] Thereupon he gave me the men and the horses that you will see for yourselves as soon as day has come. And now I live with

them, plundering my own ancestral land. But if you should join me, I think that with the aid of the gods I could easily recover my realm. It is this that I want.” [35]

“What, then,” said Xenophon, “should you be able, in case we came, to give to the rank and file, to the captains, and to the generals? Tell us, so that these men here may carry back word.” [36] And Seuthes promised to give to each soldier a Cyzicene, to the captains twice as much, and to the generals four times as much; furthermore, as much land as they might wish, yokes of oxen, and a fortified place upon the seacoast.” [37] “But,” said Xenophon, “if we make this attempt and do not succeed, because of some intimidation on the part of the Lacedaemonians, will you receive into your country any one who may wish to leave the army and come to you?” [38] And he replied: “Nay, more than that, I will make you my brothers, table-companions, sharers to the uttermost in all that we may find ourselves able to acquire. And to you, Xenophon, I will also give my daughter, and if you have a daughter, I will buy her after the Thracian fashion; and I will give you for a residence Bisanthe, the very fairest of all the places I have upon the seacoast.”

3. After hearing these words and giving and receiving pledges they rode away, and before daybreak they arrived at the camp and made their report, each one to those who had sent him. [2] When day came, Aristarchus again summoned the generals; but they resolved to disregard the summons of Aristarchus and instead to call a meeting of the army. And all the troops gathered except Neon’s men, who were encamped about ten stadia away. [3] When they had gathered, Xenophon arose and spoke as follows: “Soldiers, as for sailing across to the place where we wish to go, Aristarchus with his triremes prevents our doing that; the result is, that it is not safe for us to embark upon boats; but this same Aristarchus directs us to force our way to the Chersonese, through the Sacred Mountain; and if we make ourselves masters of the mountain and get to the Chersonese, he says that he will not sell you any more, as he did at Byzantium, that you will not be cheated any more but will receive pay, and that he will not shut his eyes any more, as he does now, to your being in want of provisions. [4] So much for what Aristarchus says; but Seuthes says that if you come to him, he will treat you well. Now,

therefore, make up your minds whether you will consider this question here and now or after you have set forth in quest of provisions. [5] My own opinion is, seeing that here we neither have money with which to buy nor are permitted to take anything without money, that we ought to set forth to the villages from which we are permitted to take, since their inhabitants are weaker than ourselves, and that there, possessed of provisions and hearing what the service is that one wants us for, we should choose whatever course may seem best to us. [6] Whoever," he said, "holds this opinion, let him raise his hand." Every hand was raised. "Go away, then," Xenophon continued, "and pack up, and when the word is given, follow the van." [7]

After this Xenophon led the way and the troops followed. Neon, indeed, and messengers from Aristarchus tried to persuade them to turn back, but they would not listen to them. When they had advanced as much as thirty stadia, Seuthes met them. And Xenophon, catching sight of him, bade him ride up to the troops, in order that he might tell him within hearing of the greatest possible number what they had decided upon as advantageous. [8] When he had come up, Xenophon said: "We are on our way to a place where the army will be able to get food; there we shall listen both to you and to the Laconian's messengers, and make whatever choice may seem to be best. If, then, you will guide us to a spot where there are provisions in greatest abundance, we shall think we are being hospitably entertained by you." [9] And Seuthes replied: "Why, I know a large number of villages, close together and containing all sorts of provisions, that are just far enough away from us so that, when you have covered the distance, you would enjoy your breakfast." [10] "Lead on, then," said Xenophon. When they had reached the villages, in the afternoon, noon, the soldiers gathered together and Seuthes spoke as follows: "I ask you, soldiers, to take the field with me, and I promise to give to you who are in the ranks a Cyzicene and to the captains and generals the customary pay; besides this, I shall honour the man who deserves it. Food and drink you will obtain, just as to-day, by taking from the country; but whatever may be captured I shall expect to retain for myself, so that by selling it I may provide you your pay. [11] All that flees and hides we shall

ourselves be able to pursue and seek out; but if any one offers resistance, with your help we shall try to subdue him.” [12] Xenophon asked, “And how far from the seacoast shall you expect the army to follow you?” He replied, “Nowhere more than a seven days’ journey, and in many places less.” [13]

After this the opportunity to speak was offered to any one who desired it; and many spoke to the same effect, saying that Seuthes’ proposals were most valuable; for the season was winter, and it was impossible to sail back home, if that was what one wished, and impossible also to get along in a friendly country if they had to maintain themselves by purchasing; on the other hand, to spend their time and get their maintenance in a hostile country was a safer proceeding in Seuthes’ company than if they were alone. And if, above and beyond such important advantages, they were also to receive pay, they counted it a godsend. [14] After that Xenophon said: “If any one holds a contrary opinion, let him speak; if not, I will put this question to vote.” And as no one spoke in opposition, he put the matter to vote, and this plan was decided upon. So he told Seuthes at once that they would take service with him. [15]

After this the troops went into camp by divisions, but the generals and captains were invited to dinner by Seuthes in a village he was occupying near by. [16] When they had reached his doors and were about to go in to dinner, there stood a certain Heracleides, of Maroneia; this fellow came up to each single one of the guests who, as he imagined, were able to make a present to Seuthes, first of all to some people of Parium who had come to arrange a friendship with Medocus, the king of the Odrysians, and brought gifts with them for him and his wife; to them Heracleides said that Medocus was a twelve days’ journey inland from the sea, while Seuthes, now that he had got this army, would be master upon the coast. [17] “He, therefore,” Heracleides went on, “being your neighbour, will be best able to do you good or harm. Hence if you are wise, you will present to him whatever you bring with you; and it will be better for you than if you make your gifts to Medocus, who dwells far away.” It was in this way that he tried to persuade these people. [18] Next he came up to Timasion the Dardanian, — for he heard that he had some Persian drinking cups and carpets, — and said that it was customary when

Seuthes invited people to dinner, for those who were thus invited to give him presents. "And," he continued, "in case this Seuthes becomes a great man in this region, he will be able either to restore you to your home or to make you rich here." Such were the solicitations he used as he went to one man after another. [19] He came up to Xenophon also, and said to him: "You are a citizen of a very great state and your name is a very great one with Seuthes; perhaps you will expect to obtain fortresses in this land, as others among your countrymen have done, and territory; it is proper, therefore, for you to honour Seuthes in the most magnificent way. [20] It is out of good-will to you that I give this advice for I am quite sure that the greater the gifts you bestow upon this man, the greater the favours that you will receive at his hands." Upon hearing this Xenophon was dismayed; for he had come across from Parium with nothing but a boy and money enough for his travelling expenses. [21]

When they had come in for the dinner — the noblest of the Thracians who were present, the generals and the captains of the Greeks, and whatever embassy from any state was there — the dinner was served with the guests seated in a circle; then three-legged tables were brought in for the whole company; these were full of meat, cut up into pieces, and there were great loaves of leavened bread fastened with skewers to the pieces of meat. [22] In general the tables were placed opposite the strangers in each case; for the Thracians had a custom which Seuthes now took the lead in practising, — he would pick up the loaves which lay beside him, break them into small pieces, and throw the pieces to whomever he pleased, following the same fashion with the meat also, and leaving himself only enough for a mere taste. [23] Then the others also who had tables placed opposite them, set about doing the same thing. But a certain Arcadian named Arystas, a terrible eater, would have none of this throwing about, but took in his hand a loaf as big as a three-quart measure, put some pieces of meat upon his knees, and proceeded to dine. [24] They carried round horns of wine, and all took them; but Arystas, when the cupbearer came and brought him his horn, said to the man, after observing that Xenophon had finished his dinner, "Give it to him; for he's already at leisure, but I'm not as yet." [25] When Seuthes heard the sound of his voice, he asked the

cupbearer what he was saying. And the cupbearer, who understood Greek, told him. So then there was an outburst of laughter. [26]

When the drinking was well under way, there came in a Thracian with a white horse, and taking a full horn he said: "I drink your health, Seuthes, and present to you this horse; on his back pursuing you shall catch whomever you choose, and retreating you shall not fear the enemy." [27] Another brought in a boy and presented him in the same way, with a health to Seuthes, while another presented clothes for his wife. Timasion also drank his health and presented to him a silver bowl and a carpet worth ten minas. [28] Then one Gnesippus, an Athenian, arose and said that it was an ancient and most excellent custom that those who had possessions should give to the king for honour's sake, and that to those who had nought the king should give, "so that," he continued, "I too may be able to bestow gifts upon you and do you honour." [29] As for Xenophon, he was at a loss to know what he should do; for he chanced, as one held in honour, to be seated on the stool nearest to Seuthes. And Heracleides directed the cupbearer to proffer him the horn. Then Xenophon, who already as it happened had been drinking a little, arose courageously after taking the horn and said: [30] "And I, Seuthes, give you myself and these my comrades to be your faithful friends; and not one of them do I give against his will, but all are even more desirous than I of being your friends. [31] And now they are here, asking you for nothing more, but rather putting themselves in your hands and willing to endure toil and danger on your behalf. With them, if the gods so will, you will acquire great territory, recovering all that belonged to your fathers and gaining yet more, and you will acquire many horses, and many men and fair women; and these things you will not need to take as plunder, but my comrades of their own accord shall bring them before you as gifts." [32] Up rose Seuthes, drained the horn with Xenophon, and joined him in sprinkling the last drops. After this there came in musicians blowing upon horns such as they use in giving signals, and playing upon trumpets of raw ox-hide not only measured notes, but music like that of a harp. [33] And Seuthes himself got up, raised a war-cry, and sprang aside very nimbly, as though avoiding a missile. There entered also a company of buffoons. [34]

When the sun was about setting, the Greeks arose and said that it was time to post sentinels and give out the watchword. They also urged Seuthes to issue an order that none of the Thracians were to enter the Greek camp by night; “for,” they said, “our enemies are Thracians and our friends are yourselves.” [35] As the Greeks were setting forth, Seuthes arose with them, not in the least like a drunken man. And after coming out he called the generals aside by themselves and said: “Gentlemen, our enemies do not yet know of our alliance; therefore if we go against them before they have got on guard against being captured or have made preparations to defend themselves, we should most surely get both captives and property.” [36] The generals agreed in approving this plan, and bade him lead on. And he said: “Get yourselves ready and wait; and when the proper time comes, I will return to you and, picking up my peltasts and yourselves, will lead the way with my horsemen.” [37] And Xenophon said: “Well, now, consider this point, whether, if we are to make a night march, the Greek practice is not the better: in our marches by day, you know, that part of the army takes the lead which is suited to the nature of the ground in each case, whether it be hoplites or peltasts or cavalry; but by night it is the practice of the Greeks that the slowest arm should lead the way; [38] for thus the various parts of the army are least likely to become separated, and men are least likely to drop away from one another without knowing it; and it often happens that scattered divisions fall in with one another and in their ignorance inflict and suffer harm.” [39] Then Seuthes replied: “You are right, and I will adopt your practice. I will give you guides from among the oldest men, who know the country best, and I myself will bring up the rear with my horsemen; for I can speedily reach the front if need be.” Then they gave out “Athena” as the watchword, on account of their kinship. After this conference they went to rest. [40]

When it was about midnight, Seuthes was at hand with his horsemen armed with breast-plates and his peltasts equipped with their arms. And as soon as he had given over their guides to the Greeks, the hoplites took the lead, the peltasts followed, and the horsemen brought up the rear. [41] When day came, Seuthes rode along to the front and expressed his approval of the Greek practice. For many times, he said, while marching by night with even a small

force he himself, along with his cavalry, had got separated from his infantry; “but now,” he continued, “we find ourselves at daybreak all together, just as we should be. But do you wait where you are and take a rest, and I will return after I have looked around a little.” With these words he rode off along a mountain side, following a kind of road. [42] When he had reached a place where there was deep snow, he looked about to see whether there were human footprints, either leading onward or back. As soon as he saw that the road was untrodden, he quickly returned and said: [43] “All will be well, gentlemen, if god will; for we shall fall upon these people before they know it. Now I will lead the way with the cavalry, so that if we catch sight of any one, he may not slip through our fingers and give word to the enemy; and do you follow after me, and in case you get left behind, keep to the trail of the horses. Once we have crossed over the mountains, we shall come to many prosperous villages.” [44]

By the time it was midday he was already upon the heights, and catching sight of the villages below he came riding up to the hoplites and said: “Now I am going to let the horsemen charge down to the plain on the run, and to send the peltasts against the villages. Do you, then, follow as fast as you can, so that if any resistance is offered, you may meet it.” [45] Upon hearing these words Xenophon dismounted from his horse. And Seuthes asked: “Why do you dismount, for there is need of haste?” “I know,” Xenophon replied, “that I am not the only one you need; and the hoplites will run faster and more cheerfully if I also am on foot leading the way.” [46] After this Seuthes went off, and with him Timasion at the head of about forty horsemen of the Greeks. Then Xenophon gave orders that the active men up to thirty years of age should move up from their several companies to the front. So he himself ran along with them, while Cleanor led the rest. [47] When they had reached the villages, Seuthes with about thirty horsemen rode up to him and said: “Here’s the very thing, Xenophon, that you were saying; these fellows are caught, but unhappily my horsemen have gone off unsupported, scattering in their pursuit, and I fear that the enemy may get together somewhere in a body and work some harm. On the other hand, some of us also must remain in the villages, for they are full of people.” [48] “Well,” Xenophon replied, “I myself with the troops I have will seize

the heights, and do you direct Cleanor to extend his line through the plain alongside the villages.” When they had done these things, there were gathered together captives to the number of a thousand, two thousand cattle, and ten thousand smaller animals besides. Then they bivouacked where they were.

4. On the following day, after Seuthes had burned up the villages completely and left not a single house, in order that he might inspire the rest of his enemies also with fear of the sort of fate they would suffer if they did not yield him obedience, he went back again. [2] Then he dispatched Heracleides to Perinthus to sell the booty, so that he might get money to pay the soldiers with; while he himself and the Greeks encamped on the plain of the Thynians, the inhabitants abandoning their homes and fleeing to the mountains. [3] There was deep snow on the plain, and it was so cold that the water which they carried in for dinner and the wine in the jars would freeze, and many of the Greeks had their noses and ears frost-bitten. [4] Then it became clear why the Thracians wear fox-skin caps on their heads and over their ears, and tunics not merely about their chests, but also round their thighs, and why, when on horseback, they wear long cloaks reaching to their feet instead of mantles. [5] And now Seuthes allowed some of his captives to go off to the mountains with word that if the Thynians did not come down to the plain to live and did not yield him obedience, he would burn up their villages also and their corn, and they would perish with hunger. Thereupon the women, children, and older men did come down, but the younger men bivouacked in the villages under the mountain. [6] And Seuthes, upon learning of this, ordered Xenophon to take the youngest of the hoplites and follow him. So they arose during the night, and at daybreak reached the villages. Now most of the villagers made their escape, for the mountain was close at hand; but all that he did capture, Seuthes shot down unsparingly. [7]

There was a certain Episthenes of Olynthus who was a lover of boys, and upon seeing a handsome boy, just in the bloom of youth and carrying a light shield, on the point of being put to death, he ran up to Xenophon and besought him to come to the rescue of a handsome lad. [8] So Xenophon went to Seuthes and begged him not to kill the boy, telling him of Episthenes’ turn of mind, how he had

once assembled a battalion with an eye to nothing else save the question whether a man was handsome, and that with this battalion he proved himself a brave man. [9] And Seuthes asked: "Would you even be willing, Episthenes, to die for this boy's sake?" Then Episthenes stretched out his neck and said, "Strike, if the lad bids you and will be grateful." [10] Seuthes asked the boy whether he should strike Episthenes in his stead. The boy forbade it, and besought him not to slay either. Thereupon Episthenes threw his arms around the boy and said: "It is time, Seuthes, for you to fight it out with me for this boy; for I shall not give him up." [11] And Seuthes laughed and let the matter go. He resolved, however, to establish a camp where they were, in order that the people on the mountain should not be supplied with food from these villages, either. So he himself went quietly down the mountain and encamped upon the plain, while Xenophon with his picked men took quarters in the uppermost village below the summit and the rest of the Greeks close by, among the so-called "mountain" Thracians. [12]

Not many days had passed after this when the Thracians on the mountain came down and entered into negotiations with Seuthes in regard to a truce and hostages. And Xenophon came and told Seuthes that his men were in bad quarters and the enemy were close at hand; he would be better pleased, he said, to bivouac in the open in a strong position than to be in the houses and run the risk of being destroyed. But Seuthes bade him have no fear and showed him hostages that had come from the enemy. [13] Meanwhile some of the people on the mountain came down and actually requested Xenophon himself to help them obtain the truce. He agreed to do so, told them to have no fear, and gave them his word that they would suffer no harm if they were obedient to Seuthes. But they, as it proved, were talking about this matter merely in order to spy out the situation. [14]

All this happened during the day, but in the night that followed the Thynians issued from the mountain and made an attack. And the master of each separate house acted as guide to that house; for in the darkness it would have been difficult to find the houses in these villages in any other way; for each house was surrounded by a paling, made of great stakes, to keep in the cattle. [15] When they had reached the doors of a particular house, some would throw in

javelins, others would lay on with their clubs, which they carried, so it was said, to knock off the heads of hostile spears, and still others would be setting the house on fire, meanwhile calling Xenophon by name and bidding him come out and be killed, or else, they said, he would be burned up then and there. [16] And now fire was already showing through the roof, and Xenophon and his men inside the house had equipped themselves with breastplates and were furnished with shields and swords and helmets, when Silanus the Macistian, a lad of about eighteen years, gave a signal with the trumpet; and on the instant they leaped forth with swords drawn, and so did the Greeks from the other houses. [17] Then the Thracians took to flight, swinging their shields around behind them, as was their custom; and some of them who tried to jump over the palings were captured hanging in the air, with their shields caught in the stakes, while others missed the ways that led out and were killed; and the Greeks continued the pursuit till they were outside the village. [18] Some of the Thynians, however, turned about in the darkness and hurled javelins at men who were running along past a burning house, throwing out of the darkness toward the light; and they wounded Hieronymus the Epitalian, a captain, and Theogenes the Locrian, also a captain; no one, however, was killed, but some men had clothes and baggage burned up. [19] Meanwhile, Seuthes came to their aid with seven horsemen of his front line and his Thracian trumpeter. And from the instant he learned of the trouble, through all the time that he was hurrying to the rescue, every moment his horn was kept sounding; the result was, that this also helped to inspire fear in the enemy. When he did arrive, he clasped their hands and said that he had supposed he should find many of them slain. [20]

After this Xenophon asked Seuthes to give over the hostages to him and to join him on an expedition to the mountain, if he so pleased; otherwise, to let him go by himself. [21] On the next day, accordingly, Seuthes gave over the hostages — men already elderly and the most powerful, so it was said, of the mountaineers — and came himself with his troops. Now by this time Seuthes had a force quite three times as large as before; for many of the Odrysians, hearing what success Seuthes was enjoying, came down from the upper country to take service with him. [22] And when the Thynians

saw from their mountain masses of hoplites, masses of peltasts, and troops of horsemen, they descended and besought him to grant them a truce, agreeing to do anything and everything and urging him to receive pledges. [23] Thereupon Seuthes summoned Xenophon, disclosed to him the proposals they were making, and said that he should not grant them a truce if Xenophon wanted to punish them for their attack. [24] And Xenophon said: "Why, for my part I think I have abundant satisfaction as it is, if these people are to be slaves instead of free men." He added, however, that he advised Seuthes to take as hostages in the future those who were most capable of doing harm and to leave the old men at home. Thus it was that all the people in this region surrendered.

5. And now they crossed over to the country of the Thracians above Byzantium, in the so-called Delta; this was beyond the domain of Maesades, being the land of Teres the Odrysian. [2] There Heracleides presented himself, with the proceeds from the sale of the booty. And Seuthes, leading forth three pairs of mules — for there were no more than three — and the yokes of oxen besides, called Xenophon and bade him take for himself and then distribute the rest among the generals and captains. [3] Xenophon replied: "Well, for my part I am content to get something at a later time; give rather to these generals and captains who have followed with me." [4] So one of the mule teams was given to Timasion the Dardanian, one to Cleanor the Orchomenian, and one to Phryniscus the Achaean, while the yokes of oxen were distributed among the captains. Seuthes also paid over the wages of the troops, but for twenty days only of the month that had now passed; for Heracleides said that he had not obtained any more than that from his sale. [5] Xenophon was angered at this, and said to him with an oath: "It seems to me, Heracleides, that you are not caring for Seuthes' interest as you should; for if you were, you would have brought back with you our wages in full, even if you had to borrow something, in case you could not do it in any other way, or to sell your own clothes." [6]

This made Heracleides not only angry, but fearful that he might be banished from the favour of Seuthes, and from that day he slandered Xenophon before Seuthes to the best of his ability. [7] As for the soldiers, they held Xenophon to blame for their not having received

their pay; and Seuthes, on the other hand, was angry with him because he was insistent in demanding their pay for the soldiers. [8] Hitherto, he had continually been mentioning the fact that upon his return to the coast he was going to give Xenophon Bisanthe and Ganos and Neonteichos, but from this time he did not allude to a single one of these places again. For Heracleides had put in this slanderous suggestion with the rest, that it was not safe to be giving over fortresses to a man who had a force of troops. [9]

Hereupon Xenophon began to consider what it was best to do about continuing the march still farther inland; Heracleides, on the other hand, took the rest of the generals in to visit Seuthes and bade them say that they could lead the army just as well as Xenophon, while at the same time he promised them that within a few days they would have their pay in full for two months and urged them to continue the campaign with Seuthes. [10] And Timasion said: "Well, so far as I am concerned, I shall undertake no campaign without Xenophon even if there is going to be five months' pay." And Phryniscus and Cleanor agreed with Timasion. [11] Thereupon Seuthes fell to abusing Heracleides because he had not invited Xenophon in also. The upshot of this was, that they invited Xenophon by himself. And he, comprehending the rascality of Heracleides, in wanting to make him an object of suspicion to the other generals, brought with him when he came all the generals and the captains. [12] When all of them had been prevailed upon, they continued the march with Seuthes, and, keeping the Pontus upon the right through the country of the millet-eating Thracians, as they are called, arrived at Salmydessus. Here many vessels sailing to the Pontus run aground and are wrecked; for there are shoals that extend far and wide. [13] And the Thracians who dwell on this coast have boundary stones set up and each group of them plunder the ships that are wrecked within their own limits; but in earlier days, before they fixed the boundaries, it was said that in the course of their plundering many of them used to be killed by one another. [14] Here there were found great numbers of beds and boxes, quantities of written books, and an abundance of all the other articles that shipowners carry in wooden chests. After subduing the country in this neighbourhood they set out upon their return. [15] By that time Seuthes had an army

larger than the Greek army; for more and still more of the Odrysians had come down from the interior, and the peoples that from time to time were reduced to obedience would join in the campaign. And they went into camp on the plain above Selymbria, at a distance of about thirty stadia from the coast. [16] As for pay, there was none to be seen as yet; and not only did the soldiers entertain very hard feelings toward Xenophon, but Seuthes no longer felt kindly toward him, and whenever Xenophon came and wanted to have a meeting with him, it would straightway be found that he had engagements in abundance.

6. At this time, when nearly two months had already passed, Charminus the Laconian and Polynicus arrived on a mission from Thibron: they said that the Lacedaemonians had resolved to undertake a campaign against Tissaphernes, that Thibron had set sail to wage the war, and that he wanted this army; also that he said the pay would be a daric per month for every man, twice as much for the captains, and four times as much for the generals. [2]

When the Lacedaemonians arrived, Heracleides learned on the instant that they had come to get the army, and told Seuthes that a most fortunate thing had happened: "The Lacedaemonians want the army, and you no longer want it; by giving up the army you will be doing them a favour, while, on your side, the troops will not go on demanding their pay from you, but will soon be quitting the country."

[3] Upon hearing these words Seuthes directed him to introduce the envoys; and when they told him that they had come after the army, he replied that he would deliver it up and that he desired to be their friend and ally; he also invited them to dinner, and entertained them magnificently. Xenophon, however, he did not invite, nor any one of the other generals. [4] When the Lacedaemonians asked what sort of a man Xenophon was, he replied that he was not a bad fellow on the whole, but he was a friend of the soldiers, and on that account things went the worse for him. And they said: "He plays the demagogue, you mean, with the men?" "Exactly that," said Heracleides. [5] "Well," said they, "he won't go so far, will he, as to oppose us in the matter of taking away the army?" "Why," said Heracleides, "if you gather the men together and promise them their pay, they will hurry after you, paying scant heed to him." [6] "How, then," they said, "could we get them together?" "To-morrow morning," Heracleides

replied, “we will take you to them; and I know,” he continued, “that as soon as they catch sight of you, they will hurry together with all eagerness.” So ended this day. [7]

The next day Seuthes and Heracleides conducted the Laconians to the army, and the troops gathered together. And the two Laconians said: “The Lacedaemonians have resolved to make war upon Tissaphernes, the man who wronged you; so if you will come with us, you will punish your enemy and, besides, each one of you will receive a daric a month, each captain twofold, and each general fourfold.” [8] The soldiers were delighted to hear these words, and straightway one of the Arcadians got up to accuse Xenophon. Now Seuthes also was present, for he wanted to know what would be done, and was standing within hearing distance along with an interpreter, [9] although he could really understand for himself most of what was said in Greek. Thereupon this Arcadian said: “For our part, Lacedaemonians, we should have been with you a long time ago if Xenophon had not talked us over and led us off to this region, where we have never ceased campaigning, by night or day, through an awful winter, while he gets the fruits of our toils; for Seuthes has enriched him personally while he defrauds us of our pay; [10] so for myself, if I could see this fellow stoned to death as punishment for having dragged us about as he has done, I should consider that I had my pay and should feel no anger over the toils I have endured.” After this speaker another arose and talked in the same way, and then another. After that Xenophon spoke as follows: [11]

“Well, it is true, after all, that a human being must expect anything and everything, seeing that I now find myself blamed by you in a matter where I am conscious — at least, in my own opinion — of having shown the utmost zeal in your behalf. I turned back after I had already set out for home, not — Heaven knows it was not — because I learned that you were prospering, but rather because I heard that you were in difficulties; and I turned back to help you in any way I could. [12] When I had arrived, although Seuthes here sent many messengers to me and made me many promises if only I would persuade you to come to him, I did not try to do that, as you know for yourselves. Instead, I led you to a place from which I thought you could most speedily cross over to Asia; for I believed that this course

was the best one for you and I knew it was the one you desired. [13] But when Aristarchus came with his triremes and prevented our sailing across, at that moment — and surely it was exactly the proper step — I gathered you together so that we might consider what we should better do. [14] So you with your own ears heard Aristarchus direct you to march to the Chersonese and you heard Seuthes urge you to take the field with him, and then every man of you spoke in favour of going with Seuthes and every man of you voted to do so. What wrong, therefore, did I do in that matter, when I led you to the place where you had all decided to go? [15] I come now to the time when Seuthes began to play false with you in the matter of your pay: if I am his supporter in that, it would be just for you to blame me and hate me; but if the truth is that I, who before that was the most friendly to him of us all, am now most of all at variance with him, how can it be just in this case that, when I sided with you rather than with Seuthes, I should be blamed by you about the things in which I am at variance with him? [16]

“But it is possible, you might say, that I really have received from Seuthes the money that belongs to you, and am only tricking you. Then this at least is clear: if Seuthes was in fact paying anything to me, he surely was not paying it with the understanding that he was both to lose whatever he gave me and at the same time was to pay other sums to you, but rather, I presume, if he was giving me anything, he was giving it with this understanding, that by giving a smaller sum to me he was to escape paying over the larger to you. [17] Now if you imagine that this is the case, it is within your power upon the instant to make this transaction a vain one for us both by exacting your money from him. For it is clear that, if I have received anything from Seuthes, he will demand it back from me, and, moreover, he will demand it back with justice if I am failing to fulfil to him the undertaking for which I was accepting his gifts. [18] But it is far from being true, in my opinion, that I have received what belongs to you; for I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses that I have not even received what Seuthes promised to me for my own services; he is present here himself, and as he listens he knows as well as I do whether I am swearing falsely; [19] furthermore, to make your wonder the greater, I swear besides that I have not even received what the

other generals have received — nay, not even so much as some of the captains. [20]

“And why, then, did I follow this course? I supposed, soldiers, that the more I helped this man to bear the poverty in which he then was, the more I should make him my friend when he should have gained power. But in fact I no sooner see him enjoying prosperity than I recognize his true character. [21] One might say, ‘Are you not ashamed of being so stupidly deceived?’ I certainly should be ashamed, by Zeus, if I had been deceived by one who was an enemy; but for one who is a friend, to be deceived seems to me more shameful than to be deceived. [22] For if there is such a thing as precaution toward friends, I know that we took every precaution not to afford this man a just pretext for not paying us what he had promised; for we neither did this man any wrong, nor did we mismanage his affairs, nor yet did we shrink like cowards from any service to which he summoned us. [23]

“But, you might say, sureties ought to have been taken at the time, so that he could not have deceived us even if he had wanted to do so. In reply to that, listen to words which I never should have spoken in this man’s presence if you had not seemed to me utterly senseless — or at least exceedingly thankless toward me. [24] Recollect in what sort of troubles you then found yourselves, troubles out of which I delivered you when I brought you to Seuthes. Did you not go to Perinthus, and did not Aristarchus the Lacedaemonian forbid your entering and shut the gates against you? So you encamped outside, under the sky, though it was midwinter, and you got your provisions by purchase at a market, though scanty were the supplies you saw offered for sale and scanty the means you had with which to buy; [25] yet you were compelled to remain upon the Thracian coast, for over against you lay triremes that prevented your crossing to Asia; and remaining there, you were of necessity in a hostile country, where there were many horsemen opposed to you and many peltasts; [26] as for ourselves, we had a force of hoplites to be sure, with which, in case we went in a body against the villages, we might perhaps have been able to obtain food, though by no means an abundant supply, but any force with which we could have pursued and captured either slaves or cattle we had not; for I had found no division either of

cavalry or of peltasts in existence any longer among you. [27]

“Now when you were in such straits, if I had obtained for you, without demanding into the bargain any pay whatsoever, simply an alliance with Seuthes, who possessed both the cavalry and the peltasts that you were in need of, would you have thought that I had carried through a bad plan on your behalf? [28] For you remember, I imagine, that when you had joined forces with these troops, you not only found food in greater abundance in the villages, for the reason that the Thracians were compelled to flee in greater haste, but you also got a larger share of cattle and captives. [29] In fact, we never saw the face of an enemy again after the cavalry had joined us, whereas up to that time the enemy had been following boldly at our heels with horsemen and peltasts and had prevented us from scattering in any direction in small parties and thus securing a greater abundance of provisions. [30] And if, then, the man who aided in providing you this security did not give you, besides, very generous pay for your security, is that such a dreadful misfortune? and do you think that on that account you cannot possibly let me go alive? [31]

“As matters stand now, what is your situation in departing from here? Have you not passed the winter amid an abundance of provisions, and, whatever you have received from Seuthes, is it not really so much clear gain? For it was the enemy’s possessions that you have been consuming. And while enjoying such fortune, you have not had to see any of your number slain nor have you lost any men alive. [32] And if any glorious deed was earlier performed by you against the barbarians in Asia, have you not at the same time kept that secure and likewise gained other glory besides in the present, by vanquishing, in addition, the Thracians in Europe against whom you took the field? For my part, I assert that for the very acts on account of which you now feel angry toward me, you should, in all justice, feel grateful to the gods, counting them as blessings. [33]

“So much, then, for your situation. And now, in the name of the gods, come, and consider how the case stands with me. At the time when I first set out to return home, I possessed, as I departed, abundant praise in your eyes, and I also possessed, through you, fair fame in the eyes of the Greeks at large. And I was trusted by the Lacedaemonians, for otherwise they would not have sent me back to

you again. [34] Now, on the other hand, I am going away traduced by you before the Lacedaemonians and hated on your account by Seuthes, the man through whom I hoped to secure, by rendering him good service with your help, a fair place of refuge for myself and my children, in case children should ever be born to me. [35] And you, for whose sake I have incurred most hatred, and the hatred of men far stronger than I am, for whose sake I have not even to this moment ceased striving to accomplish whatever good I may, hold such an opinion of me as this! [36]

“You hold me in your power, then, and not as a captive that you have taken in flight or as a runaway slave; and if you do what you are proposing, be sure that you will have slain a man who has passed many sleepless nights for your sake, who has endured many toils and dangers with you, both in his turn and out of his turn, who has also, by the graciousness of the gods, set up with you many trophies of victory over the barbarians, and who, in order to prevent your becoming enemies to any one among the Greeks, has exerted himself to the very utmost of his power in opposition to you. [37] In fact, you are now free to journey in security whithersoever you may choose, whether by land or by sea. And you, at the moment when such abundant freedom reveals itself to you, when you are sailing to the very place where you have long been eager to go and the mightiest are suing for your aid, when pay is within sight and the Lacedaemonians, who are deemed the most powerful leaders, have come to lead you — do you, I say, think that now is the proper time to put me to death with all speed? [38] It was not so, surely, in the days when we were in straits, O you who remember better than all other men; nay, then you called me ‘father,’ and you promised to keep me for ever in memory as a benefactor! Not by any means, however, are these men, who have now come after you, wanting in judgment; therefore, I imagine, they also think none the better of you for behaving in this manner towards me.” With these words he ceased speaking. [39]

Then Charminus the Lacedaemonian arose and said: “No, by the twin gods; I, at any rate, think you are unjust in being angry with this man; for I can bear witness for him myself. When I and Polynicus asked Seuthes about Xenophon, to learn what sort of a man he was,

Seuthes had no fault to find with him save that, as he said, he was 'too great a friend of the soldiers,' and on that account, he added, things went the worse for him, both so far as we the Lacedaemonians were concerned and on his own account." [40] After him Eurylochus of Lusi rose and said: "Yes, and I believe, men of Lacedaemon, that you ought to assume leadership over us in this enterprise first of all, in exacting our pay from Seuthes whether he will or no, and that you should not take us away till that is done." [41] And Polycrates the Athenian said, at the instigation of Xenophon: "Look you, fellow soldiers, I see Heracleides also present here, the man who took in charge the property which we had won by our toil, and then sold it, and did not pay over the proceeds either to Seuthes or to us, but stole the money, and is keeping it for himself. If we are wise, therefore, we shall lay hold of him; for this fellow," said he, "is no Thracian, but a Greek, and yet he is wronging Greeks." [42]

Upon hearing these words Heracleides was exceedingly terrified; and going up to Seuthes, he said: "And if we are wise, we shall go away from here and get out of the power of these fellows." So they mounted their horses and went riding off to their own camp. [43] And after that Seuthes sent Abrozelmēs, his interpreter, to Xenophon and urged him to stay behind with him with a force of a thousand hoplites, promising that he would deliver over to him not only the fortresses upon the coast, but also the other things which he had promised. He likewise said, making a great secret of it, that he had heard from Polynicus that if Xenophon should fall into the hands of the Lacedaemonians, he would certainly be put to death by Thibron. [44] Many other people also sent Xenophon this message, saying that he had been traduced and would better be on his guard. And he, hearing these reports, took two victims and proceeded to offer sacrifice to Zeus the King, to learn whether it was better and more profitable for him to remain with Seuthes on the conditions that Seuthes proposed, or to depart with the army. The god directed him to depart.

7. After that Seuthes encamped at a greater distance away, while the Greeks took up quarters in villages from which they could secure provisions in greatest abundance before their journey to the coast. Now these villages had been given by Seuthes to Medosades. [2]

When, therefore, Medosades saw that the supplies in the villages were being used up by the Greeks, he was angry; and taking with him an Odrysian who was exceedingly powerful, from among those who had come down from the interior, and likewise about thirty horsemen, he came and summoned Xenophon forth from the Greek camp. So Xenophon took certain of the captains as well as others who were fit men for the purpose, and came to meet him. [3] Then Medosades said: "You Greeks are committing a wrong, Xenophon, in plundering our villages. Therefore we give you public warning, I on behalf of Seuthes, and this man who has come from Medocus, who is king in the interior, to depart from the country; and if you fail to depart, we shall not leave you a free hand, but in case you continue to do harm to our territory, we shall defend ourselves against you as against enemies." [4]

Upon hearing these words Xenophon said: "As for you, when you say such things as these it is painful even to give you an answer; yet for the sake of this young man I will speak, that he may know what sort of people you are and what we are. [5] For we," he went on, "before we became friends of yours, marched whithersoever we chose through this country, plundering where we wished and burning where we wished; [6] and whenever you came to us as envoy, you used then to bivouac with us without fear of any enemy; your people, on the other hand, never came into this country, or if at any time you did come, you would bivouac as in the land of men stronger than yourselves, keeping your horses all bridled. [7] But after you had once become friends of ours and now through us, with the aid of the gods, enjoy possession of this land, you seek to drive us forth, out of this very land that you received from us, who held it by right of strength; for as you know yourself, the enemy were not able to drive us out. [8] And yet, so far from deeming it proper to speed us on our way after bestowing gifts upon us and doing us kindnesses in return for the benefits you have received at our hands, you will not, so far as you have the power to prevent it, allow us at the moment of our departure even to bivouac in the country. [9] And in uttering these words you are not ashamed either before the gods or before this Odrysian, who now sees you possessed of riches, whereas before you became our friend you got your living, as you said yourself, from pillaging. [10] "But

really, why do you,” he added, “address these words to me? For I am no longer in command, but rather the Lacedaemonians; and it was to them that you yourselves delivered over the army to be led away, and that, you most ill-mannered of men, without so much as inviting me to be present, so that even as I had incurred their hatred at the time when I led the army to you, so I might now win their favour by giving it back.” [11]

When the Odrysian heard this, he said: “As for me, Medosades, I sink beneath the earth for shame at this which I hear. If I had understood the matter before, I should not even have accompanied you; and now I am going back. For Medocus, the king, would never commend me if I should drive forth his benefactors.” [12] With these words he mounted his horse and rode away, and with him went the horsemen also, except four or five. But Medosades, still distressed by the plundering of the country, urged Xenophon to summon the two Lacedaemonians. [13] And Xenophon, taking with him the best men he had, went to Charminus and Polynicus and said that Medosades was summoning them in order to give them the same warning as he had already given him, — to depart from the country. [14] “I should think, therefore,” he continued, “that you might recover for the army the pay that is due if you should say that the army has requested you to aid them in exacting their pay from Seuthes whether he will or no, and that the troops say that they would follow you eagerly in case they should obtain it; also, that their words seem to you just, and that you promised them not to depart until the soldiers should obtain their rights.” [15]

When they had heard him, the Laconians replied that they would make such statements, adding others as forceful as they could make them; and straightway they set forth, taking with them all the important men of the army. Upon their arrival Charminus said: “If you have anything to say to us, Medosades, say it; if not, we have something to say to you.” [16] And Medosades replied, very submissively: “I say, and Seuthes also says the same, that we ask that those who have become friends of ours should not suffer harm at your hands; for whatever harm you may do to them, you are then and there doing to us; for they are ours.” [17] “As for ourselves, then,” said the Laconians, “we shall depart whenever the men who obtained

these possessions for you, have received their pay; failing that, we intend here and now to lend them our assistance and to punish the men who, in violation of their oaths, have done them wrong. And if you belong to that number, it is with you that we shall begin in obtaining their rights.” [18] Then Xenophon said: “Would you be willing, Medosades, to leave the question to these people (for you were saying that they are your friends) in whose country we are, to vote, one way or the other, whether it is proper for you or ourselves to depart from their country?” [19] Medosades said “No” to that; but he urged, as his preference, that the two Laconians should go to Seuthes themselves about the pay, and said that he thought they might persuade Seuthes; or if they would not consent to go, he asked them to send Xenophon along with himself, and promised to support him. And he begged them not to burn the villages. [20]

Thereupon they sent Xenophon, and with him the men who seemed to be fittest. When he had come, he said to Seuthes: [21] “I am here, Seuthes, not to present any demand, but to show you, if I can, that you were wrong in getting angry with me because in the name of the soldiers I zealously demanded from you what you had promised them; for I believed that it was no less to your advantage to pay them than it was to theirs to get their pay. [22] For, in the first place, I know that next to the gods it was these men who set you in a conspicuous position, since they made you king over a large territory and many people; hence it is not possible for you to escape notice, whether you perform an honourable deed or a base one. [23] Now it seemed to me an important thing that a man in such a place should not be thought to have dismissed benefactors without gratitude, an important thing also to be well spoken of by six thousand men, but most important of all that you should by no means set yourself down as untrustworthy in whatever you say. [24] For I see that the words of untrustworthy men wander here and there without result, without power, and without honour; but if men are seen to practise truth, their words, if they desire anything, have power to accomplish no less than force in the hands of other men; and if they wish to bring one to reason, I perceive that their threats can do this no less than present chastisement applied by others; and if such men make a promise to any one, they accomplish no less than others do by an immediate

gift. [25]

“Recall for yourself what amount you paid to us in advance in order to obtain us as allies. You know that it was nothing; but because you were trusted to carry out truthfully whatever you said, you induced that great body of men to take the field with you and to gain for you a realm worth not merely thirty talents, the sum which these men think they ought now to recover, but many times as much. [26] First of all, then, this trust, the very thing which gained your kingdom for you, is being sold for this sum. [27]

“Come, now, recall how great a thing you then deemed it to achieve the conquests which you now have achieved. For my part, I am sure you would have prayed that the deeds now done might be accomplished for you rather than that many times that amount of money might fall to your lot. [28] Now I count it greater hurt and shame not to hold these possessions firmly now than not to have gained them then, by so much as it is a harder fate to become poor after being rich than not to become rich at all, and by so much as it is more painful to be found a subject after being a king than not to become king at all. [29] You understand, then, that those who have now become your subjects were not persuaded to live under your rule out of affection for you, but by stress of necessity, and that unless some fear should restrain them, they would endeavour to become free again. [30] In which of these two cases, therefore do you think they would feel greater fear and be more moderate in their relations with you: if they should see the soldiers cherishing such feelings toward you that they would stay with you now if you so bade them and would quickly come back to you again if you needed them, and should see also that others, hearing many good things about you from these troops, would quickly present themselves to take service with you whenever you wished it — or if they should form the unkind opinion that no other soldiers would come to you, in consequence of a distrust resulting from what has now happened, and that these whom you have are more friendly to them than to you? [31] Again, it was by no means because they fell short of us in numbers that they yielded to you, but because they lacked leaders. Hence there is now danger on this count also, the danger that they may find leaders in some of these soldiers who regard themselves as wronged by you, or

else in men who are even stronger than these are, — I mean the Lacedaemonians, — in case the soldiers promise to render them more zealous service if they now exact what is due from you, and in case the Lacedaemonians, on account of their needing the army, grant them this request. [32] Again, that the Thracians who have now fallen under your sway would far more eagerly go against you than with you, is quite certain; for when you are conqueror their lot is slavery, and when you are conquered it is freedom. [33]

“And if you need henceforth to take some thought for the sake of this land also, seeing that it is yours, in which case do you suppose it would be freer from ills: if these soldiers should recover what they claim and go away leaving a state of peace behind them, or if they should remain as in a hostile country and you should undertake to maintain an opposing camp with other troops, that would have to be more numerous than these and would need provisions? [34] And in which case would more money be spent, if what is owing to these men should be paid over to them, or if this sum should be left owing and you should have to hire other troops stronger than they are? [35] Yes, but Heracleides thinks, as he used to explain to me, that this sum of money is a very large one. Upon my word it is a far smaller thing now for you to receive or to pay this sum than it would have been before we came to you to receive or to pay a tenth part of it. [36] For it is not number that determines what is much and what is little, but the capacity of the man who pays and of him who receives. And as for yourself, your yearly income is going to be greater now than all the property you possessed amounted to before. [37]

“For my part, Seuthes, it was out of regard for you as a friend that I urged this course, in order that you might be deemed worthy of the good things which the gods have given to you and that I might not lose credit with the army. [38] For be well assured that at present if I should wish to inflict harm upon a foe, I could not do it with this army, and if I should wish to come to your assistance again, I should not find myself able to do that; such is the feeling of the army toward me. [39] And yet I make your own self my witness, along with the gods, who know, that I have neither received anything from you that was intended for the soldiers, nor have ever asked what was theirs for my private use, nor demanded from you what you had promised me;

[40] and I swear to you that even if you had offered to pay what was due to me, I should not have accepted it unless the soldiers also were at the same time to recover what was due to them. For it would have been disgraceful to get my own affairs arranged and leave theirs in an evil state, especially since I was honoured by them. [41] And yet Heracleides thinks that everything is but nonsense in comparison with possessing money, by hook or by crook; but I believe, Seuthes, that no possession is more honourable for a man, especially a commander, or more splendid than valour and justice and generosity. [42] For he who possesses these things is rich because many are his friends, and rich because still others desire to become his friends; if he prospers he has those who will rejoice with him, and if he meets with a mischance he does not lack those who will come to his aid. [43]

“But if you neither learned from my deeds that I was your friend from the bottom of my heart nor are able to perceive this from my words, at least give a thought to what the soldiers say with one accord; for you were present and heard what those who wished to censure me said. [44] They accused me before the Lacedaemonians of regarding you more highly than I did the Lacedaemonians, while on their own account they charged me with being more concerned that your affairs should be well than that their own should be; [45] and they also said that I had received gifts from you. And yet, touching these gifts, do you imagine it was because they had observed in me some ill-will toward you that they charged me with having received them from you, or because they perceived in me abundant good-will for you? [46] For my part, I presume that everybody believes he ought to show good-will to the man from whom he receives gifts. You, however, before I had rendered you any service, welcomed me with a pleasure which you showed by your eyes, your voice, and your hospitality, and you could not make promises enough about all that should be done for me; yet now that you have accomplished what you desired and have become as great as I could possibly make you, have you now the heart to allow me to be held in such dishonour among the soldiers? [47] But truly I have confidence, not only that time will teach you that you must resolve to pay what is due, but also that you will not yourself endure to see those men who have freely given you good service, accusing you. I ask you, therefore, when you

render payment, to use all zeal to make me just such a man in the eyes of the soldiers as I was when you made me your friend.” [48]

Upon hearing these words Seuthes cursed the man who was to blame for the fact that the soldiers’ wages had not been paid long ago; and everybody suspected that Heracleides was that man; “for I,” said Seuthes, “never intended to defraud them, and I will pay over the money.” [49] Thereupon Xenophon said again: “Then since you intend to make payment, I now request you to do it through me, and not to allow me to have, on your account, a different standing with the army now from what I had at the time when we came to you.” [50] And Seuthes replied: “But you will not be less honoured among the soldiers on my account if you will stay with me, keeping only a thousand hoplites, and, besides, I will give over the fortresses to you and the other things that I promised.” [51] And Xenophon answered: “This plan is not a possible one; so dismiss us.” “Yet really,” said Seuthes, “I know that it is also safer for you to stay with me than to go away.” [52] And Xenophon replied: “Well, I thank you for your solicitude; it is not possible, however, for me to stay; but wherever I may enjoy greater honour, be sure that it will be a good thing for you as well as myself.” [53] Thereupon Seuthes said: “As for ready money, I have only a little, and that I give you, a talent; but I have six hundred cattle, and sheep to the number of four thousand, and nearly a hundred and twenty slaves. Take these, and likewise the hostages of the people who wronged you, and go your way.” [54] Xenophon laughed and said: “Now supposing all this does not suffice to cover the amount of the pay, whose talent shall I say I have? Would I not better, seeing that it is really a source of danger to me, be on my guard against stones on my way back? For you heard the threats.” For the time, then, he remained there at Seuthes’ quarters. [55]

On the next day Seuthes delivered over to them what he had promised, and sent men with them to drive the cattle. As for the soldiers, up to this time they had been saying that Xenophon had gone off to Seuthes to dwell with him and to receive what Seuthes had promised him; but when they caught sight of him, they were delighted, and ran out to meet him. [56] As soon as Xenophon saw Charminus and Polynicus, he said to them: “This property has been saved for the army through you, and to you I turn it over; do you,

then, dispose of it and make the distribution to the army.” They, accordingly, took it over, appointed booty-vendors, and proceeded to sell it; and they incurred a great deal of blame. [57] As for Xenophon, he would not go near them, but it was plain that he was making preparations for his homeward journey; for not yet had sentence of exile been pronounced against him at Athens. His friends in the camp, however, came to him and begged him not to depart until he should lead the army away and turn it over to Thibron.

8. From there they sailed across to Lampsacus, where Xenophon was met by Eucleides, the Phliasian seer, son of the Cleagoras who painted the mural paintings in the Lyceum. Eucleides congratulated Xenophon upon his safe return, and asked him how much gold he had got. [2] He replied, swearing to the truth of his statement, that he would not have even enough money to pay his travelling expenses on the way home unless he should sell his horse and what he had about his person. And Eucleides would not believe him. [3] But when the Lampsacenes sent gifts of hospitality to Xenophon and he was sacrificing to Apollo, he gave Eucleides a place beside him; and when Eucleides saw the vitals of the victims, he said that he well believed that Xenophon had no money. “But I am sure,” he went on, “that even if money should ever be about to come to you, some obstacle always appears — if nothing else, your own self.” In this Xenophon agreed with him. [4] Then Eucleides said, “Yes, Zeus the Merciful is an obstacle in your way,” and asked whether he had yet sacrificed to him, “just as at home,” he continued, “where I was wont to offer the sacrifices for you, and with whole victims.” Xenophon replied that not since he left home had he sacrificed to that god. Eucleides, accordingly, advised him to sacrifice just as he used to do, and said that it would be to his advantage. [5] And the next day, upon coming to Ophrynum, Xenophon proceeded to sacrifice, offering whole victims of swine after the custom of his fathers, and he obtained favourable omens. [6] In fact, on that very day Bion and Nausicleides arrived with money to give to the army and were entertained by Xenophon, and they redeemed his horse, which he had sold at Lampsacus for fifty daries, — for they suspected that he had sold it for want of money, since they heard he was fond of the horse, — gave it back to him, and would not accept from him the price of it.

From there they marched through the Troad and, crossing over Mount Ida, arrived first at Antandrus, and then, proceeding along the coast, reached the plain of Thebes. [8] Making their way from there through Adramyttium and Certonus, they came to the plain of the Caicus and so reached Pergamus, in Mysia.

Here Xenophon was entertained by Hellas, the wife of Gongylus the Eretrian and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. [9] She told him that there was a Persian in the plain named Asidates, and said that if he should go by night with three hundred troops, he could capture this man, along with his wife and children and property, of which he had a great deal. And she sent as guides for this enterprise not only her own cousin, but also Daphnagoras, whom she regarded very highly. [10] Xenophon, accordingly, proceeded to sacrifice, keeping these two by his side. And Basias, the Elean seer who was present, said that the omens were extremely favourable for him and that the man was easy to capture. [11] So after dinner he set forth, taking with him the captains who were his closest friends and others who had proved themselves trustworthy throughout, in order that he might do them a good turn. But there joined him still others who forced themselves in, to the number of six hundred; and the captains tried to drive them away, so that they might not have to give them a share in the booty — just as though the property was already in hand. [12]

When they reached the place, about midnight, the slaves that were round about the tower and most of the animals ran away, the Greeks leaving them unheeded in order to capture Asidates himself and his belongings. [13] And when they found themselves unable to take the tower by storm (for it was high and large, and furnished with battlements and a considerable force of warlike defenders), they attempted to dig through the tower-wall. [14] Now the wall had a thickness of eight earthen bricks. At daybreak, however, a breach had been made; and just as soon as the light showed through, some one from within struck with an ox-spit clean through the thigh of the man who was nearest the hole; and from that time on they kept shooting out arrows and so made it unsafe even to pass by the place any more. [15] Then, as the result of their shouting and lighting of beacon fires, there came to their assistance Itamenes with his own force, and from

Comania Assyrian hoplites and Hyrcanian horsemen — these also being mercenaries in the service of the King — to the number of eighty, as well as about eight hundred peltasts, and more from Parthenium, and more from Apollonia and from the near-by places, including horsemen. [16]

Then it was time to consider how the retreat was to be effected; so seizing all the cattle and sheep there were, as well as slaves, they got them inside of a hollow square and proceeded to drive them along with them, not because they were any longer giving thought to the matter of booty, but out of fear that the retreat might become a rout if they should go off and leave their booty behind, and that the enemy might become bolder and the soldiers more disheartened; while as it was, they were withdrawing like men ready to fight for their possessions. [17] But as soon as Gongylus saw that the Greeks were few and those who were attacking them many, he sallied forth himself, in spite of his mother, at the head of his own force, desiring to take part in the action; and Procles also came to the rescue, from Halisarna and Teuthrania, the descendant of Damaratus. [18] And Xenophon and his men, by this time sorely distressed by the arrows and sling-stones, and marching in a curved line in order to keep their shields facing the arrows, succeeded with difficulty in crossing the Carcasus river, almost half of their number wounded. [19] It was here that Agasias, the Stymphalian captain, was wounded, though he continued to fight all the time against the enemy. So they came out of it in safety, with about two hundred slaves and sheep enough for sacrificial victims. [20]

The next day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and then by night led forth the entire army with the intention of making as long a march as possible through Lydia, to the end that Asidates might not be fearful on account of their nearness, but be off his guard. [21] Asidates, however, hearing that Xenophon had sacrificed again with a view to attacking him and that he was to come with the entire army, left his tower and encamped in villages that lay below the town of Parthenium. [22] There Xenophon and his men fell in with him, and they captured him, his wife and children, his horses, and all that he had; and thus the omens of the earlier sacrifice proved true. [23] After that they came back again to Pergamus. And there Xenophon paid

his greeting to the god; for the Laconians, the captains, the other generals, and the soldiers joined in arranging matters so that he got the pick of horses and teams of oxen and all the rest; the result was, that he was now able even to do a kindness to another. [24]

Meanwhile Thibron arrived and took over the army, and uniting it with the rest of his Greek forces, proceeded to wage war upon Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus. [25] [The governors of all the King's territories that we traversed were as follows: Artimas of Lydia, Artacamas of Phrygia, Mithradates of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Syennesis of Cilicia, Dernes of Phoenicia and Arabia, Belesys of Syria and Assyria, Rhoparas of Babylon, Arbacas of Media, Tiribazus of the Phasians and Hesperites; then the Carduchians, Chalybians, Chaldaeans, Macronians, Colchians, Mossynoecians, Coetians, and Tibarenians, who were independent; and then Corylas governor of Paphlagonia, Pharnabazus of the Bithynians, and Seuthes of the Thracians in Europe. [26]

The length of the entire journey, upward and downward, was two hundred and fifteen stages, one thousand, one hundred and fifty parasangs, or thirty-four thousand, two hundred and fifty-five stadia; and the length in time, upward and downward, a year and three months.

CYROPAEDIA



Translated by Walter Miller

The *Cyropaedia* is a biography of the Persian King Cyrus the Great, written as a political romance, describing the education of the ideal ruler, trained to rule as a benevolent tyrant over his admiring and willing subjects. Although it is generally assumed that Xenophon did not intend *Cyropaedia* to be treated as a strictly historical work, it remains unclear exactly how the work should be classed with regards to genre. Its validity as a source of Achaemenid history has been repeatedly questioned, and numerous descriptions of events or persons have been determined to be in error. Xenophon (who flourished from 431 – 355 BC) was not a contemporary of Cyrus (c. 580 – 530 BC) and it is likely that at least some of the information about Persia was based on events that occurred during the later Achaemenid court, causing many critics to doubt the author's work. Nevertheless, Xenophon had been in Persia himself, as part of the "Ten Thousand" Greek soldiers who fought on the losing side in a Persian civil war, which he recounted in his *Anabasis*. It is also possible that some stories of the great King were recounted by court society and that these are the basis of Xenophon's text.

Cyropaedia opens by considering what makes people willingly obey some rulers and not others. Everywhere, Xenophon observes, humans fail to obey their rulers; the one exception is Cyrus, king of the Persians, "who reduced to obedience a vast number of men and cities and nations". Then follows a list of the king's conquests and Xenophon seeks to understand why his subjects obeyed him willingly. The work narrates the king's entire life, and so, strictly speaking, only the first of the eight books concerns the "education of Cyrus" (literally 'cyropaedia'). The first book is devoted to Cyrus' descent, education and his stay at the court of his maternal

grandfather, the Median dynast Astyages. It has been noted by scholars that Xenophon's description of Persian education in their pre-imperial time is strikingly unusual, and appears to be based upon the traditions of Sparta, the subject of Xenophon's own work the *Constitution of the Lacedemonians*.

Books II through to VII cover Cyrus' life from important vassal of the Medes, to founding the largest empire the world has ever known until that time. It is in this main part of the work that the character Cyrus is often depicted as an example of classical virtue. In this version of events, Cyrus is a faithful vassal to the Medes, someone who initially helps them as a general to defend themselves from a much more powerful and assertive Babylonian Empire, which was being ruled by the tyrannical son of a more respected king. He does this partly by carefully building up alliances with nations such as the Armenians, their neighbours whom he referred to as Chaldeans, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, Saka and Susians. The remaining allies of Babylon included many nations of Asia Minor, as well as a corps of Egyptian infantry. For their final great field battle, Croesus of Lydia was general. Cyrus then returns with an increasingly international army to Babylon, and is able to avoid a long siege by deflecting the course of the river through it, and then sending soldiers in over the dry bed, during a festival night. The final eighth book concludes with an overview of Cyrus' kingship, as well as describing the rapid collapse of the Persian Empire after the Great King's death.

In classical antiquity, the *Cyropaedia* was considered to be Xenophon's masterpiece. Amongst classical leaders, Scipio Africanus is said to have carried a copy with him at all times and the book was reportedly also a favourite of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. The *Cyropaedia* was rediscovered in Western Europe during the late medieval period as a practical treatise on political virtue and social organisation. It became an important influence upon the late medieval and Renaissance genre known as "mirrors of princes", which attempted to give examples of behaviour in order to educate young future rulers. It continued to be widely read and respected in the early modern period and during the Enlightenment.



Cyrus II of Persia (c. 600 BC or 576 BC–530 BC) was the founder of the Achaemenid Empire. Under his rule, the Persian Empire expanded vastly and eventually conquered most of Southwest Asia and much of Central Asia and the Caucasus. From the Mediterranean Sea and the Hellespont in the west to the Indus River in the east, Cyrus the Great created the largest Empire the world had yet seen.

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BOOK I.

1. The thought once occurred to us how many republics have been overthrown by people who preferred to live under any form of government other than a republican, and again, how many monarchies and how many oligarchies in times past have been abolished by the people. We reflected, moreover, how many of those individuals who have aspired to absolute power have either been deposed once for all and that right quickly; or if they have continued in power, no matter for how short a time, they are objects of wonder as having proved to be wise and happy men. Then, too, we had observed, we thought, that even in private homes some people who had rather more than the usual number of servants and some also who had only a very few were nevertheless, though nominally masters, quite unable to assert their authority over even those few. [2]

And in addition to this, we reflected that cowherds are the rulers of their cattle, that grooms are the rulers of their horses, and that all who are called herdsmen might properly be regarded as the rulers of the animals over which they are placed in charge. Now we noticed, as we thought, that all these herds obeyed their keepers more readily than men obey their rulers. For the herds go wherever their keeper directs them and graze in those places to which he leads them and keep out of those from which he excludes them. They allow their keeper, moreover, to enjoy, just as he will, the profits that accrue from them. And then again, we have never known of a herd conspiring against its keeper, either to refuse obedience to him or to deny him the privilege of enjoying the profits that accrue. At the same time, herds are more intractable to strangers than to their rulers and those who derive profit from them. Men, however, conspire against none sooner than against those whom they see attempting to rule over them. [3]

Thus, as we meditated on this analogy, we were inclined to conclude that for man, as he is constituted, it is easier to rule over any and all other creatures than to rule over men. But when we reflected that there was one Cyrus, the Persian, who reduced to obedience a vast number of men and cities and nations, we were then

compelled to change our opinion and decide that to rule men might be a task neither impossible nor even difficult, if one should only go about it in an intelligent manner. At all events, we know that people obeyed Cyrus willingly, although some of them were distant from him a journey of many days, and others of many months; others, although they had never seen him, and still others who knew well that they never should see him. Nevertheless they were all willing to be his subjects. [4]

But all this is not so surprising after all, so very different was he from all other kings, both those who have inherited their thrones from their fathers and those who have gained their crowns by their own efforts; the Scythian king, for instance, would never be able to extend his rule over any other nation besides his own, although the Scythians are very numerous, but he would be well content if he could maintain himself in power over his own people; so the Thracian king with his Thracians, the Illyrian with his Illyrians, and so also all other nations, we are told. Those in Europe, at any rate, are said to be free and independent of one another even to this day. But Cyrus, finding the nations in Asia also independent in exactly the same way, started out with a little band of Persians and became the leader of the Medes by their full consent and of the Hyrcanians by theirs; he then conquered Syria, Assyria, Arabia, Cappadocia, both Phrygias, Lydia, Caria, Phoenicia, and Babylonia; he ruled also over Bactria, India, and Cilicia; and he was likewise king of the Sacians, Paphlagonians, Magadidae, and very many other nations, of which one could not even tell the names; he brought under his sway the Asiatic Greeks also; and, descending to the sea, he added both Cyprus and Egypt to his empire. [5]

He ruled over these nations, even though they did not speak the same language as he, nor one nation the same as another; for all that, he was able to cover so vast a region with the fear which he inspired, that he struck all men with terror and no one tried to withstand him; and he was able to awaken in all so lively a desire to please him, that they always wished to be guided by his will. Moreover, the tribes that he brought into subjection to himself were so many that it is a difficult matter even to travel to them all, in whatever direction one begin one's journey from the palace, whether toward the east or the

west, toward the north or the south. [6]

Believing this man to be deserving of all admiration, we have therefore investigated who he was in his origin, what natural endowments he possessed, and what sort of education he had enjoyed, that he so greatly excelled in governing men. Accordingly, what we have found out or think we know concerning him we shall now endeavour to present.

2. The father of Cyrus is said to have been Cambyses, king of the Persians: this Cambyses belonged to the stock of the Persidae, and the Persidae derive their name from Perseus. His mother, it is generally agreed, was Mandane; and this Mandane was the daughter of Astyages, sometime king of the Medes. And even to this day the barbarians tell in story and in song that Cyrus was most handsome in person, most generous of heart, most devoted to learning, and most ambitious, so that he endured all sorts of labour and faced all sorts of danger for the sake of praise. [2]

Such then were the natural endowments, physical and spiritual, that he is reputed to have had; but he was educated in conformity with the laws of the Persians; and these laws appear in their care for the common weal not to start from the same point as they do in most states. For most states permit every one to train his own children just as he will, and the older people themselves to live as they please; and then they command them not to steal and not to rob, not to break into anybody's house, not to strike a person whom they have no right to strike, not to commit adultery, not to disobey an officer, and so forth; and if a man transgress anyone one of these laws, they punish him. [3] The Persian laws, however, begin at the beginning and take care that from the first their citizens shall not be of such a character as ever to desire anything improper or immoral; and the measures they take are as follows.

They have their so-called "Free Square," where the royal palace and other government buildings are located. The hucksters with their wares, their cries, and their vulgarities are excluded from this and relegated to another part of the city, in order that their tumult may not intrude upon the orderly life of the cultured. [4] This square, enclosing the government buildings, is divided into four parts; one of these belongs to the boys, one to the youths, another to the men of mature

years, and another to those who are past the age for military service. And the laws require them to come daily to their several quarters — the boys and the full-grown men at daybreak; but the elders may come at whatever time it suits each one's convenience, except that they must present themselves on certain specified days. But the youths pass the night also in light armour about the government buildings — all except those who are married; no inquiry is made for such, unless they be especially ordered in advance to be there, but it is not proper for them to be absent too often. [5]

Over each of these divisions there are twelve officers, for the Persians are divided into twelve tribes. To have charge of the boys, such are chosen from the ranks of the elders as seem likely to make out of the boys the best men; to have charge of the youths, such are chosen from the ranks of the mature men as seem most likely on their part to develop the youths best; to preside over the mature men, those are selected who seem most likely to fit them best to execute the orders and requirements of the highest authorities; and of the elders also chiefs are selected who act as overseers to see that those of this class also do their duty. And what duties are assigned to each age to perform we shall now set forth, that it may be better understood what pains the Persians take that their citizens may prove to be the very best. [6]

The boys go to school and spend their time in learning justice; and they say that they go there for this purpose, just as in our country they say that they go to learn to read and write. And their officers spend the greater part of the day in deciding cases for them. For, as a matter of course, boys also prefer charges against one another, just as men do, of theft, robbery, assault, cheating, slander, and other things that naturally come up; and when they discover any one committing any of these crimes, they punish him, [7] and they punish also any one whom they find accusing another falsely. And they bring one another to trial also charged with an offence for which people hate one another most but go to law least, namely, that of ingratitude; and if they know that any one is able to return a favour and fails to do so, they punish him also severely. For they think that the ungrateful are likely to be most neglectful of their duty toward their gods, their parents, their country, and their friends; for it seems that

shamelessness goes hand in hand with ingratitude; and it is that, we know, which leads the way to every moral wrong. [8]

They teach the boys self-control also; and it greatly conduces to their learning self-control that they see their elders also living temperately day by day. And they teach them likewise to obey the officers; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see their elders implicitly obeying their officers. And besides, they teach them self-restraint in eating and drinking; and it greatly conduces to this also that they see that their elders do not leave their post to satisfy their hunger until the officers dismiss them; and the same end is promoted by the fact that the boys do not eat with their mothers but with their teachers, from the time the officers so direct. Furthermore, they bring from home bread for their food, cress for a relish, and for drinking, if any one is thirsty, a cup to draw water from the river. Besides this, they learn to shoot and to throw the spear.

This, then, is what the boys do until they are sixteen or seventeen years of age, and after this they are promoted from the class of boys and enrolled among the young men. [9]

Now the young men in their turn live as follows: for ten years after they are promoted from the class of boys they pass the nights, as we said before, about the government buildings. This they do for the sake of guarding the city and of developing their powers of self-control; for this time of life, it seems, demands the most watchful care. And during the day, too, they put themselves at the disposal of the authorities, if they are needed for any service to the state. Whenever it is necessary, they all remain about the public buildings. But when the king goes out hunting, he takes out half the garrison; and this he does many times a month. Those who go must take bow and arrows and, in addition to the quiver, a sabre or bill in its scabbard; they carry along also a light shield and two spears, one to throw, the other to use in case of necessity in a hand-to-hand encounter. [10] They provide for such hunting out of the public treasury; and as the king is their leader in war, so he not only takes part in the hunt himself but sees to it that the others hunt, too. The state bears the expense of the hunting for the reason that the training it gives seems to be the best preparation for war itself. For it accustoms them to rise early in the morning and to endure both heat

and cold, and it gives them practice in taking long tramps and runs, and they have to shoot or spear a wild beast whenever it comes in their way. And they must often whet their courage when one of the fierce beasts shows fight; for, of course, they must strike down the animal that comes to close quarters with them, and they must be on their guard against the one that threatens to attack them. In a word, it is not easy to find any quality required in war that is not required also in the chase. [11]

When they go out hunting they carry along a lunch, more in quantity than that of the boys, as is proper, but in other respects the same; but they would never think of lunching while they are busy with the chase. If, however, for some reason it is necessary to stay longer on account of the game or if for some other reason they wish to continue longer on the chase, then they make their dinner of this luncheon and hunt again on the following day until dinner time; and these two days they count as one, because they consume but one day's provisions. This they do to harden themselves, in order that, if ever it is necessary in war, they may be able to do the same. Those of this age have for relish the game that they kill; if they fail to kill any, then cresses. Now, if any one thinks that they do not enjoy eating, when they have only cresses with their bread, or that they do not enjoy drinking when they drink only water, let him remember how sweet barley bread and wheaten bread taste when one is hungry, and how sweet water is to drink when one is thirsty. [12]

The divisions remaining at home, in their turn, pass their time shooting with the bow and hurling the spear and practising all the other arts that they learned when they were boys, and they continually engage in contests of this kind with one another. And there are also public contests of this sort, for which prizes are offered; and whatever division has the greatest number of the most expert, the most manly, and the best disciplined young men, the citizens praise and honour not only its present chief officer but also the one who trained them when they were boys. And of the youths who remain behind, the authorities employ any that they may need, whether for garrison duty or for arresting criminals or for hunting down robbers, or for any other service that demands strength or dispatch.

Such, then, is the occupation of the youths. And when they have completed their ten years, they are promoted and enrolled in the class of the mature men. [13] And these, in turn, for twenty-five years after the time they are there enrolled, are occupied as follows. In the first place, like the youths, they are at the disposal of the authorities, if they are needed in the interest of the commonwealth in any service that requires men who have already attained discretion and are still strong in body. But if it is necessary to make a military expedition anywhere, those who have been thus educated take the field, no longer with bow and arrows, nor yet with spears, but with what are termed “weapons for close conflict” — a corselet about their breast, a round shield upon their left arm (such as Persians are represented with in art), and in their right hands a sabre or bill. From this division also all the magistrates are selected, except the teachers of the boys.

And when they have completed the five-and-twenty years, they are, as one would expect, somewhat more than fifty years of age; and then they come out and take their places among those who really are, as they are called, the “elders.” [14]

Now these elders, in their turn, no longer perform form military service outside their own country, but they remain at home and try all sorts of cases, both public and private. They try people indicted for capital offences also, and they elect all the officers. And if any one, either among the youths or among the mature men, fail in any one of the duties prescribed by law, the respective officers of that division, or any one else who will, may enter complaint, and the elders, when they have heard the case, expel the guilty party; and the one who has been expelled spends the rest of his life degraded and disfranchised. [15]

Now, that the whole constitutional policy of the Persians may be more clearly set forth, I will go back a little; for now, in the light of what has already been said, it can be given in a very few words. It is said that the Persians number about one hundred and twenty thousand men; and no one of these is by law excluded from holding offices and positions of honour, but all the Persians may send their children to the common schools of justice. Still, only those do send them who are in a position to maintain their children without work; and those who are not so situated do not. And only to such as are

educated by the public teachers is it permitted to pass their young manhood in the class of the youths, while to those who have not completed this course of training it is not so permitted. And only to such among the youths as complete the course required by law is it permitted to join the class of mature men and to fill offices and places of distinction, while those who do not finish their course among the young men are not promoted to the class of the mature men. And again, those who finish their course among the mature men without blame become members of the class of elders. So, we see, the elders are made up to those who have enjoyed all honour and distinction. This is the policy by the observance of which they think that their citizens may become the best. [16]

There remains even unto this day evidence of their moderate fare and of their working off by exercise what they eat: for even to the present time it is a breach of decorum for a Persian to spit or to blow his nose or to appear afflicted with flatulence; it is a breach of decorum also to be seen going apart either to make water or for anything else of that kind. And this would not be possible for them, if they did not lead an abstemious life and throw off the moisture by hard work, so that it passes off in some other way.

This, then, is what we have to say in regard to the Persians in general. Now, to fulfil the purpose with which our narrative was begun, we shall proceed to relate the history of Cyrus from his childhood on.

3. Such was the education that Cyrus received until he was twelve years old or a little more; and he showed himself superior to all the other boys of his age both in mastering his tasks quickly and in doing everything in a thorough and manly fashion. It was at this period of his life that Astyages sent for his daughter and her son; for he was eager to see him, as he had heard from time to time that the child was a handsome boy of rare promise. Accordingly, Mandane herself went to her father and took her son Cyrus with her. [2]

As soon as she arrived and Cyrus had recognized in Astyages his mother's father, being naturally an affectionate boy he at once kissed him, just as a person who had long lived with another and long loved him would do. Then he noticed that his grandfather was adorned with pencillings beneath his eyes, with rouge rubbed on his face, and with

a wig of false hair — the common Median fashion. For all this is Median, and so are their purple tunics, and their mantles, the necklaces about their necks, and the bracelets on their wrists, while the Persians at home even to this day have much plainer clothing and a more frugal way of life. So, observing his grandfather's adornment and staring at him, he said: "Oh mother, how handsome my grandfather is!" And when his mother asked him which he thought more handsome, his father or his grandfather, Cyrus answered at once: "Of the Persians, mother, my father is much the handsomest; but of the Medes, as far as I have seen them either on the streets or at court, my grandfather here is the handsomest by far." [3]

Then his grandfather kissed him in return and gave him a beautiful dress to wear and, as a mark of royal favour, adorned him with necklaces and bracelets; and if he went out for a ride anywhere, he took the boy along upon a horse with a gold-studded bridle, just as he himself was accustomed to go. And as Cyrus was a boy fond of beautiful things and eager for distinction, he was pleased with his dress and greatly delighted at learning to ride; for in Persia, on account of its being difficult to breed horses and to practise horsemanship because it is a mountainous country, it was a very rare thing even to see a horse. [4]

And then again, when Astyages dined with his daughter and Cyrus, he set before him dainty side-dishes and all sorts of sauces and meats, for he wished the boy to enjoy his dinner as much as possible, in order that he might be less likely to feel homesick. And Cyrus, they say, observed: "How much trouble you have at your dinner, grandfather, if you have to reach out your hands to all these dishes and taste of all these different kinds of food!"

"Why so?" said Astyages. "Really now, don't you think this dinner much finer than your Persian dinners?"

"No, grandfather," Cyrus replied to this; "but the road to satiety is much more simple and direct in our country than with you; for bread and meat take us there; but you, though you make for the same goal as we, go wandering through many a maze, up and down, and only arrive at last at the point that we long since have reached." [5]

"But, my boy," said Astyages, "we do not object to this wandering about; and you also," he added, "if you taste, will see that it is

pleasant.”

“But, grandfather,” said Cyrus, “I observe that even you are disgusted with these viands.”

“And by what, pray, do you judge, my boy,” asked Astyages, “that you say this?”

“Because,” said he, “I observe that when you touch bread, you do not wipe your hand on anything; but when you touch any of these other things you at once cleanse your hand upon your napkin, as if you were exceedingly displeased that it had become soiled with them.” [6]

“Well then, my boy,” Astyages replied to this, “if that is your judgment, at least regale yourself with meat, that you may go back home a strong young man.” And as he said this, he placed before him an abundance of meat of both wild and domestic animals.

And when Cyrus saw that there was a great quantity of meat, he said: “And do you really mean to give me all this meat, grandfather, to dispose of as I please?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said he, “I do.” [7]

Thereupon Cyrus took some of the meat and proceeded to distribute it among his grandfather’s servants, saying to them in turn: “I give this to you, because you take so much pains to teach me to ride; to you, because you gave me a spear, for at present this is all I have to give; to you, because you serve my grandfather so well; and to you, because you are respectful to my mother.” He kept on thus, while he was distributing all the meat that he had received. [8]

“But,” said Astyages, “are you not going to give any to Sacas, my cupbearer, whom I like best of all?” Now Sacas, it seems, chanced to be a handsome fellow who had the office of introducing to Astyages those who had business with him and of keeping out those whom he thought it not expedient to admit.

And Cyrus asked pertly, as a boy might do who was not yet at all shy, “Pray, grandfather, why do you like this fellow so much?”

And Astyages replied with a jest: “Do you not see,” said he, “how nicely and gracefully he pours the wine?” Now the cupbearers of those kings perform their office with fine airs; they pour in the wine with neatness and then present the goblet, conveying it with three fingers, and offer it in such a way as to place it most conveniently in

the grasp of the one who is to drink. [9]

“Well, grandfather,” said he, “bid Sacas give me the cup, that I also may deftly pour for you to drink and thus win your favour, if I can.”

And he bade him give it. And Cyrus took the cup and rinsed it out well, exactly as he had often seen Sacas do, and then he brought and presented the goblet to his grandfather, assuming an expression somehow so grave and important, that he made his mother and Astyages laugh heartily. And Cyrus himself also with a laugh sprang up into his grandfather’s lap and kissing him said: “Ah, Sacas, you are done for; I shall turn you out of your office; for in other ways,” said he, “I shall play the cupbearer better than you and besides I shall not drink up the wine myself.”

Now, it is a well known fact that the king’s cupbearers, when they proffer the cup, draw off some of it with the ladle, pour it into their left hand, and swallow it down — so that, if they should put poison in, they may not profit by it. [10]

Thereupon Astyages said in jest: “And why, pray, Cyrus, did you imitate Sacas in everything else but did not sip any of the wine?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I was afraid that poison had been mixed in the bowl. And I had reason to be afraid; for when you entertained your friends on your birthday, I discovered beyond a doubt that he had poured poison into your company’s drink.”

“And how, pray,” said he, “did you discover that, my son?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said he, “I saw that you were unsteady both in mind and in body. For in the first place you yourselves kept doing what you never allow us boys to do; for instance, you kept shouting, all at the same time, and none of you heard anything that the others were saying; and you fell to singing, and in a most ridiculous manner at that, and though you did not hear the singer, you swore that he sang most excellently; and though each one of you kept telling stories of his own strength, yet if you stood up to dance, to say nothing of dancing in time, why, you could not even stand up straight. And all of you quite forgot — you, that you were king; and the rest, that you were their sovereign. It was then that I also for my part discovered, and for the first time, that what you were practising was your boasted ‘equal freedom of speech’; at any rate, never were

any of you silent.” [11]

“But, my boy,” Astyages said, “does not your father get drunk, when he drinks?”

“No, by Zeus,” said he.

“Well, how does he manage it?”

“He just quenches his thirst and thus suffers no further harm; for he has, I trow, grandfather, no Sacas to pour wine for him.”

“But why in the world, my son,” said his mother, “are you so set against Sacas?”

“Because, by Zeus,” Cyrus replied, “I don’t like him; for oftentimes, when I am eager to run in to see my grandfather, this miserable scoundrel keeps me out. But,” he added, “I beg of you, grandfather, allow me for just three days to rule over him.”

“And how would you rule over him?” said Astyages.

“I would stand at the door,” Cyrus replied, “just as he does, and then when he wished to come in to luncheon, I would say, ‘You cannot interview the luncheon yet; for it is engaged with certain persons.’ And then when he came to dinner, I would say, ‘It is at the bath.’ And if he were very eager to eat, I would say, ‘It is with the ladies.’ And I would keep that up until I tormented him, just as he torments me by keeping me away from you.” [12]

Such amusement he furnished them at dinner; and during the day, if he saw that his grandfather or his uncle needed anything, it was difficult for any one else to get ahead of him in supplying the need; for Cyrus was most happy to do them any service that he could. [13]

But when Mandane was making preparations to go back to her husband, Astyages asked her to leave Cyrus behind. And she answered that she desired to do her father’s pleasure in everything, but she thought it hard to leave the boy behind against his will.

Then Astyages said to Cyrus: [14] “My boy, if you will stay with me, in the first place Sacas shall not control your admission to me, but it shall be in your power to come in to see me whenever you please, and I shall be the more obliged to you the oftener you come to me. And in the second place you shall use my horses and everything else you will; and when you go back home, you shall take with you any of them that you desire. And besides, at dinner you shall go whatever way you please to what seems to you to be

temperance. And then, I present to you the animals that are now in the park and I will collect others of every description, and as soon as you learn to ride, you shall hunt and slay them with bow and spear, just as grown-up men do. I will also find some children to be your playfellows; and if you wish anything else, just mention it to me, and you shall not fail to receive it.” [15]

When Astyages had said this, his mother asked Cyrus whether he wished to stay or go. And he did not hesitate but said at once that he wished to stay. And when he was asked again by his mother why he wished to stay, he is said to have answered: “Because at home, mother, I am and have the reputation of being the best of those of my years both in throwing the spear and in shooting with the bow; but here I know that I am inferior to my fellows in horsemanship. And let me tell you, mother,” said he, “this vexes me exceedingly. But if you leave me here and I learn to ride, I think you will find, when I come back to Persia, that I shall easily surpass the boys over there who are good at exercises on foot, and when I come again to Media, I shall try to be a help to my grandfather by being the best of good horsemen.”

And his mother said, [16] “My boy, how will you learn justice here, while your teachers are over there?”

“Why, mother,” Cyrus answered, “that is one thing that I understand thoroughly.”

“How so?” said Mandane.

“Because,” said he, “my teacher appointed me, on the ground that I was already thoroughly versed in justice, to decide cases for others also. And so, in one case,” said he, “I once got a flogging for not deciding correctly. [17] The case was like this: a big boy with a little tunic, finding a little boy with a big tunic on, took it off him and put his own tunic on him, while he himself put on the other’s. So, when I tried their case, I decided that it was better for them both that each should keep the tunic that fitted him. And thereupon the master flogged me, saying that when I was a judge of a good fit, I should do as I had done; but when it was my duty to decide whose tunic it was, I had this question, he said, to consider — whose title was the rightful one; whether it was right that he who took it away by force should keep it, or that he who had had it made for himself or had

bought it should own it. And since, he said, what is lawful is right and what is unlawful is wrong, he bade the judge always render his verdict on the side of the law. It is in this way, mother, you see, that I already have a thorough understanding of justice in all its bearings; and," he added, "if I do require anything more, my grandfather here will teach me that." [18]

"Yes, my son," said she; "but at your grandfather's court they do not recognize the same principles of justice as they do in Persia. For he has made himself master of everything in Media, but in Persia equality of rights is considered justice. And your father is the first one to do what is ordered by the State and to accept what is decreed, and his standard is not his will but the law. Mind, therefore, that you be not flogged within an inch of your life, when you come home, if you return with a knowledge acquired from your grandfather here of the principles not of kingship but of tyranny, one principle of which is that it is right for one to have more than all."

"But your father, at least," said Cyrus, "is more shrewd at teaching people to have less than to have more, mother. Why, do you not see," he went on, "that he has taught all the Medes to have less than himself? So never fear that your father, at any rate, will turn either me or anybody else out trained under him to have too much."

4. In this way Cyrus often chattered on. At last, however, his mother went away, but Cyrus remained behind and grew up in Media. Soon he had become so intimately associated with other boys of his own years that he was on easy terms with them. And soon he had won their father's hearts by visiting them and showing that he loved their sons; so that, if they desired any favour of the king, they bade their sons ask Cyrus to secure it for them. And Cyrus, because of his kindness of heart and his desire for popularity, made every effort to secure for the boys whatever they asked. [2] And Astyages could not refuse any favour that Cyrus asked of him. And this was natural; for, when his grandfather fell sick, Cyrus never left him nor ceased to weep but plainly showed to all that he greatly feared that his grandfather might die. For even at night, if Astyages wanted anything, Cyrus was the first to discover it and with greater alacrity than any one else he would jump up to perform whatever service he thought would give him pleasure, so that he won Astyages's heart

completely. [3]

He was, perhaps, too talkative, partly on account of his education, because he had always been required by his teacher to render an account of what he was doing and to obtain an account from others whenever he was judge; and partly also because of his natural curiosity, he was habitually putting many questions to those about him why things were thus and so; and because of his alertness of mind he readily answered questions that others put to him; so that from all these causes his talkativeness grew upon him. But it was not unpleasant; for just as in the body, in the case of those who have attained their growth although they are still young, there yet appears that freshness which betrays their lack of years, so also in Cyrus's case his talkativeness disclosed not impertinence but *nai+vete/* and an affectionate disposition, so that one would be better pleased to hear still more from his lips than to sit by and have him keep silent.

[4]

But as he advanced in stature and in years to the time of attaining youth's estate, he then came to use fewer words, his voice was more subdued, and he became so bashful that he actually blushed whenever he met his elders; and that puppy-like manner of breaking in upon anybody and everybody alike he no longer exhibited with so much forwardness. So he became more quiet, to be sure, but in social intercourse altogether charming. The boys liked him, too; for in all the contests in which those of the same age are wont often to engage with one another he did not challenge his mates to those in which he knew he was superior, but he proposed precisely those exercises in which he knew he was not their equal, saying that he would do better than they; and he would at once take the lead, jumping up upon the horses to contend on horseback either in archery or in throwing the spear, although he was not yet a good rider, and when he was beaten he laughed at himself most heartily. [5]

And as he did not shirk being beaten and take refuge in refusing to do that in which he was beaten, but persevered in attempting to do better next time, he speedily became the equal of his fellows in horsemanship and soon on account of his love for the sport he surpassed them; and before long he had exhausted the supply of animals in the park by hunting and shooting and killing them, so that

Astyages was no longer able to collect animals for him. And when Cyrus saw that notwithstanding his desire to do so, the king was unable to provide him with many animals alive, he said to him: "Why should you take the trouble, grandfather, to get animals for me? If you will only send me out with my uncle to hunt, I shall consider that all the animals I see were bred for me." [6] But though he was exceedingly eager to go out hunting, he could no longer coax for it as he used to do when he was a boy, but he became more diffident in his approaches. And in the very matter for which he found fault with Sacas before, namely that he would not admit him to his grandfather — he himself now became a Sacas unto himself; for he would not go in unless he saw that it was a proper time, and he asked Sacas by all means to let him know when it was convenient. And so Sacas now came to love him dearly, as did all the rest. [7]

However, when Astyages realized that he was exceedingly eager to hunt out in the wilds, he let him go out with his uncle and he sent along some older men on horseback to look after him, to keep him away from dangerous places and guard him against wild beasts, in case any should appear. Cyrus, therefore, eagerly inquired of those who attended him what animals one ought not to approach and what animals one might pursue without fear. And they told him that bears and boars and lions and leopards had killed many who came close to them, but that deer and gazelles and wild sheep and wild asses were harmless. And they said this also, that one must be on one's guard against dangerous places no less than against wild beasts; for many riders had been thrown over precipices, horses and all. [8]

All these lessons Cyrus eagerly learned. But when he saw a deer spring out from under cover, he forgot everything that he had heard and gave chase, seeing nothing but the direction in which it was making. And somehow his horse in taking a leap fell upon its knees and almost threw him over its head. However, Cyrus managed, with some difficulty, to keep his seat, and his horse got up. And when he came to level ground, he threw his spear and brought down the deer — a fine, large quarry. And he, of course, was greatly delighted; but the guards rode up and scolded him and told him into what danger he had gone and declared that they would tell of him. Now Cyrus stood there, for he had dismounted, and was vexed at being spoken to in

this way. But when he heard a halloo, he sprang upon his horse like one possessed and when he saw a boar rushing straight toward him, he rode to meet him and aiming well he struck the boar between the eyes and brought him down. [9]

This time, however, his uncle also reproved him, for he had witnessed his foolhardiness. But for all his scolding, Cyrus nevertheless asked his permission to carry home and present to his grandfather all the game that he had taken himself. And his uncle, they say, replied: "But if he finds out that you have been giving chase, he will chide not only you but me also for allowing you to do so."

"And if he choose," said Cyrus, "let him flog me, provided only I may give him the game. And you, uncle," said he, "may punish me in any way you please — only grant me this favour."

And finally Cyaxares said, though with reluctance: "Do as you wish; for now it looks as if it were you who are our king." [10]

So Cyrus carried the animals in and gave them to his grandfather, saying that he had himself taken this game for him. As for the hunting spears, though he did not show them to him, he laid them down all blood-stained where he thought his grandfather would see them. And then Astyages said: "Well, my boy, I am glad to accept what you offer me; however, I do not need any of these things enough for you to risk your life for them."

"Well then, grandfather," said Cyrus, "if you do not need them, please give them to me, that I may divide them among my boy friends."

"All right, my boy," said Astyages, "take both this and of the rest of the game as much as you wish and give it to whom you will." [11]

So Cyrus received it and took it away and proceeded to distribute it among the boys, saying as he did so: "What tomfoolery it was, fellows, when we used to hunt the animals in the park. To me at least, it seems just like hunting animals that were tied up. For, in the first place, they were in a small space; besides, they were lean and mangy; and one of them was lame and another maimed. But the animals out on the mountains and the plains — how fine they looked, and large and sleek! And the deer leaped up skyward as if on wings, and the boars came charging at once, as they say brave men do in

battle. And by reason of their bulk it was quite impossible to miss them. And to me at least," said he, "these seem really more beautiful, when dead, than those pent up creatures, when alive. But say," said he, "would not your fathers let you go out hunting, too?"

"Aye, and readily," they said, "if Astyages should give the word."
[12]

"Whom, then, could we find to speak about it to Astyages?" said Cyrus.

"Why," said they, "who would be better able to to gain his consent than you yourself?"

"No, by Zeus," said he, "not I; I do not know what sort of fellow I have become; for I cannot speak to my grandfather or even look up at him any more, as I used to do. And if I keep on at this rate," said he, "I fear I shall become a mere dolt and ninny. But when I was a little fellow, I was thought ready enough to chatter."

"That's bad news you're giving us," answered the boys, "if you are not going to be able to act for us in case of need, and we shall have to ask somebody else to do your part."
[13]

And Cyrus was nettled at hearing this and went away without a word; and when he had summoned up his courage to make the venture, he went in, after he had laid his plans how he might with the least annoyance broach the subject to his grandfather and accomplish for himself and the other boys what they desired. Accordingly, he began as follows: "Tell me, grandfather," said he, "if one of your servants runs away and you catch him again, what will you do to him?"

"What else," said he, "but put him in chains and make him work?"

"But if he comes back again of his own accord, what will you do?"

"What," said he, "but flog him to prevent his doing it again, and then treat him as before?"

"It may be high time, then," said Cyrus, "for you to be making ready to flog me; for I am planning to run away from you and take my comrades out hunting."

"You have done well to tell me in advance," said Astyages; "for now," he went on, "I forbid you to stir from the palace. For it would

be a nice thing, if, for the sake of a few morsels of meat, I should play the careless herdsman and lose my daughter her son.” [14]

When Cyrus heard this, he obeyed and stayed at home; he said nothing, but continued downcast and sulky. However, when Astyages saw that he was exceedingly disappointed, wishing to give him pleasure, he took him out to hunt; he had got the boys together, and a large number of men both on foot and on horseback, and when he had driven the wild animals out into country where riding was practicable, he instituted a great hunt. And as he was present himself, he gave the royal command that no one should throw a spear before Cyrus had his fill of hunting. But Cyrus would not permit him to interfere, but said: “If you wish me to enjoy the hunt, grandfather, let all my comrades give chase and strive to outdo one another, and each do his very best.” [15]

Thereupon, Astyages gave his consent and from his position he watched them rushing in rivalry upon the beasts and vying eagerly with one another in giving chase and in throwing the spear. And he was pleased to see that Cyrus was unable to keep silence for delight, but, like a well-bred hound, gave tongue whenever he came near an animal and urged on each of his companions by name. And the king was delighted to see him laugh at one and praise another without the least bit of jealousy. At length, then, Astyages went home with a large amount of game; and he was so pleased with that chase, that thenceforth he always went out with Cyrus when it was possible, and he took along with him not only many others but, for Cyrus’s sake, the boys as well.

Thus Cyrus passed most of his time, contriving some pleasure and good for all, but responsible for nothing unpleasant to any one. [16]

But when Cyrus was about fifteen or sixteen years old, the son of the Assyrian king, on the eve of his marriage, desired in person to get the game for that occasion. Now, hearing that on the frontiers of Assyria and Media there was plenty of game that because of the war had not been hunted, he desired to go out thither. Accordingly, that he might hunt without danger, he took along a large force of cavalry and targeteers, who were to drive the game out of the thickets for him into country that was open and suitable for riding. And when he arrived where their frontier-forts and the garrison were, there he

dined, planning to hunt early on the following day. [17]

And now when evening had come, the relief-corps for the former garrison came from the city, both horse and foot. He thought, therefore, that he had a large army at hand; for the two garrisons were there together and he himself had come with a large force of cavalry and infantry. Accordingly, he decided that it was best to make a foray into the Median territory and he thought that thus the exploit of the hunt would appear more brilliant and that the number of animals captured would be immense. And so, rising early, he led his army out; the infantry he left together at the frontier, while he himself, riding up with the horse to the outposts of the Medes, took his stand there with most of his bravest men about him, to prevent the Median guards from coming to the rescue against those who were scouring the country; and he sent out the proper men in divisions, some in one direction, some in another, to scour the country, with orders to capture whatever they came upon and bring it to him.

So they were engaged in these operations. [18] But when word was brought to Astyages that there were enemies in the country, he himself sallied forth to the frontier in person with his body-guard, and likewise his son with the knights that happened to be at hand marched out, while he gave directions to all the others also to come out to his assistance. But when they saw a large number of Assyrian troops drawn up and their cavalry standing still, the Medes also came to a halt.

When Cyrus saw the rest marching out with all speed, he put on his armour then for the first time and started out, too; this was an opportunity that he had thought would never come — so eager was he to don his arms; and the armour that his grandfather had had made to order for him was very beautiful and fitted him well. Thus equipped he rode up on his horse. And though Astyages wondered at whose order he had come, he nevertheless told the lad to come and stay by his side. [19]

And when Cyrus saw many horsemen over against them, he asked: "Say, grandfather," said he, "are those men enemies who sit there quietly upon their horses?"

"Yes, indeed, they are," said he.

"Are those enemies, too," said Cyrus, "who are riding up and

down?”

“Yes, they are enemies, too.”

“Well then, by Zeus, grandfather,” said he, “at any rate, they are a sorry looking lot on a sorry lot of nags who are raiding our belongings. Why, some of us ought to charge upon them.”

“But don’t you see, my son,” said the king, “what a dense array of cavalry is standing there in line? If we charge upon those over there, these in turn will cut us off; while as for us, the main body of our forces has not yet come.”

“But if you stay here,” said Cyrus, “and take up the reinforcements that are coming to join us, these fellows will be afraid and will not stir, while the raiders will drop their booty, just as soon as they see some of us charging on them.” [20]

It seemed to Astyages that there was something in Cyrus’s suggestion, when he said this. And while he wondered that the boy was so shrewd and wide-awake, he ordered his son to take a division of the cavalry and charge upon those who were carrying off the spoil. “And if,” said he, “these others make a move against you, I will charge upon them, so that they will be forced to turn their attention to us.”

So then Cyaxares took some of the most powerful horses and men and advanced. And when Cyrus saw them starting, he rushed off and soon took the lead, while Cyaxares followed after, and the rest also were not left behind. And when the foragers saw them approaching, they straightway let go their booty and took to flight. [21] But Cyrus and his followers tried to cut them off, and those whom they caught they at once struck down, Cyrus taking the lead; and they pursued hard after those who succeeded in getting past, and they did not give up but took some of them prisoners.

As a well-bred but untrained hound rushes recklessly upon a boar, so Cyrus rushed on, with regard for nothing but to strike down every one he overtook and reckless of anything else.

The enemy, however, when they saw their comrades hard pressed, advanced their column in the hope that the Medes would give up the pursuit on seeing them push forward. [22] But none the more did Cyrus give over, but in his battle-joy he called to his uncle and continued the pursuit; and pressing on he put the enemy to headlong

flight, and Cyaxares did not fail to follow, partly perhaps not to be shamed before his father; and the rest likewise followed, for under such circumstances they were more eager for the pursuit, even those who were not so very brave in the face of the enemy.

But when Astyages saw them pursuing recklessly and the enemy advancing in good order to meet them, he was afraid that something might happen to his son and Cyrus, if they fell in disorder upon the enemy in readiness for battle, and straightway he advanced upon the foe. [23]

Now the enemy on their part, when they saw the Medes advance, halted, some with spears poised, others with bows drawn, expecting that the other side would also halt, as soon as they came within bow-shot, just as they were accustomed generally to do; for it was their habit to advance only so far against each other, when they came into closest quarters, and to skirmish with missiles, oftentimes till evening. But when they saw their comrades rushing in flight toward them, and Cyrus and his followers bearing down close upon them, and Astyages with his cavalry getting already within bow-shot, they broke and fled with all their might from the Medes who followed hard after them.

The Medes caught up with many of them; and those whom they overtook they smote, both men and horses; and the fallen they slew. Nor did they stop, until they came up with the Assyrian infantry. Then, however, fearing lest some greater force might be lying in ambush, they came to a halt. [24]

Then Astyages marched back, greatly rejoicing over the victory of his cavalry but not knowing what to say of Cyrus; for though he realized that his grandson was responsible for the outcome, yet he recognized also that he was frenzied with daring. And of this there was further evidence; for, as the rest made their way homeward, he did nothing but ride around alone and gloat upon the slain, and only with difficulty did those who were detailed to do so succeed in dragging him away and taking him to Astyages; and as he came, he set his escort well before him, for he saw that his grandfather's face was angry because of his gloating upon them. [25]

Such was his life in Media; and Cyrus was not only on the tongues of all the rest both in story and in song, but Astyages also,

while he had esteemed him before, was now highly delighted with him. And Cambyeses, Cyrus's father, was pleased to learn this. But when he heard that Cyrus was already performing a man's deeds, he summoned him home to complete the regular curriculum in Persia. And Cyrus also, we are told, said then that he wished to go home, in order that his father might not feel any displeasure nor the state be disposed to criticise; and Astyages, too, thought it expedient to send him home.

So he let him go and not only gave him the horses that he desired to take, but he packed up many other things for him because of his love for him and also because he cherished high hopes that his grandson would be a man able both to help his friends and to give trouble to his enemies. And everybody, both boys and men, young and old, and Astyages himself, escorted him on horseback as he went, and they say that there was no one who turned back without tears. [26] And Cyrus also, it is said, departed very tearfully. And they say that he distributed as presents among his young friends many of the things that Astyages had given to him; and finally he took off the Median robe which he had on and gave it to one whom he loved very dearly. It is said, however, that those who received and accepted his presents carried them to Astyages, and Astyages received them and returned them to Cyrus; but Cyrus sent them back again to Media with this message: "If you wish me ever to come back to you again, grandfather, without having to be ashamed, permit those to whom I have given anything to keep it." And when Astyages heard this, he did as Cyrus's letter bade. [27]

Now, if we may relate a sentimental story, we are told that when Cyrus was going away and they were taking leave of one another, his kinsmen bade him good-bye, after the Persian custom, with a kiss upon his lips. And that custom has survived, for so the Persians do even to this day. Now a certain Median gentleman, very noble, had for some considerable time been struck with Cyrus's beauty, and when he saw the boy's kinsmen kissing him, he hung back. But when the rest were gone, he came up to Cyrus and said: "Am I the only one of your kinsmen, Cyrus, whom you do not recognize as such?"

"What," said Cyrus, "do you mean to say that you, too, are a kinsman?"

“Certainly,” said he.

“That is the reason, then, it seems,” said Cyrus, “why you used to stare at me; for if I am not mistaken, I have often noticed you doing so.”

“Yes,” said he, “for though I was always desirous of coming to you, by the gods I was too bashful.”

“Well, you ought not to have been — at any rate, if you were my kinsman,” said Cyrus; and at the same time he went up and kissed him. [28]

And when he had been given the kiss, the Mede asked: “Really, is it a custom in Persia to kiss one’s kinsfolk?”

“Certainly,” said he; “at least, when they see one another after a time of separation, or when they part from one another.”

“It may be time, then, for you to kiss me once again,” said the Mede; “for, as you see, I am parting from you now.”

And so Cyrus kissed him good-bye again and went on his way. But they had not yet gone far, when the Mede came back with his horse in a lather. And when Cyrus saw him he said: “Why, how now? Did you forget something that you intended to say?”

“No, by Zeus,” said he, “but I have come back after a time of separation.”

“By Zeus, cousin,” said Cyrus, “a pretty short time.”

“Short, is it?” said the Mede; “don’t you know, Cyrus,” said he, “that even the time it takes me to wink seems an eternity to me, because during that time I do not see you, who are so handsome?”

Then Cyrus laughed through his tears and bade him go and be of good cheer, for in a little while he would come back to them, so that he might soon look at him — without winking, if he chose.

5. Now when Cyrus had returned, as before narrated, he is said to have spent one more year in the class of boys in Persia. And at first the boys were inclined to make fun of him, saying that he had come back after having learned to live a life of luxurious ease among the Medes. But when they saw him eating and drinking with no less relish than they themselves, and, if there ever was feasting at any celebration, freely giving away a part of his own share rather than asking for more; and when, in addition to this, they saw him surpassing them in other things as well, then again his comrades

began to have proper respect for him.

And when he had passed through this discipline and had now entered the class of the youths, among these in turn he had the reputation of being the best both in attending to duty and in endurance, in respect toward his elders and in obedience to the officers. [2]

In the course of time Astyages died in Media, and Cyaxares, the son of Astyages and brother of Cyrus's mother, succeeded to the Median throne.

At that time the king of Assyria had subjugated all Syria, a very large nation, and had made the king of Arabia his vassal; he already had Hyrcania under his dominion and was closely besetting Bactria. So he thought that if he should break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain dominion over all the nations round about; for he considered the Medes the strongest of the neighbouring tribes. [3] Accordingly, he sent around to all those under his sway and to Croesus, the king of Lydia, to the king of Cappadocia; to both Phrygias, to Paphlagonia, India, Caria, and Cilicia; and to a certain extent also he misrepresented the Medes and Persians, for he said that they were great, powerful nations, that they had intermarried with each other, and were united in common interests, and that unless some one attacked them first and broke their power, they would be likely to make war upon each one of the nations singly and subjugate them. Some, then, entered into an alliance with him because they actually believed what he said; others, because they were bribed with gifts and money, for he had great wealth. [4]

Now when Cyaxares heard of the plot and of the warlike preparations of the nations allied against him, without delay he made what counter preparations he could himself and also sent to Persia both to the general assembly and to his brother-in-law, Cambyses, who was king of Persia. And he sent word to Cyrus, too, asking him to try to come as commander of the men, in case the Persian state should send any troops. For Cyrus had by this time completed his ten years among the youths also and was now in the class of mature men. [5]

So Cyrus accepted the invitation, and the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition to Media. And they further

permitted him to choose two hundred peers to accompany him, and to each one of the two hundred peers in turn they gave authority to choose four more, these also from the peers. That made a thousand. And each one of the thousand in their turn they bade choose in addition from the common people of the Persians ten targeteers, ten slingers, and ten bowmen. That made ten thousand bowmen, ten thousand targeteers, and ten thousand slingers — not counting the original thousand. So large was the army given to Cyrus. [6]

Now as soon as he was chosen, his first act was to consult the gods; and not till he had sacrificed and the omens were propitious, did he proceed to choose his two hundred men. And when these also had chosen each his four, he called them all together and then addressed them for the first time as follows: [7]

“My friends, I have chosen you not because I now see your worth for the first time, but because I have observed that from your boyhood on you have been zealously following out all that the state considers right and abstaining altogether from all that it regards as wrong. As for myself, I wish to make known to you why I have not hesitated to assume this office and why I have invited you to join me. [8]

“I have come to realize that our forefathers were no whit worse than we. At any rate, they also spent their time in practising what are considered the works of virtue. However, what they gained by being what they were, either for the commonwealth of the Persians or for themselves, I can by no means discover. [9] And yet I think that no virtue is practised by men except with the aim that the good, by being such, may have something more than the bad; and I believe that those who abstain from present pleasures do this not that they may never enjoy themselves, but by this self-restraint they prepare themselves to have many times greater enjoyment in time to come. And those who are eager to become able speakers study oratory, not that they may never cease from speaking eloquently, but in the hope that by their eloquence they may persuade men and accomplish great good. And those also who practice military science undergo this labour, not that they may never cease from fighting, but because they think that by gaining proficiency in the arts of war they will secure great wealth and happiness and honour both for themselves and for

their country. [10]

“But when men go through all this toil and then allow themselves to become old and feeble before they reap any fruit of their labours, they seem to me at least to be like a man who, anxious to become a good farmer, should sow and plant well but, when harvest time came, should permit his crop to fall back again to the ground ungathered. And again, if an athlete after long training and after getting himself in condition to win a victory should then persist in refusing to compete, not even he, I ween, would rightly be considered guiltless of folly. [11] But, fellow-soldiers, let us not make this mistake; but, conscious that from our boyhood on we have practised what is good and honourable, let us go against the enemy, who, I am sure, are too untrained to contend against us. For those men are not yet valiant warriors, who, however skilful in the use of bow or spear and in horsemanship, are still found wanting if it is ever necessary to suffer hardship; such persons are mere tiros when it comes to hardships. Nor are those men valiant warriors, who are found wanting when it is necessary to keep awake; but these also are mere tiros in the face of sleep. Nor yet are those men valiant warriors, who have these qualifications but have not been taught how they ought to treat comrades and how to treat enemies, but it is evident that they also are unacquainted with the most important branches of education. [12]

“Now you, I take it, could make use of the night just as others do of the day; and you consider toil the guide to a happy life; hunger you use regularly as a sauce, and you endure drinking plain water more readily than lions do, while you have stored up in your souls that best of all possessions and the one most suitable to war: I mean, you enjoy praise more than anything else; and lovers of praise must for this reason gladly undergo every sort of hardship and every sort of danger. [13]

“Now if I say this concerning you while I believe the contrary to be true, I deceive myself utterly. For if any of these qualities shall fail to be forthcoming in you, the loss will fall on me. But I feel confident, you see, both from my own experience and from your good-will toward me and from the ignorance of the enemy that these sanguine hopes will not deceive me. So let us set out with good heart, since we are free from the suspicion of even seeming to aim unjustly

at other men's possessions. For, as it is, the enemy are coming, aggressors in wrong, and our friends are calling us to their assistance. What, then, is more justifiable than to defend oneself, or what more noble than to assist one's friends? [14]

"This, moreover, will, I think, strengthen your confidence: I have not neglected the gods as we embark upon this expedition. For you have been with me enough to know that not only in great things but also in small I always try to begin with the approval of the gods.

"What more need I add?" he said in closing. "Choose you your men and get them together, and when you have made the necessary preparations come on to Media. As for myself, I will first return to my father and then go on ahead of you, to learn as soon as possible what the plans of the enemy are and to make what preparations I may require, in order that with God's help we may make as good a fight as possible."

They, for their part, proceeded to do as he had said.

6. Now, when Cyrus had gone home and prayed to ancestral Hestia, ancestral Zeus, and the rest of the gods, he set out upon his expedition; and his father also joined in escorting him on his way. And when they were out of the house, it is said to have thundered and lightened with happy auspices for him; and when this manifestation had been made, they proceeded, without taking any further auspices, in the conviction that no one would make void the signs of the supreme god. [2] Then, as they went on, his father began to speak to Cyrus on this wise:

"My son, it is evident both from the sacrifices and from the signs from the skies that the gods are sending you forth with their grace and favour; and you yourself must recognize it, for I had you taught this art on purpose that you might not have to learn the counsels of the gods through others as interpreters, but that you yourself, both seeing what is to be seen and hearing what is to be heard, might understand; for I would not have you at the mercy of the soothsayers, in case they should wish to deceive you by saying other things than those revealed by the gods; and furthermore, if ever you should be without a soothsayer, I would not have you in doubt as to what to make of the divine revelations, but by your soothsayer's art I would have you understand the counsels of the gods and obey them." [3]

“Aye, father,” said Cyrus, “as you have taught me, I always try to take care, as far as I can, that the gods may be gracious unto us and willingly give us counsel; for I remember,” said he, “having once heard you say that that man would be more likely to have power with the gods, even as with men, who did not fawn upon them when he was in adversity, but remembered the gods most of all when he was in the highest prosperity. And for one’s friends also, you said, one ought always to show one’s regard in precisely the same way.” [4]

“Well, my son,” said he, “and owing to that very regard do you not come to the gods with a better heart to pray, and do you not expect more confidently to obtain what you pray for, because you feel conscious of never having neglected them?”

“Yes, indeed, father,” said he; “I feel toward the gods as if they were my friends.” [5]

“To be sure,” said his father; “and do you remember the conclusion which once we reached — that as people who know what the gods have granted fare better than those who do not; as people who work accomplish more than those who are idle; as people who are careful live more securely than those who are indifferent; so in this matter it seemed to us that those only who had made themselves what they ought to be had a right to ask for corresponding blessings from the gods?” [6]

“Yes, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “I do indeed remember hearing you say so, and all the more because I could not help but agree with what you said. For I know that you always used to say that those who had not learned to ride had no right to ask the gods to give them victory in a cavalry battle; and those who did not know how to shoot had no right to ask to excel in marksmanship those who did know how; and those who did not know how to steer had no right to pray that they might save ships by taking the helm; neither had those who did not sow at all any right to pray for a fine crop, nor those who were not watchful in war to ask for preservation; for all that is contrary to the ordinances of the gods. You said, moreover, that it was quite as likely that those who prayed for what was not right should fail of success with the gods as that those who asked for what was contrary to human law should be disappointed at the hands of men.” [7]

“But, my son, have you forgotten the discussion you and I once

had — that it was a great task and one worthy of a man, to do the best he could not only to prove himself a truly good and noble man but also to provide a good living both for himself and his household? And while this was a great task, still, to understand how to govern other people so that they might have all the necessities of life in abundance and might all become what they ought to be, this seemed to us worthy of all admiration.” [8]

“Yes, by Zeus, father,” said he, “I do remember your saying this also; and I agreed with you, too, that it was an exceedingly difficult task to govern well; and now,” said he, “I hold this same opinion still, when I consider the matter and think of the principles of governing. When I look at other people, however, and observe what sort of men those are who, in spite of their character, continue to rule over them, and what sort of opponents we are going to have, it seems to me an utter disgrace to show any respect for such as they are and not to wish to go to fight them. To begin with our own friends here,” he continued, “I observe that the Medes consider it necessary for the one who governs them to surpass the governed in greater sumptuousness of fare, in the possession of more money in his palace, in longer hours of sleep, and in a more luxurious manner of life, in every respect, than the governed. But I think,” he added, “that the ruler ought to surpass those under his rule not in self-indulgence, but in taking forethought and willingly undergoing toil.” [9]

“But let me tell you, my boy,” said the other, “there are some instances in which we must wrestle not against men but against actual facts, and it is not so easy to get the better of these without trouble. For instance, you doubtless know that if your army does not receive its rations, your authority will soon come to naught.”

“Yes, father,” said he; “but Cyaxares says that he will furnish supplies for all who come from here, however many they be.”

“But, my son,” said he, “do you mean to say that you are marching out trusting to the funds at the command of Cyaxares?”

“Yes, I do,” said Cyrus.

“But say,” said his father, “do you know how much he has?”

“No, by Zeus,” said Cyrus, “I know nothing about it.”

“And do you nevertheless trust to these uncertainties? And do you not know that you will need many things and that he must now have

many other expenses?"

"Yes," said Cyrus, "I do."

"Well, then," said he, "if his resources fail or if he play you false on purpose, how will your army fare?"

"Evidently not very well; but father," said he, "if you have in mind any means that I might find at my own command for obtaining supplies, tell me about it, while we are still in a friendly country." [10]

"Do you ask me, my son," said he, "where you might yourself find means? Where might you better look to find the means of obtaining supplies than to the one who has an army? Now you are marching out from here with a force of infantry which you would not exchange, I am sure, for any other though many time as large; and you will have for cavalry to support you the Median horse, the best cavalry troops in the world. What nation, then, of those around do you suppose will refuse to serve you, both from the wish to do your side a favour, and for fear of suffering harm? And therefore in common with Cyaxares you should take care that you may never be without any of the things you need to have, and as a matter of habit, too, contrive some means of revenue. And above all I beg you to remember this: never postpone procuring supplies until want compels you to it; but when you have the greatest abundance, then take measures against want. And this is most expedient; for you will obtain more from those upon whom you make demands, if you do not seem to be in want, and besides you will thus be blameless in the eyes of your own soldiers; in this way, furthermore, you will command more respect from others also, and if you wish to do good or ill to any one with your forces, your soldiers will serve you better as long as they have what they need. And let me assure you that the words you say will have more more power to convince, when you can abundantly prove that you are in a position to do both good and ill." [11]

"Well, father," said he, "it seems to me that you are right in all you say, both on other grounds and also because not one of my soldiers will be grateful to me for that which according to the agreement he is to receive; for they know on what terms Cyaxares is having them brought as his allies. But whatever any one receives in addition to what has been agreed upon, that he will consider as a

reward, and he will probably be grateful to the giver. But for a man to have an army with which he may do good to his friends and get help in return and try to punish his enemies, and for him then to neglect to make due provision for it, do you think,” said he, “that this is in any way less disgraceful than for a man to have fields and labourers to work them and after all to let his land lie idle and unprofitable? But,” he added, “I, at any rate, shall not fail to provide supplies for my men, whether in a friendly or in a hostile land — you may be certain of that.” [12]

“Well then, my boy,” said his father, “tell me, do you remember the other points which, we agreed, must not be neglected — eh?”

“Yes,” said he, “I remember well when I came to you for money to pay to the man who professed to have taught me to be a general; and you, while you gave it me, asked a question something like this: ‘Of course,’ you said, ‘the man to whom you are taking the pay has given you instruction in domestic economy as a part of the duties of a general, has he not? At any rate, the soldiers need provisions no whit less than the servants in your house.’ And when I told you the truth and said that he had given me no instruction whatever in this subject, you asked me further whether he had said anything to me about health or strength, inasmuch as it would be requisite for the general to take thought for these matters as well as for the conduct of his campaign. [13]

And when I said ‘no’ to this also, you asked me once more whether he had taught me any arts that would be the best helps in the business of war. And when I said ‘no’ to this as well, you put this further question, whether he had put me through any training so that I might be able to inspire my soldiers with enthusiasm, adding that in every project enthusiasm or faintheartedness made all the difference in the world. And when I shook my head in response to this likewise, you questioned me again whether he had given me any lessons to teach me how best to secure obedience on the part of an army. [14] And when this also appeared not to have been discussed at all, you finally asked me what in the world he had been teaching me that he professed to have been teaching me generalship. And thereupon I answered, ‘tactics.’ And you laughed and went through it all, explaining point by point, as you asked of what conceivable use

tactics could be to an army, without provisions and health, and of what use it could be without the knowledge of the arts invented for warfare and without obedience. And when you had made it clear to me that tactics was only a small part of generalship, I asked you if you could teach me any of those things, and you bade me go and talk with the men who were reputed to be masters of military science and find out how each one of those problems was to be met. [15] Thereupon I joined myself to those who I heard were most proficient in those branches. And in regard to provisions — I was persuaded that what Cyaxares was to furnish us was enough if it should be forthcoming; and in regard to health — as I had always heard and observed that states that wished to be healthy elected a board of health, and also that generals for the sake of their soldiers took physicians out with them, so also when I was appointed to this position, I immediately took thought for this; and I think,” he added, “that you will find that I have with me men eminent in the medical profession.”

Said his father in reply to this, [16] “Yes, my son, but just as there are menders of torn garments, so also these physicians whom you mention heal us when we fall sick. But your responsibility for health will be a larger one than that: you must see to it that your army does not get sick at all.”

“And pray what course shall I take, father,” said he, “that I may be able to accomplish that?”

“In the first place, if you are going to stay for some time in the same neighbourhood, you must not neglect to find a sanitary location for your camp; and with proper attention you can not fail in this. For people are continually talking about unhealthful localities and localities that are healthful; and you may find clear witnesses to either in the physique and complexion of the inhabitants; and in the second place, it is not enough to have regard to the localities only, but tell me what means you adopt to keep well yourself.” [17]

“In the first place, by Zeus,” said Cyrus, “I try never to eat too much, for that is oppressive; and in the second place, I work off by exercise what I have eaten, for by so doing health seems more likely to endure and strength to accrue.”

“That, then, my son,” said he, “is the way in which you must take

care of the rest also.”

“Yes, father,” said he; “but will the soldiers find leisure for taking physical exercise?”

“Nay, by Zeus,” said his father, “they not only can, but they actually must. For if an army is to do its duty, it is absolutely necessary that it never cease to contrive both evil for the enemy and good for itself. What a burden it is to support even one idle man! It is more burdensome still to support a whole household in idleness; but the worst burden of all is to support an army in idleness. For not only are the mouths in an army very numerous but the supplies they start with are exceedingly limited, and they use up most extravagantly whatever they get, so that an army must never be left idle.” [18]

“Methinks you mean, father,” said he, “that just as a lazy farmer is of no account, so also a lazy general is of no account at all.”

“But at any rate, as regards the energetic general,” said his father, “I can vouch for it that, unless some god do cross him, he will keep his soldiers abundantly supplied with provisions and at the same time in the best physical condition.”

“Yes,” said Cyrus; “but at all events, as to practice in the various warlike exercises, it seems to me, father, that by announcing contests in each one and offering prizes you would best secure practice in them, so that you would have everything prepared for use, whenever you might need it.”

“Quite right, my son,” said he; “for if you do that you may be sure that you will see your companies performing their proper parts like trained sets of dancers.” [19]

“In the next place,” said Cyrus, “for putting enthusiasm into the soldiers nothing seems to be more effectual than the power of inspiring men with hopes.”

“Yes, my son,” said he; “but that is just as if any one on a hunt should always call up his dogs with the call that he uses when he sees the quarry. For at first, to be sure, he will find them obeying him eagerly; but if he deceives them often, in the end they will not obey him when he calls, even though he really does see a wild beast. So it stands with respect to those hopes also. If any one too often raises false expectations of good things to come, eventually he can gain no credence, even when he holds forth well-grounded hopes. But, my

son, you should refrain from saying what you are not perfectly sure of; by making certain others your mouthpiece, however, the desired end may be accomplished; but faith in your own words of encouragement you must keep sacred to the utmost to serve you in the greatest crises.”

“Yes, by Zeus, father,” said Cyrus; “I think you are right in what you say, and I like your idea better. [20] And then in regard to keeping the soldiers in a state of obedience, I think, father, that I am not inexperienced in that direction; for you instructed me in obedience from my very childhood on, compelling me to obey you. Then you surrendered me to the charge of my teachers, and they pursued the same course; and when we were in the class of young men, the officer in charge paid especial attention to this same point; and most of the laws seem to me to teach these two things above all else, to govern and to be governed. And now, when I think of it, it seems to me that in all things the chief incentive to obedience lies in this: praise and honour for the obedient, punishment and dishonour for the disobedient.” [21]

“This, my son, is the road to compulsory obedience, indeed, but there is another road, a short cut, to what is much better — namely, to willing obedience. For people are only too glad to obey the man who they believe takes wiser thought for their interests than they themselves do. And you might recognize that this is so in many instances but particularly in the case of the sick: how readily they call in those who are to prescribe what they must do; and at sea how cheerfully the passengers obey the captain; and how earnestly travellers desire not to get separated from those who they think are better acquainted with the road than they are. But when people think that they are going to get into trouble if they obey, they will neither yield very much for punishment nor will they be moved by gifts; for no one willingly accepts even a gift at the cost of trouble to himself.” [22]

“You mean to say, father, that nothing is more effectual toward keeping one’s men obedient than to seem to be wiser than they?”

“Yes,” said he, “that is just what I mean.”

“And how, pray, father, could one most quickly acquire such a reputation for oneself?”

“There is no shorter road, my son,” said he, “than really to be wise in those things in which you wish to seem to be wise; and when you examine concrete instances, you will realize that what I say is true. For example, if you wish to seem to be a good farmer when you are not, or a good rider, doctor, flute-player, or anything else that you are not, just think how many schemes you must invent to keep up your pretensions. And even if you should persuade any number of people to praise you, in order to give yourself a reputation, and if you should procure a fine outfit for each of your professions, you would soon be found to have practised deception; and not long after, when you were giving an exhibition of your skill, you would be shown up and convicted, too, as an impostor.” [23]

“But how could one become really wise in foreseeing that which will prove to be useful?”

“Obviously, my son,” said he, “by learning all that it is possible to acquire by learning, just as you learned tactics. But whatever it is not possible for man to learn, nor for human wisdom to foresee, that you may find out from the gods by the soothsayer’s art, and thus prove yourself wiser than others; and if you know anything that it would be best to have done, you would show yourself wiser than others if you should exert yourself to get that done; for it is a mark of greater wisdom in a man to strive to secure what is needful than to neglect it.” [24]

“Yes; but as to the love of one’s subjects — and this, it seems to me at least, is one of the most important questions — the same course that you would take if you wished to gain the affection of your friends leads also to that; that is, I think, you must show yourself to be their benefactor.”

“Yes, my son,” said he; “it is a difficult matter, however, always to be in a position to do good to whom you will; but to show that you rejoice with them if any good befall them, that you sympathize with them if any ill betide, that you are eager to help them in times of distress, that you are anxious that they be not crossed in any way, and that you try to prevent their being crossed; it is in these respects somehow that you ought rather to go hand in hand with them. [25] And in his campaigns also, if they fall in the summer time, the general must show that he can endure the heat of the sun better than

his soldiers can, and that he can endure cold better than they if it be in winter; if the way lead through difficulties, that he can endure hardships better. All this contributes to his being loved by his men.”

“You mean to say, father,” said he, “that in everything the general must show more endurance than his men.”

“Yes,” said he, “that is just what I mean; however, never fear for that, my son; for bear in mind that the same toils do not affect the general and the private in the same way, though they have the same sort of bodies; but the honour of the general’s position and the very consciousness that nothing he does escapes notice lighten the burdens for him.” [26]

“But, father, when once your soldiers had supplies and were well and able to endure toils, and when they were practised in the arts of war and ambitious to prove themselves brave, and when they were more inclined to obey than to disobey, under such circumstances do you not think it would be wise to desire to engage the enemy at the very first opportunity?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said he; “at any rate, if I expected to gain some advantage by it; otherwise, for my part, the better I thought myself to be and the better my followers, the more should I be on my guard, just as we try to keep other things also which we hold most precious in the greatest possible security.” [27]

“But, father, what would be the best way to gain an advantage over the enemy?”

“By Zeus,” said he, “this is no easy or simple question that you ask now, my son; but, let me tell you, the man who proposes to do that must be designing and cunning, wily and deceitful, a thief and a robber, overreaching the enemy at every point.”

“O Heracles, father,” said Cyrus with a laugh, “what a man you say I must become!”

“Such, my son,” he said, “that you would be at the same time the most righteous and law-abiding man in the world.” [28]

“Why then, pray, did you use to teach us the opposite of this when we were boys and youths?”

“Aye, by Zeus,” said he; “and so we would have you still towards your friends and fellow-citizens; but, that you might be able to hurt your enemies, do you not know that you all were learning many

villainies?”

“No, indeed, father,” said he; “not I, at any rate.”

“Why,” said he, “did you learn to shoot, and why to throw the spear? Why did you learn to ensnare wild boars with nets and pitfalls, and deer with traps and toils? And why were you not used to confront lions and bears and leopards in a fair fight face to face instead of always trying to contend against them with some advantage on your side? Why, do you not know that all this is villainy and deceit and trickery and taking unfair advantage?” [29]

“Yes, by Zeus,” said he, “toward wild animals however; but if I ever even seemed to wish to deceive a man, I know that I got a good beating for it.”

“Yes,” said he; “for, methinks, we did not permit you to shoot at people nor to throw your spear at them; but we taught you to shoot at a mark, in order that you might not for the time at least do harm to your friends, but, in case there should ever be a war, that you might be able to aim well at men also. And we instructed you likewise to deceive and to take advantage, not in the case of men but of beasts, in order that you might not injure your friends by so doing, but, if there should ever be a war, that you might not be unpractised in these arts.” [30]

“Well then, father,” said he, “if indeed it is useful to understand both how to do good and how to do evil to men, we ought to have been taught both these branches in the case of men, too.” [31]

“Yes, my son,” said he; “it is said that in the time of our forefathers there was once a teacher of the boys who, it seems, used to teach them justice in the very way that you propose; to lie and not to lie, to cheat and not to cheat, to slander and not to slander, to take and not to take unfair advantage. And he drew the line between what one should do to one’s friends and what to one’s enemies. And what is more, he used to teach this: that it was right to deceive friends even, provided it were for a good end, and to steal the possessions of a friend for a good purpose. [32] And in teaching these lessons he had also to train the boys to practise them upon one another, just as also in wrestling, the Greeks, they say, teach deception and train the boys to be able to practise it upon one another. When, therefore, some had in this way become expert both in deceiving successfully and in

taking unfair advantage and perhaps also not inexpert in avarice, they did not refrain from trying to take an unfair advantage even of their friends. [33] In consequence of that, therefore, an ordinance was passed which obtains even unto this day, simply to teach our boys, just as we teach our servants in their relations toward us, to tell the truth and not to deceive and not to take unfair advantage; and if they should act contrary to this law, the law requires their punishment, in order that, inured to such habits, they may become more refined members of society. [34] But when they came to be as old as you are now, then it seemed to be safe to teach them that also which is lawful toward enemies; for it does not seem likely that you would break away and degenerate into savages after you had been brought up together in mutual respect. In the same way we do not discuss sexual matters in the presence of very young boys, lest in case lax discipline should give a free rein to their passions the young might indulge them to excess.” [35]

“True, by Zeus,” said he; “but seeing that I am late in learning about this art of taking advantage of others, do not neglect to teach me, father, if you can, how I may take advantage of the enemy.”

“Contrive, then,” said he, “as far as is in your power, with your own men in good order to catch the enemy in disorder, with your own men armed to come upon them unarmed, and with your own men awake to surprise them sleeping, and then you will catch them in an unfavourable position while you yourself are in a strong position, when they are in sight to you and while you yourself are unseen.” [36]

“And how, father,” said he, “could one catch the enemy making such mistakes?”

“Why, my son,” said he, “both you and the enemy must necessarily offer many such opportunities; for instance, you must both eat, and you must both sleep, and early in the morning you must almost all at the same time attend to the calls of nature, and you must make use of such roads as you find. All this you must observe, and you must be particularly watchful on the side where you know yourselves to be weaker, and you must attack the enemy above all in that quarter in which you see that they are most vulnerable.” [37]

“And is it possible to take advantage in these ways only,” said

Cyrus, “or in other ways also?”

“Aye, far more in other ways, my son,” said he; “for in these particulars all men, as a rule, take strict precautions; for they know that they must. But those whose business it is to deceive the enemy can catch them off their guard by inspiring them with over-confidence; and, by offering them the opportunity of pursuit, can get them into disorder; and, by leading them on into unfavourable ground by pretended flight, can there turn and attack them. [38]

However, my son,” he continued, “since you are desirous of learning all these matters, you must not only utilize what you may learn from others, but you must yourself also be an inventor of stratagems against the enemy, just as musicians render not only those compositions which they have learned but try to compose others also that are new. Now if in music that which is new and fresh wins applause, new stratagems in warfare also win far greater applause, for such can deceive the enemy even more successfully. [39]

“And if you, my son,” he went on, “should do nothing more than apply to your dealings with men the tricks that you used to practise so constantly in dealing with small game, do you not think that you would make a very considerable advance in the art of taking advantage of the enemy? For you used to get up in the coldest winter weather and go out before daylight to catch birds, and before the birds were astir you had your snares laid ready for them and the ground disturbed had been made exactly like the ground undisturbed; and your decoy birds had been so trained as to serve your purposes and to deceive the birds of the same species, while you yourself would lie in hiding so as to see them but not to be seen by them; and you had practised drawing your nets before the birds could escape. [40]

And again, to catch the hare — because he feeds in the night and hides in the daytime — you used to breed dogs that would find him out by the scent. And because he ran so fast, when he was found, you used to have other dogs trained to catch him by coursing. And in case he escaped even these, you used to find out the runs and the places where hares take refuge and may be caught, and there you would spread out your nets so as to be hardly visible, and the hare in his headlong flight would plunge into them and entangle himself. And

lest he escape even from that, you used to station men to watch for what might happen and to pounce upon him suddenly from a place near by. And you yourself from behind shouting with a cry that kept right up with the hare would frighten him so that he would lose his wits and be taken; those in front, on the other hand, you had instructed to keep silent and made them lie concealed in ambush. [41]

“As I said before, then, if you would employ such schemes on men also, I am inclined to think that you would not come short of any enemy in the world. But if it is ever necessary — as it may well be — to join battle in the open field, in plain sight, with both armies in full array, why, in such a case, my son, the advantages that have been long since secured are of much avail; by that I mean, if your soldiers are physically in good training, if their hearts are well steeled and the arts of war well studied. [42] Besides, you must remember well that all those from whom you expect obedience to you will, on their part, expect you to take thought for them. So never be careless, but think out at night what your men are to do for you when day comes, and in the daytime think out how the arrangements for the night may best be made. [43] But how you ought to draw up an army in battle array, or how you ought to lead it by day or by night, by narrow ways or broad, over mountains or plains, or how you should pitch camp, or how station your sentinels by night or by day, or how you should advance against the enemy or retreat before them, or how you should lead past a hostile city, or how attack a fortification or withdraw from it, or how you should cross ravines or rivers, or how you should protect yourself against cavalry or spearmen or bowmen, and if the enemy should suddenly come in sight while you are leading on in column, how you should form and take your stand against them, and if they should come in sight from any other quarter than in front as you are marching in phalanx, how you should form and face them, or how any one might best find out the enemy’s plans or how the enemy might be least likely to learn his — why should I tell you all these things? For what I, for my part, know, you have often heard; and if any one else had a reputation for understanding anything of that kind, you never neglected to get information from him, nor have you been uninstructed. I think, then, that you should turn this knowledge to account according to

circumstances, as each item of it may appear serviceable to you. [44]

“Learn this lesson, too, from me, my son,” said he; “it is the most important thing of all: never go into any danger either to yourself or to your army contrary to the omens or the auspices, and bear in mind that men choose lines of action by conjecture and do not know in the least from which of them success will come. [45] But you may derive this lesson from the facts of history; for many, and men, too, who seemed most wise, have ere now persuaded states to take up arms against others, and the states thus persuaded to attack have been destroyed. And many have made many others great, both individuals and states; and when they have exalted them, they have suffered the most grievous wrongs at their hands. And many who might have treated people as friends and done them favours and received favours from them, have received their just deserts from these very people because they preferred to treat them like slaves rather than as friends. Many, too, not satisfied to live contentedly in the enjoyment of their own proper share, have lost even that which they had, because they have desired to be lords of everything; and many, when they have gained the much coveted wealth, have been ruined by it. [46] So we see that mere human wisdom does not know how to choose what is best any more than if any one were to cast lots and do as the lot fell. But the gods, my son, the eternal gods, know all things, both what has been and what is and what shall come to pass as a result of each present or past event; and if men consult them, they reveal to those to whom they are propitious what they ought to do and what they ought not to do. But if they are not willing to give counsel to everybody, that is not surprising; for they are under no compulsion to care for any one unless they will.”

BOOK II.

1. In such conversation they arrived at the Persian frontier. And when an eagle appeared upon their right and flew on ahead of them, they prayed to the gods and heroes who watch over the land of Persia to conduct them on with grace and favour, and then proceeded to cross the frontier. And when they had crossed, they prayed again to the tutelary gods of the Median land to receive them with grace and favour; and when they had finished their devotions, they embraced one another, as was natural, and the father went back again to Persia, while Cyrus went on to Cyaxares in Media. [2]

And when he arrived there, first they embraced one another, as was natural, and then Cyaxares asked Cyrus how large the army was that he was bringing.

“Thirty thousand,” he answered, “of such as have come to you before as mercenaries; but others also, of the peers, who have never before left their country, are coming.”

“About how many?” asked Cyaxares. [3]

“The number,” said Cyrus, “would give you no pleasure, if you were to hear it; but bear this in mind, that though the so-called peers are few, they easily rule the rest of the Persians, many though they be. But,” he added, “are you in any need of them, or was it a false alarm, and are the enemy not coming?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said he, “they are coming and in great numbers, too.” [4]

“How is this so certain?”

“Because,” said he, “many have come from there, and though one tells the story one way and another another, they all say the same thing.”

“We shall have to fight those men, then?”

“Aye,” said he; “we must of necessity.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “won’t you please tell me, if you know, how great the forces are that are coming against us; and tell me of our own as well, so that with full information about both we may lay our plans accordingly, how best to enter the conflict.”

“Listen then,” said Cyaxares. [5] “Croesus, the king of Lydia, is

said to be coming at the head of 10,000 horsemen and more than 40,000 peltasts and bowmen. And they say that Artacamas, the king of Greater Phrygia, is coming at the head of 8000 horse and not fewer than 40,000 lancers and peltasts; and Aribaeus, the king of Cappadocia, has 6000 horse and not fewer than 30,000 bowmen and peltasts; while the Arabian, Aragdus, has about 10,000 horsemen, about 100 chariots of war, and a great host of slingers. As for the Greeks who dwell in Asia, however, no definite information is as yet received whether they are in the coalition or not. But the contingent from Phrygia on the Hellespont, under Gabaedus, has arrived at Cay +stru-Pedium, it is said, to the number of 6000 horse and 10,000 peltasts. The Carians, however, and Cilicians and Paphlagonians, they say, have not joined the expedition, although they have been invited to do so. But the Assyrians, both those from Babylon and those from the rest of Assyria, will bring, I think, not fewer than 20,000 horse and not fewer, I am sure, than 200 war-chariots, and a vast number of infantry, I suppose; at any rate, they used to have as many as that whenever they invaded our country.” [6]

“You mean to say,” said Cyrus, “that the enemy have 60,000 horse and more than 200,000 peltasts and bowmen. And at how many, pray, do you estimate the number of your own forces?”

“There are,” said he, “of the Medes more than 10,000 horse; and the peltasts and bowmen might be, from a country like ours, some 60,000; while from our neighbours, the Armenians, we shall get 4000 horse and 20,000 foot.”

“That is to say,” said Cyrus, “we have less than one-fourth as many horsemen as the enemy and about half as many foot-soldiers.” [7]

“Tell me, then,” said Cyaxares, “do you not consider the Persian force small which you say you are bringing?”

“Yes,” said Cyrus; “but we will consider later whether we need more men or not. Now tell me,” he went on, “what each party’s method of fighting is.”

“About the same with all,” said Cyaxares; “for there are bowmen and spearmen both on their side and on ours.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “as their arms are of that sort, we must fight at long range.” [8]

“Yes,” said Cyaxares, “that will be necessary.”

“In that case, then, the victory will be with the side that has the greater numbers; for the few would be wounded and killed off by the many sooner than the many by the few.”

“If that is so, Cyrus, then what better plan could any one think of than to send to Persia to inform them that if anything happens to the Medes, the danger will extend to the Persians, and at the same time to ask for a larger army?”

“Why,” said Cyrus, “let me assure you that even though all the Persians were to come, we should not surpass the enemy in point of numbers.” [9]

“What better plan do you see than this?”

“If I were you,” said Cyrus, “I should as quickly as possible have armour made for all the Persians who are coming here just like that of the so-called peers who are coming from our country — that is, a corselet to wear about the breast, a small shield upon the left arm, and a scimitar or sabre in the right hand. And if you provide these weapons, you will make it the safest procedure for us to fight at close quarters with the enemy, while for the enemy flight will prove preferable to standing their ground. And it is for us,” he continued, “to range ourselves against those who hold their ground, while those of them who run away we propose to leave to you and the cavalry, that they may have no chance to stand their ground or to turn back.” [10]

Thus Cyrus spoke. And to Cyaxares it seemed that he spoke to the point; and he no longer talked of sending for reinforcements, but he set about procuring the arms as suggested. And they were almost ready when the Persian peers came with the army from Persia. [11]

Thereupon Cyrus is said to have called the peers together and said: “My friends: When I saw you thus equipped and ready in heart to grapple with the enemy in a hand-to-hand encounter, and when I observed that those Persians who follow you are so armed as to do their fighting standing as far off as possible, I was afraid lest, few in number and unaccompanied by others to support you, you might fall in with a large division of the enemy and come to some harm. Now then,” said he, “you have brought with you men blameless in bodily strength; and they are to have arms like ours; but to steel their hearts

is our task; for it is not the whole duty of an officer to show himself valiant, but he must also take care that his men be as valiant as possible.” [12]

Thus he spoke. And they were all delighted, for they thought they were going into battle with more to support them. And one of them also spoke as follows: [13] “Now,” he began, “it will perhaps sound strange if I advise Cyrus to say something on our behalf, when those who are to fight along with us receive their arms. But I venture the suggestion, for I know that when men have most power to do both good and ill, then their words also are the most likely to sink deep into the hearts of the hearers. And if such persons give presents, even though the gifts be of less worth than those given by equals, still the recipients value them more highly. And now,” said he, “our Persian comrades will be more highly pleased to be exhorted by Cyrus than by us; and when they have taken their place among the peers they will feel that they hold this honour with more security because conferred by their prince and their general than if the same honour were bestowed by us. However, our co-operation must not be wanting, but in every way and by all means we must steel the hearts of our men. For the braver these men are, the more to our advantage it will be.” [14]

Accordingly, Cyrus had the arms brought in and arranged to view, and calling all the Persian soldiers together he spoke as follows: [15] “Fellow-citizens of Persia, you were born and bred upon the same soil as we; the bodies you have are no whit inferior to ours, and it is not likely that you have hearts in the least less brave than our own. In spite of this, in our own country you did not enjoy equal privileges with us, but because you were obliged to earn your own livelihood. Now, however, with the help of the gods, I shall see to it that you are provided with the necessities of life; and you are permitted, if you wish, to receive arms like ours, to face the same danger as we, and, if any fair success crowns our enterprise, to be counted worthy of an equal share with us. [16]

“Now, up to this time you have been bowmen and lancers, and so have we; and if you were not quite our equals in the use of these arms, there is nothing surprising about that; for you had not the leisure to practise with them that we had. But with this equipment we

shall have no advantage over you. In any case, every man will have a corselet fitted to his breast, upon his left arm a shield, such as we have all been accustomed to carry, and in his right hand a sabre or scimitar with which, you see, we must strike those opposed to us at such close range that we need not fear to miss our aim when we strike. [17] In this armour, then, how could any one of us have the advantage over another except in courage? And this it is proper for you to cherish in your hearts no less than we. For why is it more proper for us than for you to desire victory, which gains and keeps safe all things beautiful and all things good? And what reason is there that we, any more than you, should desire that superiority in arms which gives to the victors all the belongings of the vanquished? [18]

“You have heard all,” he said in conclusion. “You see your arms; whosoever will, let him take them and have his name enrolled with the captain in the same companies with us. But whosoever is satisfied to be in the position of a mercenary, let him remain in the armour of the hired soldiery.”

Thus he spoke. [19] And when the Persians heard it, they thought that if they were unwilling to accept, when invited to share the same toils and enjoy the same rewards, they should deserve to live in want through all time. And so they were all enrolled and all took up the arms. [20]

And while the enemy were said to be approaching but had not yet come, Cyrus tried to develop the physical strength of his men, to teach them tactics, and to steel their hearts for war. [21]

And first of all he received quartermasters from Cyaxares and commanded them to furnish ready made for each of the soldiers a liberal supply of everything that he needed. And when he had provided for this, he had left them nothing to do but to practise the arts of war, for he thought he had observed that those became best in any given thing who gave up paying attention to many things and devoted themselves to that alone. So, in the drill itself he relieved them of even the practice with bow and spear and left them only the drill with sword and shield and breastplate. And so he at once brought home to them the conviction that they must go into a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy or else admit that as allies they

were good for nothing. But such an admission is hard for those who know that they are being maintained for no other purpose than to fight for those who maintain them. [22]

And as, in addition to this, he had further observed that people are much more willing to practise those things in which they have rivalry among themselves, he appointed contests for them in everything that he knew it was important for soldiers to practise. What he proposed was as follows: to the private soldier, that he show himself obedient to the officers, ready for hardship, eager for danger but subject to good discipline, familiar with the duties required of a soldier, neat in the care of his equipment, and ambitious about all such matters; to the corporal, that, besides being himself like the good private, he make his squad of five a model, as far as possible; to the sergeant, that he do likewise with his squad of ten, and the lieutenant with his platoon; and to the captain, that he be unexceptionable himself and see to it that the officers under him get those whom they command to do their duty. [23]

As rewards, moreover, he offered the following: in the case of captains, those who were thought to have got their companies into the best condition should be made colonels; of the lieutenants, those who were thought to have put their platoons into the best condition should be advanced to the rank of captains; of the sergeants, those who were the most meritorious should be promoted to the rank of lieutenant; in the same way, the best of the corporals should be promoted to the rank of sergeants; and finally of the privates, the best should be advanced to the rank of corporal. Moreover, all these officers not only had a right to claim the respect of their subordinates, but other distinctions also appropriate to each office followed in course. And to those who should deserve praise still greater hopes were held out, in case in time to come any greater good fortune should befall. [24] Besides, he offered prizes of victory to whole companies and to whole platoons and to squads of ten and of five likewise, if they showed themselves implicitly obedient to the officers and very ready in performing the afore mentioned duties. And the prizes of victory for these divisions were just such as were appropriate to groups of men.

Such, then, were the competitions appointed, and the army began

to train for them. [25]

Then, he had tents made for them — in number, as many as there were captains; in size, large enough to accommodate each a company. A company, moreover, was composed of a hundred men. Accordingly, they lived in tents each company by itself; for Cyrus thought that in occupying tents together they had the following advantages for the coming conflict: They saw one another provided for in the same way, and there could be no possible pretext of unjust discrimination that could lead any one to allow himself to prove less brave than another in the face of the enemy. And he thought that if they tented together it would help them to get acquainted with one another. And in getting acquainted with one another, he thought, a feeling of considerateness was more likely to be engendered in them all, while those who are unacquainted seem somehow more indifferent — like people when they are in the dark. [26]

He thought also that their tenting together helped them not a little to gain a perfect acquaintance with their positions. For the captains had the companies under them in as perfect order as when a company was marching single file, and the lieutenants their platoons, and the sergeants and corporals their squads in the same way. [27] He thought, moreover, that such perfect acquaintance with their places in the line was exceedingly helpful both to prevent their being thrown into confusion and to restore order sooner in case they should be thrown into confusion; just as in the case of stones and timbers which must be fitted together, it is possible to fit them together readily, no matter in how great confusion they may chance to have been thrown down, if they have the guide-marks to make it plain in what place each of them belongs. [28] And finally, he thought that comradeship would be encouraged by their messing together and that they would be less likely to desert one another; for he had often observed that even animals that were fed together had a marvellous yearning for one another, if any one separated them. [29]

Cyrus also took care that they should never come to luncheon or to dinner unless they had had a sweat. For he would get them into a sweat by taking them out hunting; or he would contrive such sports as would make them sweat; or again, if he happened to have some business or other to attend to, he so conducted it that they should not

come back without having had a sweat. For this he considered conducive to their enjoying their meals, to their health, and to their being able to endure hardships, and he thought that hardships conduced to their being more reasonable toward one another, for even horses that work together stand more quietly together. At any rate, those who are conscious that they have been well drilled are certainly more courageous in the face of the enemy. [30]

And for himself Cyrus had a tent made big enough to accommodate all whom he might invite to dinner. Now he usually invited as many of the captains as he thought proper, and sometimes also some of the lieutenants and sergeants and corporals; and occasionally he invited some of the privates, sometimes a squad of five together, or a squad of ten, or a platoon, or a whole company in a body. And he also used to invite individuals as a mark of honour, whenever he saw that they had done what he himself wished everybody to do. And the same dishes were always placed before those whom he invited to dinner as before himself. [31]

The quartermasters in the army he always allowed an equal share of everything; for he thought that it was fair to show no less regard for the purveyors of the army stores than for heralds or ambassadors. And that was reasonable, for he held that they must be trustworthy, familiar with military affairs, and intelligent, and, in addition to that, energetic, quick, resolute, steady. And still further, Cyrus knew that the quartermasters also must have the qualities which those have who are considered most efficient and that they must train themselves not to refuse any service but to consider that it is their duty to perform whatever the general might require of them.

2. Whenever Cyrus entertained company at dinner, he always took pains that the conversation introduced should be as entertaining as possible and that it should incite to good. On one occasion he opened the conversation as follows:

“Tell me, men,” said he, “do our new comrades seem to be any worse off than we because they have not been educated in the same way as we, or pray do you think that there will be no difference between us either in social intercourse or when we shall have to contend with the enemy?” [2]

“Well,” said Hystaspas in reply, “for my part, I cannot tell yet how

they will appear in the face of the enemy. But in social intercourse, by the gods, some of them seem ill-mannered enough. The other day, at any rate," he explained, "Cyaxares had meat sent in to each company, and as it was passed around each one of us got three pieces or even more. And the first time round the cook began with me as he passed it around; but when he came in the second time to pass it, I bade him begin with the last and pass it around the other way. [3] Then one of the men sitting in the middle of the circle called out and said, 'By Zeus, this is not fair at all — at any rate, if they are never going to begin with us here in the middle.' And when I heard that, I was vexed that any one should think that he had less than another and I called him to me at once. He obeyed, showing good discipline in this at least. But when that which was being passed came to us, only the smallest pieces were left, as one might expect, for we were the last to be served. Thereupon he was greatly vexed and said to himself: 'Such luck! that I should happen to have been called here just now!' [4] 'Well, never mind,' said I. 'They will begin with us next time, and you, being first, will get the biggest piece.' And at that moment the cook began to pass around the third time what was left of the course; and the man helped himself; and then he thought the piece he had taken too small; so he put back the piece he had, with the intention of taking another. And the cook, thinking that he did not want any more to eat, went on passing it before he got his other piece. [5] Thereupon he took his mishap so to heart that he lost not only the meat he had taken but also what was still left of his sauce; for this last he upset somehow or other in the confusion of his vexation and anger over his hard luck. The lieutenant nearest us saw it and laughed and clapped his hands in amusement. And I," he added, "pretended to cough; for even I could not keep from laughing. Such is one man, Cyrus, that I present to you as one of our comrades."

At this they laughed, of course. [6] But another of the captains said: "Our friend here, it seems, Cyrus, has fallen in with a very ill-mannered fellow. But as for me, when you had instructed us about the arrangement of the lines and dismissed us with orders each to teach his own company what we had learned from you, why then I went and proceeded to drill one platoon, just as the others also did. I

assigned the lieutenant his place first and arranged next after him a young recruit, and the rest, as I thought proper. Then I took my stand out in front of them facing the platoon, and when it seemed to me to be the proper time, I gave the command to go ahead. [7] And that young recruit, mark you, stepped ahead — of the lieutenant and marched in front of him! And when I saw it, I said: ‘Fellow, what are you doing?’ ‘I am going ahead, as you ordered,’ said he. ‘Well,’ said I, ‘I ordered not only you, but all to go ahead.’ When he heard this, he turned about to his comrades and said: ‘Don’t you hear him scolding? He orders us all to go ahead.’ Then the men all ran past their lieutenant and came toward me. [8] But when the lieutenant ordered them back to their places, they were indignant and said: ‘Pray, which one are we to obey? For now the one orders us to go ahead, and the other will not let us.’ I took this good-naturedly, however, and when I had got them in position again, I gave instructions that no one of those behind should stir before the one in front led off, but that all should have their attention on this only — to follow the man in front. [9] But when a certain man who was about to start for Persia came up and asked me for the letter which I had written home, I bade the lieutenant run and fetch it, for he knew where it had been placed. So he started off on a run, and that young recruit followed, as he was, breastplate and sword; and then the whole fifty, seeing him run, ran after. And the men came back bringing the letter. So exactly, you see, does my company, at least, carry out all your orders.” [10]

The rest, of course, laughed over the military escort of the letter, and Cyrus said: “O Zeus and all the gods! What sort of men we have then as our comrades; they are so easily won by kindness that we can make many of them our firm friends with even a little piece of meat; and they are so obedient that they obey even before the orders are given. I, for my part, do not know what sort of soldiers one could ask to have in preference to these!” [11]

Thus Cyrus praised his soldiers, laughing at the same time. But one of his captains, Aglai+tadas by name, one of the most austere of men, happened to be in Cyrus’s tent at the same time and he spoke somewhat as follows: “You don’t mean to say, Cyrus, that you think what these fellows have been telling is true?”

“Well,” said Cyrus, “what object could they have, pray, in telling a lie?”

“What object, indeed,” said the other, “except that they wanted to raise a laugh; and so they tell these stories and try to humbug us.” [12]

“Hush!” said Cyrus. “Don’t call these men humbugs. For to me, the name ‘humbug’ seems to apply to those who pretend that they are richer than they are or braver than they are, and to those who promise to do what they cannot do, and that, too, when it is evident that they do this only for the sake of getting something or making some gain. But those who invent stories to amuse their companions and not for their own gain nor at the expense of their hearers nor to the injury of any one, why should these men not be called ‘witty’ and ‘entertaining’ rather than ‘humbugs’?” [13]

Thus Cyrus defended those who had furnished the fun, and the captain himself who had told the anecdote about his platoon said: “Verily, Aglai+tadas, you might find serious fault with us, if we tried to make you weep, like some authors who invent touching incidents in their poems and stories and try to move us to tears; but now, although you yourself know that we wish to entertain you and not to do you any harm at all, still you heap such reproaches upon us.” [14]

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Aglai+tadas, “and justly, too, since he that makes his friends laugh seems to me to do them much less service than he who makes them weep; and if you will look at it rightly, you, too, will find that I speak the truth. At any rate, fathers develop self-control in their sons by making them weep, and teachers impress good lessons upon their pupils in the same way, and the laws, too, turn the citizens to justice by making them weep. But could you say that those who make us laugh either do good to our bodies or make our minds any more fitted for the management of our private business or of the affairs of state?” [15]

Hereupon Hystaspas answered somewhat as follows: “If you will heed me, Aglai+tadas, you will freely expend this very valuable commodity upon your enemies and will try to set them to weeping; but upon us and your friends here you will please to lavish this cheap article, laughter. And you can, for I know you must have a great quantity of it stored up; for you have never spent it upon yourself nor do you ever afford any laughter for your friends or for your enemies

if you can help it. So you have no excuse for begrudging us a laugh.”

“What!” said Aglai+tadas; “do you really think, Hystaspas, to get a laugh out of me?”

“Well, by Zeus,” said the other captain, “he is a very foolish fellow, let me tell you, if he does; for I believe one might rub fire out of you more easily than provoke a laugh from you.” [16]

At this, of course, the rest laughed; for they knew his character, and Aglai+tadas himself smiled at the sally. And Cyrus seeing him brighten up said: “It is not right, captain, for you to corrupt our most serious man by persuading him to laugh, and that, too,” said he, “when he is such a foe to laughter.” [17]

With that, the subject was dropt. But at this point Chrysantas spoke as follows. [18] “Cyrus,” said he, “and all you here present, I observe, for my part, that some have come out with us who are of superior merit, others who are less deserving than we. Now, if we meet with success, these will all expect to have share and share alike. And yet I do not believe that anything in the world is more unfair than for the bad and good to be awarded equal shares.”

“Well, then, in the name of the gods, my men,” Cyrus replied to this, “will it not be a very good thing for us to suggest to the army a debate on this question: shall we, in case God gives us any success to reward our toils, give to all an equal share or shall we take into consideration each man’s services and bestow increased rewards upon him commensurate with them?” [19]

“And what is the use,” said Chrysantas, “of starting a discussion concerning this matter? Why not rather announce that you propose to do thus and so? Pray, did you not announce the games and offer the prizes that way?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “but this is not a parallel case. For what the men obtain by fighting, that, I suppose, they will consider their own common property; but the command of the army they still consider fairly to be mine, so that when I appoint the judges, I am sure they think I am within my rights.” [20]

“And do you really believe,” said Chrysantas, “that the mass meeting would adopt a resolution that each one should not have an equal share, but that the best should have the preference both in honours and gifts?”

“Yes,” said Cyrus, “I do, partly because we recommend it, and partly because it is mean to oppose a proposition that the one who suffers the most and does the most for the state should also receive the highest rewards. And I think,” said he, “that even to the worst it will seem proper that the good should have the larger share.” [21]

Now Cyrus wished for the sake of the peers themselves that this measure should pass; for he thought that even they themselves would be better, if they knew that they also should be judged by their works and should receive according to their deserts. And so it seemed to him to be the proper time to bring this matter to a vote now, while the peers also were questioning the commoners’ claims to equality. Accordingly, those in the tenth agreed to submit the question to a discussion and they said that whoever thought himself to be a man ought to advocate it. [22]

But one of the captains said with a laugh: “Well, I know a man of the commoners, too, who will support the proposition not to have share and share alike in that indiscriminate fashion.”

Another asked him whom he meant; and he answered: “By Zeus, he is a messmate of ours, who in everything does his best to get the largest share.”

“What! the largest share of hard work, too?” asked another.

“No, by Zeus,” said he; “not by any means; but here I have been caught in a falsehood. For my observation is that he very good-naturedly consents to have a smaller share of hard work and other things of that sort than anybody else. [23]

Well, men,” said Cyrus, “I am convinced that such fellows as this one of whom our friend has just been telling us must be weeded out of the ranks, if we are to keep our army industrious and obedient. For it seems to me that the majority of the soldiers are the sort to follow wherever any one leads; and the good and noble, I think, try to lead only to what is good and noble, and the vicious to what is vicious. [24] And therefore the base oftentimes find a larger following of congenial spirits than the noble. For since vice makes her appeal through the pleasures of the moment, she has their assistance to persuade many to accept her views; but virtue, leading up hill, is not at all clever at attracting men at first sight and without reflection; and especially is this true, when there are others who call in the opposite

direction, to what is downhill and easy. [25]

And so, when people are bad only because of laziness and indolence, I believe that they, like drones, damage their associates only by the cost of their keeping. But those who are poor companions in toil, and also extravagant and shameless in their desire for any advantage, these are likely also to lead others to what is vicious; for they are often able to demonstrate that vice does gain some advantage. And so we must weed out such men at any cost. [26]

“Do not, however, endeavour to fill up their places in the ranks with your own countrymen only; but, just as in selecting a team you seek out not horses that are home-bred but those which are best, so also in the case of men, take them from all sources — whoever you think will be most likely to contribute to your strength and to your honour. And I have the following illustrations to prove the worth of my suggestion: a chariot would never go fast, I am sure, if slow horses were attached to it, nor would it be serviceable if horses unfit for service were harnessed to it; nor yet could a house be well managed if it employed vicious servants, but it would suffer less from having no servants at all than from being kept in confusion by incapable servants. [27]

“Let me assure you of this, too, my friends,” he added, “that the weeding out of the vicious will bring not only this advantage, that the vicious will be out of the way, but also among those who remain the ones that have already been infected with vice will be purged of it, while the virtuous seeing the vicious disgraced will cleave more eagerly to virtue.” [28]

With that he concluded; and all his friends agreed that what he said was true, and they began to act upon that principle.

After that Cyrus began again to jest with them; for he had observed that one of the lieutenants had brought along as a guest and companion at table an exceedingly hairy and exceedingly ill-favoured man; and addressing the lieutenant by name he spoke as follows: “Well, Sambaulas,” said he, “so you also have adopted the Greek fashion, have you, and take about with you everywhere this youngster who is now beside you, because he is so handsome?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said Sambaulas; “at all events I enjoy both his company and his looks.” [29]

When his messmates heard this, they looked at the man; and when they saw that his countenance was exceedingly ugly, they all laughed. And one of them said: "In the name of the gods, Sambaulas, what has this fellow done to make such a hit with you?" [30]

"By Zeus, fellows," he answered, "I will tell you. Every time that I have called him, whether by day or by night, he has never made any excuse saying that 'he had not time,' nor has he answered my call slowly, but always on a run. And as often as I have bidden him do anything, I have never seen him perform it without sweat; and besides, by showing them not by precept but by example what sort of men they ought to be, he has made his whole squad of ten just like himself." [31]

"And yet," said one of the men, "although he is such an excellent fellow, you don't kiss him as you do your relatives?"

And the homely man answered this and said: "No, by Zeus, for he is not fond of hard work; for if he wished to kiss me, that would be an ample substitute for all his drill-work."

3. Things of this sort, both grave and gay, were said and done at the dinner party. And finally when they had made the third libation and prayed to the gods for their blessings, the party broke up, and they all went to bed. Then on the morrow, Cyrus called all his soldiers together and spoke as follows: [2]

"Friends, the conflict is at hand; for the enemy are approaching. As for the prizes of victory, if we are victorious — and we must assume that we shall be and work to that end — it is evident that the enemy and all that is theirs will belong to us. But, on the other hand, if we are defeated — in this case, too, all the possessions of the vanquished are invariably the prizes set for the victors. [3] Accordingly," said he, "you must realize that when men who are united as comrades in war are fully persuaded that nothing will come out as it should unless each individual man exerts himself, then many splendid achievements are speedily accomplished; for nothing that needs to be done is neglected. But when each one assumes that there will be some one else to do and to fight, even if he proves a weakling, let me assure you," said he, "that to such men, all alike, all that is grievous comes in a flood. [4] And God has ordained it in some such way as this: in the case of those who will not compel

themselves to work out their own good, he assigns others to be their commanders. Now, therefore, let any one stand up and speak to this question before us, whether he thinks that valour would be more cultivated among us, if the one who will do and dare most is also to receive the greatest rewards, or if we know that it makes no difference whether a man be a coward or not, as we shall all share and share alike.” [5]

Hereupon Chrysantas, one of the peers, a man neither large nor powerful to look upon, but preminent in understanding, stood up and spoke: “Well, Cyrus,” said he, “I think that you are introducing this discussion not because you think that the bad ought to have an equal share with the good, but because you wish to prove whether a single man will really be found who will care to let it be known that he thinks that, even if he himself does nothing good and noble, he should have an equal share of that which others win by their valour. [6] Now I,” he went on, “am neither fleet of foot nor strong of arm, and I know that in view of what I shall accomplish by my bodily strength I should not be judged either the first or the second, or even, I suppose, the thousandth, and perhaps not even the ten thousandth. But on this point I am perfectly clear, that if those who are powerful men take matters vigorously in hand, I shall have as large a share of any good fortune that may come as I deserve. But if the bad do nothing and the good and strong lose heart, I am afraid,” said he, “that I shall have a larger share than I wish of something other than good.” [7]

Thus spoke Chrysantas. And after him Pheraulas stood up, one of the Persian commoners, but a man who for some reason or other had from the beginning won Cyrus’s confidence and affection; besides he was well-favoured in body and a gentleman at heart. His speech was as follows: [8]

“I think, Cyrus,” said he, “and all you Persians here assembled, that we are all now starting on an equal footing in a contest of merit; for I observe that we are all taking the same bodily exercise, that we all have the same rations, that we are all considered worthy to move in the same society, and that the prizes are offered alike to all. For obedience to the officers has been enjoined equally upon us all, and whoever shows himself prompt to comply, I observe that he receives

honour from Cyrus. Again, to be brave in the face of the enemy is not a thing to be expected of one and not of another, but it is considered far the noblest thing for all alike. [9]

“And now,” he continued, “we have been initiated into a method of fighting, which, I observe, all men naturally understand, just as in the case of other creatures each understands some method of fighting which it has not learned from any other source than from instinct: for instance, the bull knows how to fight with his horns, the horse with his hoofs, the dog with his teeth, the boar with his tusks. And all know how to protect themselves, too, against that from which they most need protection, and that, too, though they have never gone to school to any teacher. [10]

As for myself, I have understood from my very childhood how to protect the spot where I thought I was likely to receive a blow; and if I had nothing else I put out my hands to hinder as well as I could the one who was trying to hit me. And this I did not from having been taught to do so, but even though I was beaten for that very act of putting out my hands. Furthermore, even when I was a little fellow I used to seize a sword wherever I saw one, although, I declare, I had never learned, except from instinct, even how to take hold of a sword. At any rate, I used to do this, even though they tried to keep me from it — and certainly they did not teach me so to do — just as I was impelled by nature to do certain other things which my father and mother tried to keep me away from. And, by Zeus, I used to hack with a sword everything that I could without being caught at it. For this was not only instinctive, like walking and running, but I thought it was fun in addition to its being natural. [11]

“Be that as it may,” he went on, “since this method of fighting awaits us, which demands courage more than skill, why should we not gladly compete with the peers here? For the prizes proposed for excellence are equal, but we shall go into the trial not having at stake interests equal with theirs; for they have at stake a life of honour, which is the most happy of all, while we risk only a life of toil unhonoured, which I think is most burdensome. [12]

“And this, comrades, gives me the most courage for the competition with these gentlemen, that Cyrus is to be the judge; for he decides not with partiality, but (I swear it by the gods) I verily

think that Cyrus loves no less than himself those whom he recognizes as valiant. At any rate, I observe that, whatever he has, he is much more pleased to give it to them than to keep it for himself. [13] And yet I know that these men pride themselves upon having been trained, as they say, to endure hunger and thirst and cold, but they do not know that in this we also have been trained by a better teacher than they have had; for in these branches there is no better teacher than necessity, which has given us exceedingly thorough instruction in them. [14] And they have been in training for hard labour by carrying weapons, which all men have so devised that they may be as easy as possible to bear; while we, on our part, have been obliged to walk and to run with heavy burdens, so that the carrying of arms now seems to me more like having wings than bearing a burden. [15]

“Let me inform you, therefore, Cyrus,” said he, “that I, for one, shall not only enter this contest, but I shall also expect you to reward me according to my deserts, whatever I am, for better or worse. And you, my fellow-commoners,” he concluded, “I recommend you to enter with alacrity into the competition with these gentlemen in this sort of warfare; for now they have been trapped in a contest with commoners.” [16]

Thus Pheraulas spoke. And many others from both orders rose to speak in favour of the measure. They decided that each one should receive rewards according to his deserts, and that Cyrus should be the judge. Thus, then, the matter was satisfactorily settled. [17]

And once Cyrus invited a captain and his whole company to dinner, because he had noticed him drawing up one half of the men of his company against the other half for a sham battle. Both sides had breastplates and on their left arms their shields; in the hands of the one side he placed stout cudgels, while he told the other side that they would have to pick up clods to throw. [18]

Now when they had taken their stand thus equipped, he gave the order to begin battle. Then those on the one side threw their clods, and some struck the breastplates and shields, others also struck the thighs and greaves of their opponents. But when they came into close quarters, those who had the cudgels struck the others — some upon the thighs, others upon the arms, others upon the shins; and as still others stooped to pick up clods, the cudgels came down upon their

necks and backs. And finally, when the cudgel-bearers had put their opponents to flight, they pursued them laying on the blows amid shouts of laughter and merriment. And then again, changing about, the other side took the cudgels with the same result to their opponents, who in turn threw clods. [19]

In this Cyrus admired both the captain's cleverness and the men's obedience, and he was pleased to see that they were at the same time having their practice and enjoying themselves and also because that side was victorious which was armed after the fashion of the Persians. Pleased with this he invited them to dinner; and in his tent, observing some of them wearing bandages — one around his leg, another around his arm — he asked them what the matter was; and they answered that they had been hit with the clods. [20] And he inquired further, whether it had happened when they were close together or far apart. And they said it was when they were far apart. But when they came to close quarters, it was capital fun — so the cudgel-bearers said; but those who had been thoroughly drubbed with the cudgels cried out that it did not seem any fun to them to be beaten at close quarters, and at the same time they showed the marks of the cudgels on their arms and their necks and some also on their faces. And then, as was natural, they laughed at one another.

On the following day the whole plain was full of men following their example; and if they had nothing more important to do, they indulged in this sport. [21]

And once he saw another captain leading his company up from the river left about in single file and ordering when he thought it was proper, the second division and then the third and the fourth to advance to the front; and when the lieutenants were in a row in front, he ordered each division to march up in double file. Thus the sergeants came to stand on the front line. Again, when he thought proper, he ordered the divisions to line up four abreast; in this formation, then, the corporals in their turn came to stand four abreast in each division; and when they arrived at the doors of the tent, he commanded them to fall into single file again, and in this order he led the first division into the tent; the second he ordered to fall in line behind the first and follow, and, giving orders in like manner to the third and fourth, he led them inside. And when he had thus led them

all in, he gave them their places at dinner in the order in which they came in. Pleased with him for his gentleness of discipline and for his painstaking, Cyrus invited this company also with its captain to dinner.

With another doubling up of ranks, they assume a front of sixteen men and a depth of six:

Finally in these groups of six each, they are led, single file, in to dinner. [22]

Now there was present another captain who had been invited to the dinner and he said: "Cyrus, will you not invite my company to your tent? My company, too, does all this when we go to mess, and when the meal is finished the rear-guard leader of the last division leads that division out, keeping in the rear those whose place in the battle line is in front; then, next after them, the second rear-guard leader brings out the men of the second division, and the third and the fourth in like manner, in order that," he explained, "they may also know how to withdraw, if ever it is necessary to retreat before the enemy. And when we take our places on the parade-ground, I take the lead, when we march toward the east, and the first division of the company goes first, the second in its proper order, and then the third and the fourth and the squads of ten and five in each division, until I give the order for some change of formation; then," said he, "when we march toward the west, the rear-guard leader and the rear-guard lead off first. Still, even so, they have to look to me for the commands, though I march last, so that they may get into the habit of obeying just the same whether they follow or whether they lead." [23]

"Do you always do that way?" asked Cyrus.

"Yes, by Zeus," said he, "as often as we go to dinner."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "I will invite you, because you give your lines practice both in coming and in going, by night and by day, and also because you give your bodies exercise by marching about, and improve your minds by instruction. Since, therefore, you do all this doubly, it is only fair that I should furnish you a double feast also." [24]

"No, by Zeus," said the captain, "at any rate not on the same day, unless you will furnish us with double stomachs as well."

Thus they brought that dinner to a close. And on the following

day Cyrus invited that company, as he had promised, and again the next day. And when the others heard about it, they all followed, in the future, the example of that company.

4. Once when Cyrus was holding a general review and parade of all his men under arms, a messenger came from Cyaxares saying that an embassy had arrived from India. "He therefore bids you come as soon as possible. Moreover," said the messenger, "I am bringing you a very beautiful robe from Cyaxares; for he expressed the wish that you appear as brilliant and splendid as possible when you come, for the Indians will see how you approach him." [2]

And when Cyrus heard this, he gave orders to the captain who was stationed first to take his stand at the head of the line, bringing up his company in single file and keeping himself to the right; he told him to transmit the same order to the second captain and to pass it on through all the lines. And they obeyed at once and passed the order on, and they all executed it promptly, and in a little while they were three hundred abreast on the front line, for that was the number of the captains, and a hundred men deep. [3]

And when they had got into their places, he ordered them to follow as he himself should lead. And at once he led them off at a double quick step. But when he became aware that the street leading to the king's headquarters was too narrow to admit all his men with such a front, he ordered the first regiment in their present order to follow him, the second to fall in behind the first, and so on through them all, while he himself led on without stopping to rest, and the other regiments followed, each the one before it. [4]

And he sent also two adjutants to the entrance of the street, to tell what was to be done, if any one did not understand. And when they arrived at Cyaxares's doors, he ordered the first captain to draw up his company twelve deep, while the sergeants were to take their places on the front line about the king's headquarters. He bade him transmit the same orders to the second captain, and so on to all the rest; [5] and they proceeded to do so, while he presented himself before Cyaxares in his Persian dress, which was not at all showy. When Cyaxares saw him, he was pleased at his promptness but displeased with the plainness of his dress and said: "How is this, Cyrus? What do you mean by appearing thus before the Indians?"

Now I wished you to appear with as much magnificence as possible, for it would have been a mark of respect to me to have my sister's son appear in all possible grandeur.” [6]

“Should I be showing you more respect, Cyaxares,” Cyrus made reply to this, “if I arrayed myself in purple and adorned myself with bracelets and put on a necklace and at my leisure obeyed your orders, than I have in obeying you with such dispatch and accompanied by so large and so efficient an army? And I have come myself adorned with sweat and marks of haste to honour you and I present the others likewise obedient to you.”

Thus Cyrus spoke, and Cyaxares recognizing that he was right summoned the Indians. [7] And when the Indians came in they said that the king of India had sent them with orders to ask on what ground the Medes and the Assyrians had declared war. “And he has ordered us,” they said, “when we have heard your statement, to go also to the Assyrian and ask him the same question; and finally, he bade us say to both of you that the king of India declared that when he was weighed the merits of the case, he will side with the party wronged.” [8]

“Well, then,” Cyaxares made reply to this, “let me tell you that we are not guilty of doing any wrong to the Assyrian; but go now, if you wish, and ask him what he has to say.”

Cyrus, who was present, asked Cyaxares, “May I also tell them what I think?” And Cyaxares bade him say on.

“Well then,” said he, “if Cyaxares has no objection, tell the king of India that we propose, in case the Assyrian says he has been wronged by us, to choose the king of India himself to be our arbitrator.”

Upon hearing this, they went away. [9] And when they had gone out, Cyrus addressed Cyaxares as follows:

“Cyaxares, I came from home without very much money of my own, and of what I had I have very little left. I have spent it,” he said, “upon my soldiers. Now you wonder, perhaps, how I have spent it upon them, when you are maintaining them; but I want you to know that it has gone for nothing else than rewards and entertainments, whenever I am pleased with any of my soldiers. [10] For,” said he, “in the case of all those whom one wishes to make efficient coadjutors in

any enterprise of any sort whatsoever, it seems to me pleasanter to draw them on by kind words and kind services rather than by compulsion and force; but in the case of those whom one wishes to make enthusiastic followers in his plans of war, one must by all means try to capture them with kind words and kind offices. For those men who are to be trusty comrades, who will not envy their commander in his successes nor betray him in his adversity, must be his friends and not his enemies. [11] Accordingly, as I recognize this in advance, I think I need more money. However, it seems to me unreasonable for every one to be looking to you, who, I observe, are put to great expense; but I think that you and I should together lay plans that funds may never fail you. For if you have plenty, I am sure it would be possible for me to draw money whenever I needed it, especially if I should take it to spend for something that would be more to your advantage also. [12]

“Now I remember hearing you say one day recently that the Armenian king despises you now, because he has heard that the enemy are coming against you, and that therefore he is neither sending troops nor paying the tribute which is due.”

“Yes, Cyrus,” he answered; “that is just what he is doing; and so, for my part, I am in doubt whether it is better to proceed against him and try to enforce allegiance or to let him alone for the present, for fear we bring him also upon us as an enemy, in addition to the others.” [13]

“But his residences,” asked Cyrus, “are they all in fortified places or are perhaps some of them in places easy of approach?”

“His residences,” answered Cyaxares, “are in places not very well fortified; I did not fail to attend to that. However, there are mountains where he could take refuge and for a time be safe from falling into our hands himself, and where he could insure the safety of whatever he could have carried up there secretly, unless some one should occupy the approaches and hold him in siege, as my father did.” [14]

“Well,” Cyrus then made answer, “if you would give me as many horsemen as you think reasonable and send me there, I think that with the help of the gods I could make him send the troops and pay the tribute to you. And besides, I hope that he will be made a better friend to us than he now is.” [15]

“I also have hopes,” Cyaxares replied, “that they would come to you sooner than to me; for I understand that some of his sons were among your companions in the chase; and so, perhaps, they would join you again. And if they should fall into your hands, everything would be accomplished as we wish.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “do you think it good policy to have this plan of ours kept a secret?”

“Yes, indeed,” said Cyaxares; “for then some of them would be more likely to fall into our hands, and besides, if one were to attack them, they would be taken unprepared.” [16]

“Listen then,” said Cyrus, “and see if you think there is anything in what I say. Now I have often hunted with all my forces near the boundary between your country and the Armenians, and have even gone there with some horsemen from among my companions here.”

“And so,” said Cyaxares, “if you were to do the same again, you would excite no suspicion; but if they should notice that your force was much larger than that with which you used to hunt, this would at once look suspicious.” [17]

“But,” said Cyrus, “it is possible to devise a pretext that will be credited both here and also there, if some one bring them word that I wish to institute a great hunt; and horsemen I should ask of you openly.”

“A very clever scheme!” said Cyaxares; “and I shall refuse to give you more than a reasonable number, on the ground that I wish to visit the outposts on the Assyrian border. And that will be no lie, for in reality,” said he, “I do wish to go there and to make them as strong as possible. And when you have gone ahead with the forces you have and have already been hunting for two days, I will send you a sufficient number of the cavalry and infantry that are mustered with me, and you may take them and make an inroad at once. And I myself, with the rest of my forces, will try to be not far away from you, to make my appearance upon the scene, should occasion require it.” [18]

Thereupon Cyaxares at once proceeded to get his cavalry and infantry together for visiting the outposts, and to send out wagon-loads of provisions on the road to the outposts. But Cyrus proceeded to offer sacrifice in behalf of his expedition, and at the same time he

sent to Cyaxares and asked for some of his younger horsemen. But, although very many wished to go along, Cyaxares would not give him many.

Now after Cyaxares with his forces of cavalry and infantry had already started off on the road to the outposts, Cyrus's sacrifice turned out favourable for proceeding against the Armenian. Accordingly, he led his men out equipped as if for hunting. [19]

And as he proceeded on his way, in the very first field a hare started up. And an eagle flying up from the east caught sight of the hare as it ran and swooping down struck it, seized it, and carried it up, then bore it away to a hill not far off and disposed of his prey at his pleasure. Then Cyrus, observing the omen, was delighted and did homage to Sovereign Zeus and said to those who were by: "Our hunt, comrades, please God, will be successful." [20]

When they arrived at the frontier, he at once proceeded to hunt, as he used to do; and the most of his men, on foot and on horseback, were marching in a straight line before him, in order to start up the game as they approached. But the best of his foot and horse stood at intervals and lay in wait for what was started up, and pursued it in relays. And they took many boars, deer, antelope, and wild asses; for many wild asses breed in those regions even unto this day. [21]

And when he stopped hunting, he marched up to the Armenian border and dined; and on the following day, he went up to the mountains toward which he was aiming and hunted again. And when again he stopped, he sat down to dinner; but when he saw the army from Cyaxares approaching, he sent to them secretly and bade them take their dinner at a distance of about two parasangs, for he foresaw that this also would contribute to the secrecy of his design; but he ordered their commander to come to him when they had finished their dinner. Then, after dinner, he called together his captains; and when they had come he addressed them as follows: [22]

"My friends, the Armenian king formerly was both an ally and a dependent of Cyaxares; but now since he has seen the enemy coming upon us, he is insolent and neither sends us his complement of soldiers nor pays his tribute. Now, therefore, he is the game we have come to catch, if we can. And here is the plan that I think we should pursue: do you, Chrysantas, when you have had as much rest as you

reasonably need, take half of the Persians who are with us, and following the mountain road take possession of the heights to which they say he flees for refuge when anything alarms him. I will furnish you with guides. [23]

Now they say that these mountains are thickly wooded, and so I have hopes of your not being seen. Nevertheless, suppose you send ahead of your army some active men, in the guise of brigands both as to numbers and accountrements; these, if they met any Armenians, would capture them and so prevent their spreading any reports; or, if they failed to capture them, they would frighten them away and so prevent their seeing the whole of your army, and would thus cause them to take precautions as against only a band of thieves. [24] Do you, then,” said he, “do this; but I, at break of day, with half the infantry and all the cavalry, will proceed through the plain straight toward the capital. And if he resists, we shall have to fight, of course; and if he abandons the field, of course we shall have to chase him; but if he flees to the mountain, then it is your business not to let any one of those who come your way escape. [25]

And bear in mind that, just as in hunting, we shall be the ones beating out the game, you the man in charge of the nets. Remember this, then, that the runs must be blocked before the game starts; and those at the entrance to those runs must keep out of sight, if they are not to turn the animals aside as they come on. [26] However,” he added, “do not in this case do as you sometimes do, Chrysantas, in your fondness for hunting: you often keep yourself busy all night without sleeping; but now you should let your men rest long enough, so that they may be able to resist drowsiness. [27]

“Again, do not, because you personally are accustomed to wander up and down the mountains without following human guides but running after the game wherever it leads you — do not now go into such dangerous and difficult places, but order your guides to lead you by the easiest road, unless it is much too long; for the easiest road is the shortest for an army. [28]

And do not lead your men at a run because you are used to running up mountains, but lead with moderate haste, that your army may be able to follow you easily. [29] And it is a good thing for some of the strongest and most zealous to fall back sometimes and

encourage the rest; and when the column has passed by them, it is an incentive to all to hasten when these are seen running past them as they walk.” [30]

On hearing this, Chrysantas was elated with his commission from Cyrus; he took his guides and went away, and after giving what orders he thought necessary to those who were to go with him he went to rest. And when they had slept as long as he thought reasonable, he started for the mountains. [31]

And when it was day, Cyrus sent forward a messenger to the Armenian with instructions to speak to him as follows: “‘King of Armenia, Cyrus bids you take steps as quickly as possible to deliver to him the tribute and the troops.’ And if he asks where I am, tell the truth and say that I am at the frontier. And if he asks whether I also am coming in person, tell the truth in that case also and say that you do not know. But if he inquires how many men we are, bid him send some one along with you and find out.” [32]

With such instructions he sent the messenger off, for he thought that this was a more friendly course than to march upon him without notice. And he himself set out with his army in the formation which he thought best adapted both for covering distance and for fighting if necessary. He ordered his soldiers to molest no one, and, if any one met any Armenians, to bid them have no fear but to say that if any one of them wished to sell food or drink, he should feel free to bring it wherever they were and open a market.

BOOK III.

1. Cyrus was thus employed; but when the Armenian king heard from the envoy the message of Cyrus, he was alarmed, for he knew that he was doing wrong in withholding the tribute due and in failing to send the troops, and he was afraid most of all because he saw that he was sure to be detected in the act of beginning to build his palace in such a way as to render it strong enough for armed resistance. [2]

Disturbed by the consciousness of all these faults, he sent around and collected his forces, and at the same time he sent away to the mountains his younger son, Sabaris, and the women, both his queen and his son's wife, and his daughters. And he sent along with them his most valuable jewels and chattels and gave them an escort. At the same time he sent scouts to spy out what Cyrus was doing, while he went on assigning positions in his service to the Armenians as they came in to him. Presently still others arrived with the news that the man himself was quite near. [3] Then he no longer had the courage to join battle with him but retreated. When the Armenians saw him act thus, they dispersed at once, each to his own possessions, wishing to get their belongings out of the way.

And when Cyrus saw the plain full of men running about and driving away, he sent secretly to say that he had no quarrel with any who remained; but he declared that if he caught any one trying to get away, he should treat him as an enemy. Accordingly, the most of them remained, but some retreated with the king. [4]

Now as those with the women in charge went forward they came upon the forces in the mountain. At once they raised a cry and as they tried to escape many of them were caught. And finally the young prince and the wives and daughters were captured and all the treasure that happened to be in the train.

When the king himself learned what was going on, he was in a quandary which way to turn and took refuge upon a certain hill. [5] And when Cyrus saw this he surrounded the hill with the troops he had with him and sent orders to Chrysantas to leave a guard upon the mountains and come. Thus Cyrus's army was being brought together.

Then he sent a herald to the Armenian to ask him the following

question: "Tell me, king of Armenia," he said, "whether you prefer to remain there and fight against hunger and thirst, or to come down into the plain and fight it out with us?"

The Armenian answered that he had no wish to fight against either. [6] Again Cyrus sent to him and asked: "Why then do you sit there and refuse to come down?"

"Because," he answered, "I am in a quandary what to do."

"But," said Cyrus, "there is no occasion whatever for that; for you are free to come down for trial."

"And who," said he, "will be my judge?"

"He, to be sure, to whom God has given the power to deal with you as he will, even without a trial."

Then the Armenian, recognizing the exigency of his case, came down. And Cyrus received both the king and all that belonged to him into the midst and set his camp round them, for by this time he had all his forces together. [7]

Now at this juncture Tigranes, the king's elder son, returned from a journey abroad. He it was who had been Cyrus's companion once on a hunt; and when he heard what had occurred, he came at once, just as he was, to Cyrus. And when he saw his father and mother and brothers and sisters and his own wife all made prisoners, he wept, as might be expected. [8]

But Cyrus, when he looked upon him, showed him no token of friendship, but merely remarked: "You have come just in time to attend your father's trial."

And immediately he called together the officers of both the Medes and the Persians and all the Armenian nobles who were present. And the women who were there in their carriages he did not exclude but permitted them to attend. [9]

When everything was in order, he began his examination: "King of Armenia," said he, "I advise you in the first place in this trial to tell the truth, that you may be guiltless of that offence which is hated more cordially than any other. For let me assure you that being caught in a barefaced lie stands most seriously in the way of a man's receiving any mercy. In the next place," said he, "your children and your wives here and also the Armenians present are cognizant of everything that you have done; and if they hear you telling anything

else than the facts, they will think that you are actually condemning your own self to suffer the extreme penalty, if ever I discover the truth."

"Well, Cyrus," said he, "ask what you will, and be assured that I will tell the truth, let happen what will as a result of it." [10]

"Tell me then," said the other, "did you ever have a war with Astyages, my mother's father, and with the rest of the Medes?"

"Yes," he answered, "I did."

"And when you were conquered by him, did you agree to pay tribute and to join his army, wherever he should command you to go, and to own no forts?"

"Those are the facts."

"Why, then, have you now failed to pay the tribute and to send the troops, and why have you been building forts?"

"I longed for liberty; for it seemed to me to be a glorious thing both to be free myself and to bequeath liberty to my children." [11]

"You are right," said Cyrus; "it is a noble thing to fight that one may never be in danger of becoming a slave. But if any one has been conquered in war or in any other way reduced to servitude and is then caught attempting to rob his masters of himself, are you the first man to reward him as an honest man and one who does right, or do you punish him as a malefactor if you catch him?"

"I punish him," said he; "for you will not let me tell a lie." [12]

"Answer each of these questions explicitly then," said Cyrus; "if any one happens to be an officer under you and does wrong, do you permit him to continue in office or do you put another in his place?"

"I put another in his place."

"And what if he has great possessions — do you allow him to continue rich, or do you make him poor?"

"I confiscate all that he may happen to possess," said he.

"And if you find out that he is trying to desert to the enemy, what do you do?"

"I put him to death," said he; "I may as well confess, for why should I convict myself of lying and be put him to death for that, instead of telling the truth?" [13]

Then his son, when he heard this, stripped off his turban and rent his garments, and the women cried aloud and tore their cheeks, as if

it were all over with their father and they were already lost. But Cyrus bade them be silent and said: "Very well, king of Armenia; so that is your idea of justice; in accordance with it, then, what do you advise us to do?"

Then the Armenian was silent, for he was in a quandary whether to advise Cyrus to put him to death or to propose to him a course opposite to that which he admitted he himself always took. [14] But his son Tigranes put a question to Cyrus, saying: "Tell me, Cyrus, since my father seems to be in doubt, may I advise you in regard to him what I think the best course for you?"

Now Cyrus had observed when Tigranes used to go hunting with him that there was a certain philosopher with him who was an object of admiration to Tigranes; consequently he was very eager to hear what he would say. So he bade him express his opinion with confidence. [15]

"Well," said Tigranes, "if you approve either of my father's theory or his practice, then I advise you by all means to imitate him. But if you think he has done wrong throughout, I advise you not to imitate him."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "if I should do what is right, I should surely not be imitating the one who does wrong."

"That is true," said he.

"Then, according to your reasoning, your father must be punished, if indeed it is right that the one who does wrong should be punished."

"Which do you think is better for you, Cyrus, to mete out your punishments to your benefit or to your own injury?"

"In the latter case, at least," said he, "I should be punishing myself." [16]

"Aye, but you would be doing yourself a great injury," said Tigranes, "if you should put your friends to death just at the time when it was of the greatest advantage to you to have them."

"How," said Cyrus, "could men be of the greatest advantage to me just at the time when they were caught doing wrong?"

"They would be, I think, if at that time they should become discreet. For it seems to me to be true, Cyrus," said he, "that without discretion there is no advantage at all in any other virtue; for what," he continued, "could one do with a strong man or a brave man, or

what with a rich man or a man of power in the state if he lacked discretion? But every friend is useful and every servant good, if he be endowed with discretion.” [17]

“Do you mean to say, then,” Cyrus answered, “that in one day’s time your father has become discreet when he was indiscreet before?”

“Yes,” said he, “I do, indeed.”

“By that you mean to say that discretion is an affection of the soul, as sorrow is, and not an acquisition. For I do not suppose that a man could instantly pass from being indiscreet to being discreet, if indeed the one who is to be discreet must first have become wise.” [18]

“What, have you never observed, Cyrus,” said he, “that when a man indiscreetly ventures to fight a stronger man than himself and has been worsted, he is instantly cured of his indiscretion toward that particular man? And again,” he continued, “have you never seen how when one state is in arms against another it is at once willing, when defeated, to submit to the victor instead of continuing the fight?” [19]

“To what defeat of your father’s do you refer,” said Cyrus, “that you are so confident that he has been brought to discretion by it?”

“Why that, by Zeus,” Tigranes answered, “which he is conscious of having sustained, inasmuch as when he aimed at securing liberty he has become more of a slave than ever, and as he has not been able to accomplish a single thing of all that he thought he should effect by secrecy or by surprise or by actual force. And he knows that when you desired to outwit him, you did it as effectually as one could do who set out to deceive men blind or deaf or deprived of all their senses; and when you thought you ought to act secretly, you acted with such secrecy that the fortified places which he thought he had provided for his own safety you had secretly turned into prisons for him in advance. And so much did you surpass him in dispatch, that you came from a distance with a large army before he could muster the forces he had at home.” [20]

“Well,” said Cyrus, “do you really think that such a defeat is adequate to make men discreet — I mean, when they find out that others are their superiors?”

“Yes,” said Tigranes, “much more than when they are defeated in

combat. For the one who is overcome by strength sometimes conceives the idea that, if he trains his body, he may renew the combat. Even cities too, when captured, think that by taking on new allies they might renew the fight. But if people are convinced that others are superior to themselves, they are often ready even without compulsion to submit to them.” [21]

“You seem to think,” said the other, “that the insolent do not recognize those more discreet than they, that thieves do not recognize the truthful, and wrong-doers those who do right. Do you not know,” he continued, “that even now your father has played false and has not kept his agreement with us, although he knew that we have not been violating any of the agreements made by Astyages?” [22]

“Yes; but neither do I mean that simply recognizing their superiors makes people discreet, unless they are punished by those superiors, as my father now is.”

“But,” said Cyrus, “your father has not yet suffered the least harm; but he is afraid, to be sure, that he will suffer the worst.” [23]

“Do you think, then,” said Tigranes, “that anything breaks a man’s spirit sooner than object fear? Do you not know that those who are beaten with the sword, which is considered the most potent instrument of correction, are nevertheless ready to fight the same enemy again; but when people really fear anyone very much, then they cannot look him in the face, even when he tries to cheer them?”

“You mean to say,” said he, “that fear is a heavier punishment to men than real correction.” [24]

“And you,” said he, “know that what I say is true; for you are aware that, on the one hand, those who are afraid that they are to be exiled from their native land, and those who on the eve of battle are afraid that they shall be defeated, and those who fear slavery or bondage, all such can neither eat nor sleep for fear; whereas those who are already in exile or already defeated or already in slavery can sometimes eat and sleep better than those enjoying a happier lot. [25] And from the following considerations it is still clearer what a burden fear is: some, for fear that they will be caught and put to death, in terror take their own lives before their time — some by hurling themselves over a precipice, other by hanging themselves, others by cutting their own throats; so does fear crush down the soul

more than all other terrors. As for my father,” he added, “in what a state of mind do you think he is? For he is in dread not only for himself, but also for me, for his wife, and for all of his children.” [26]

“Well,” answered Cyrus, “it is not at all unlikely, I suppose, that he is for the moment in such a state of mind. However, it seems to me that we expect of a man who is insolent in success and abject in failure that, when set on his feet once more, he will again wax arrogant and again cause more trouble.” [27]

“Well, by Zeus, Cyrus,” said he, “our wrong-doing does, no doubt, give you cause to distrust us; but you may build forts in our country and occupy the strongholds already built and take whatever else you wish as security. And yet,” he added, “you will not find us very much aggrieved by your doing so; for we shall remember that we are to blame for it all. But if you hand over our government to some one of those who have done no wrong and yet show that you distrust them, see to it lest they regard you as no friend, in spite of your favours to them. But if again, on your guard against incurring their hatred, you fail to place a check upon them to keep them from rebellion, see to it lest you need to bring them to discretion even more than you did in our case just now.” [28]

“Nay, by the gods,” said he, “I do not think I should like to employ servants that I knew served me only from compulsion. But if I had servants who I thought assisted me, as in duty bound, out of goodwill and friendship toward me, I think I should be better satisfied with them when they did wrong than with others who disliked me, when they performed all their tasks faithfully but from compulsion.”

To this Tigranes replied: “From whom could you ever get such friendship as you now can from us?”

“From those, I presume,” said he, “who have never been my enemies, if I would do them such favours as you now bid me do you.” [29]

“But, Cyrus,” said he, “as things now are, could you find any one to whom you could do as great favours as you can to my father? For example, if you grant any one of those who have done you no wrong his life, what gratitude do you think he will feel toward you for that? And again, who will love you for not depriving him of his wife and

children more than he who thinks that it would serve him right to lose them? And do you know of any one who would be more grieved than we, not to have the throne of Armenia? Well, then," he added, "it is evident that he who would be most grieved not to be king, would also be most grateful for receiving the throne." [30]

And if you care at all to leave matters here in as little confusion as possible when you go away, consider whether you think the country would be more tranquil under the beginning of a new administration than if the one we are used to should continue. And if you care to take with you as large an army as possible, who do you think would be in a better position to organize the troops properly than he who has often employed them? And if you need money also, who do you think could supply it better than he who knows and commands all the sources of supply? My good Cyrus," he added, "beware lest in casting us aside you do yourself a greater injury than any harm my father has been able to do you."

Thus he spoke. [31] And Cyrus was more than pleased at hearing him, for he thought that everything that he had promised Cyaxares to do was in course of accomplishment; for he remembered having told him that he would make the Armenian more his friend than he was before.

"Tell me, king of Armenia," he therefore asked, "if I yield to you in this matter, how large an army will you send with me and how much money will you contribute to the war?" [32]

"I have nothing to propose more simple or more fair, Cyrus," the Armenian replied to this, "than for me to show you all the forces I have and for you, when you have seen them, to take as many as you see fit, leaving the rest here to protect the country. And in the same way in regard to the money, it is proper for me to show you all that I have, and for you to decide for yourself and take as much as you please and to leave as much as you please." [33]

"Come then," said Cyrus, "tell me how large your forces are and how much money you have."

"Well," the Armenian then answered, "there are about eight thousand cavalry and about forty thousand infantry. And the property," said he, "including the treasures that my father left me, amounts, when reduced to cash, to more than three thousand talents."

[34]

And without hesitation, Cyrus replied: "Send with me then," said he, "only half the army, since your neighbours, the Chaldaeans, are at war with you. And of the money, instead of the fifty talents which you used to pay as tribute, pay Cyaxares double that sum because you are in arrears with your payments. And lend me personally a hundred more," said he; "and I promise you that if God prospers me, I will in return for your loan either do you other favours worth more than that amount or at least pay you back the money, if I can; but if I cannot, I may seem insolvent, I suppose, but I should not justly be accounted dishonest." [35]

"For heaven's sake, Cyrus," said the Armenian, "do not talk that way. If you do, you will make me lose heart. But consider," said he, "that what you leave here is no less yours than what you take away."

"Very well," said Cyrus; "now how much money would you give to get your wife back?"

"As much as I could," said he.

"And how much to get your children?"

"For these also," said he, "as much as I could."

"Well then," said Cyrus, "that makes already twice as much as you have. [36] And you, Tigranes," said he, "tell me how much you would pay to get your wife back?"

Now it happened that he was newly married and loved his wife very dearly.

"I would give my life, Cyrus," said he, "to keep her from slavery." [37]

"Well then," said he, "take her back; she is your own. For I, for my part, do not consider that she has been made a prisoner of war at all, since you never ran away from us. And you too, king of Armenia, may take back your wife and children without paying any ransom for them, that they may know that they return to you free men and women. And now," said he, "stay and have dinner with us; and when you have dined you may drive away wherever you have a mind to go." So they stayed. [38]

And after dinner, as the party was breaking up, Cyrus asked: "Tell me, Tigranes, where is the man who used to hunt with us? You seemed to admire him very much."

“Ah,” he replied, “did not my father here have him put to death?”

“What wrong did he find him doing?”

“He said that he was corrupting me. And yet, Cyrus,” said he, “he was so noble and so good that when he was about to be put to death, he called me to him and said: ‘Be not angry with your father, Tigranes, for putting me to death; for he does it, not from any spirit of malice, but from ignorance, and when men do wrong from ignorance, I believe they do it quite against their will.’” [39]

“Poor man!” Cyrus exclaimed on hearing this.

Here the Armenian king interrupted: “Do not men who discover strangers in intercourse with their wives kill them, not on the ground that they make their wives more inclined to folly, but in the belief that they alienate from them their wives’ affections — for this reason they treat them as enemies. So I was jealous of him because I thought that he made my son regard him more highly than he did me.” [40]

“Well, by the gods, king of Armenia,” said Cyrus, “your sin seems human; and you, Tigranes, must forgive your father.”

Then when they had thus conversed and showed their friendly feelings toward one another, as was natural after a reconciliation, they entered their carriages and drove away with their wives, happy. [41]

And when they got home they talked, one of Cyrus’s wisdom, another of his strength, another of his gentleness, and still another of his beauty and his commanding presence.

Then Tigranes asked his wife: “Tell me, my Armenian princess,” said he, “did you, too, think Cyrus handsome?”

“Why, by Zeus,” said she, “I did not look at him.”

“At whom, then?” asked Tigranes.

“At him, by Zeus, who said that he would give his life to keep me from servitude.”

Then as might be expected after such experiences, they went to rest together. [42]

And on the following day the Armenian king sent guest-presents to Cyrus and all his army, and he commanded those of his men who were to take the field to present themselves on the third day; and he paid Cyrus double the sum of money that he had named. But Cyrus accepted only the amount specified and returned the rest. Then he

asked which of the two was to go in command of the forces, the king himself or his son. They both answered at the same instant, the father saying: "Whichever you command"; and the son: "I will never leave you, Cyrus, not even if I have to accompany you as a camp-follower." [43]

And Cyrus, laughing, said: "How much would you take to have your wife told that you were a camp-follower?"

"Why," said he, "she will not need to be told anything about it; for I shall take her with me, so that she will be in a position to see whatever I do."

"Then," said he, "it may be high time for you to be getting your things together."

"Be sure," said he, "that we shall be here with everything brought together that my father gives us."

And when the soldiers had received their presents they went to bed.

2. On the morrow Cyrus took with him Tigranes, the best of the Median horsemen, and as many of his own friends as he thought proper, and rode around to inspect the country with a view to finding a place in which to build a fort. And when he had come to a certain eminence he asked Tigranes which were the mountains from which the Chaldaeans were accustomed to descend to make forays into the country. And Tigranes pointed them out. And again he asked: "And are these mountains now unoccupied?"

"No, by Zeus," said he; "but they always have scouts up there who signal to the rest whatever they see."

"Then," said he, "what do they do, when they receive the signals?"

"They run out to the heights to help," said he, "each as best he can." [2]

Such was the account to which Cyrus listened; and as he looked he observed that a large portion of the Armenians' country was deserted and uncultivated as a result of the war. And then they went back to camp and after they had dined they went to rest. [3]

On the following day Tigranes presented himself with his baggage all ready for the start; and under his command were assembled about four thousand horsemen and about ten thousand bowmen and as

many peltasts besides.

While they had been coming together, Cyrus had been sacrificing; and when his sacrifice gave favourable omens, he called a meeting of the officers of the Persians and of the Medes; [4] and when they were come together, he spoke as follows:

“My friends, these mountains which we see belong to Chaldaea; but if we should seize them and have a fort of our own built upon the summit, both parties — the Armenians, I mean, and the Chaldaeans — would have to behave with discretion toward us. Now, the sacrifices give us favourable omens; but, for the execution of our plan, nothing would be so strong an ally to human zeal as dispatch. For if we get up there before the enemy have time to come together, we may gain possession of the heights altogether without a battle, or we may at least find enemies few in number and without strength. [5]

“Of the tasks before us, therefore, none is easier or less fraught with danger,” said he, “than now bravely to endure the strain of haste. Therefore, to arms! And....

“You, Medes, march on our left; and you, Armenians, half keep to our right and half lead on in front; while you, cavalrymen, shall follow behind, to encourage and push us on upward; and if any one is inclined to show weakness, do not allow it.” [6]

With this command Cyrus brought his companies to ploy into column and took his place at their head. And when the Chaldaeans realized that the movement was directed toward the heights, they immediately gave the signal to their people, called to one another to assemble, and began to come together.

And Cyrus gave command: “Fellow-Persians, they are signalling us to hasten; for if we get up there first, the enemy’s efforts will be of no avail.” [7]

Now the Chaldaeans carried each a wicker shield and two spears, and they were said to be the most warlike of the peoples in that region. They also serve for hire when any one wants them, for they are fond of war and poor of purse; for their country is mountainous and only a small part of it is productive. [8]

But when Cyrus and his men were getting nearer to the heights, Tigranes, who was marching with Cyrus, said: “Do you know, Cyrus, that we ourselves shall have to do the fighting, and in a very few

moments? For the Armenians, I am sure, will never sustain the enemy's attack."

Cyrus answered that he knew that and gave the command to the Persians to make ready, as it would be necessary in a moment to give chase, as soon as the Armenians by pretending flight should decoy the enemy into close quarters. [9]

So the Armenians led on. And when they came near, the Chaldaeans already there raised the battle cry, according to their custom, and charged upon them. And the Armenians, according to their custom, failed to sustain the charge. [10] But when the Chaldaeans in pursuit saw before them the swordsmen rushing up against them, some came near and were cut down at once, others fled, and some others of their number were taken prisoners; and soon the heights were taken. And when Cyrus and his men were in possession of the heights, they looked down on the dwellings of the Chaldaeans and saw the people fleeing from their homes near by. [11]

Then when the soldiers were all together, Cyrus bade his men take luncheon; and when they had lunched and he had discovered that the place where the scouts had their posts of observation was strong and well supplied with water, he at once proceeded to build a fort there. He also bade Tigranes send for his father and bid him come with all the carpenters and masons that he had. So a messenger was off to bring the Armenian king, but Cyrus proceeded to build the wall with the men he had at hand. [12]

At this juncture they brought to Cyrus the prisoners in chains and also some that had been wounded. And when he saw them he at once ordered that the fetters be taken off, and he sent for surgeons and bade them attend to the wounded men. And then he told the Chaldaeans that he had come with no wish to destroy them and with no desire to make war, but because he wished to make peace between the Armenians and the Chaldaeans.

"Now I know that before the heights were taken you had no wish at all for peace, for everything of yours was secure, while you carried off and plundered the property of the Armenians; but now see in what a predicament you are! [13]

Now I am going to let you who have been captured go home and consult with the rest of the Chaldaeans whether you wish to have war

with us or to be our friends. And if you choose war, do not come this way again without weapons, if you are wise; but if you decide that you desire peace, come without arms. I shall see to it that you have no cause to complain, if you become our friends.” [14]

And when the Chaldeans heard this, they commended Cyrus highly, shook hands with him heartily, and departed for home.

Now, when the king of Armenia received Cyrus’s summons and heard of his plans, he came to Cyrus as quickly as he could with the carpenters and all that he thought was necessary. [15] And when he saw Cyrus, he said: “How little of the future, Cyrus, we mortals can foresee, and yet how much we try to accomplish. Why, just now, when I was striving to secure liberty, I became more a slave than ever before; and when we were taken prisoners, we then thought our destruction certain, but we now find that we are saved as never before. For those who never ceased to do us no end of injury I now behold in just the condition that I desired. [16] And believe me, Cyrus,” said he, “when I say that to have driven the Chaldeans from these heights I would have given many times as much money as you now have from me; and the benefit that you promised to do us, when you received the money, you have already conferred so fully that we obviously now owe you a new debt of gratitude besides; and we on our part, if we have not lost all self-respect, should be ashamed if we did not repay it to you.” [17]

Thus the Armenian king spoke.

Now the Chaldeans had come back with the request that Cyrus should make peace with them. And Cyrus asked them: “Is this the reason that you, Chaldeans, now desire peace, because you think, that since we are in possession of these heights, you could live in greater security if we had peace than if we were at war?”

The Chaldeans assented. [18]

“And what,” said he, “if still other blessings should accrue to you as a result of the proposed peace?”

“We should be still more pleased,” they answered.

“Well,” said he, “do you think that you are now poor for any other reason than because you have so little fertile land?”

In this also they agreed with him.

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “would you avail yourselves of the

permission to till as much Armenian land as you wish on condition that you paid in full just as much rental as other tenants in Armenia do?"

"Yes," said the Chaldaeans, "if we could be sure of not being molested." [19]

"Tell me, King of Armenia," said he, "would you be willing that that land of yours which now lies uncultivated should be cultivated, if those who cultivate it would pay you the usual rental?"

The Armenian answered that he would give a great deal to have it so; for in this way his revenues would be greatly increased. [20]

"And tell me, Chaldaeans," said he, "seeing that you have fine mountains, would you be willing to let the Armenians pasture their herds there, if the herdsmen would pay you what is fair?"

The Chaldaeans said they would; for they would get large profits by it, without any labour on their own part.

"And you, King of Armenia," said he, "would you be willing to rent their pasture lands, if by letting the Chaldaeans have a little profit you were to get much greater profit for yourself?"

"Why, of course," said he, "if I thought I could pasture my cattle there in security."

"Well then," said he, "could you pasture them there in security, if the heights were in the possession of your friends?"

"Yes," said the Armenian. [21]

"But, by Zeus," said the Chaldaeans, "we could not even work our own farms in security, to say nothing of theirs, if they were to have possession of the heights."

"But," said Cyrus, "suppose on the other hand that the heights were in the possession of your friends?"

"In that case," they answered, "we should be all right."

"But, by Zeus," said the Armenian, "we, on our part, should not be all right, if they are again to get possession of the heights, especially now that they have been fortified." [22]

"This then," said Cyrus, "is what I shall do: I shall not give possession of the heights to either of you, but we shall keep a garrison there ourselves; and if either of you does wrong, we shall side with the injured party." [23]

And when they heard this proposal, both sides gave it their

approval and said that only in this way could the peace be effective; and upon these conditions they interchanged assurances of friendship, and agreed that each party should be independent of the other, that there should be the right of intermarriage and of mutual tillage and pasturage in each other's territory, and that there should be a defensive alliance, in case any one should injure either party. [24]

Such, then, was the agreement entered into at that time; and to this day the covenants which were then made between the Chaldaeans and the king of Armenia still continue in force. And when the treaty was made, they both together began with enthusiasm at once to build the fort for their common protection, and then together they stocked it with provisions. [25]

When evening was drawing on, he entertained both sides, now made friends, as his guests at dinner. And while the party was in progress, one of the Chaldaeans said that to all the rest of them this state of affairs was desirable; but there were some of the Chaldaeans, so they said, who lived by plundering and would not know how to farm and could not, for they were used to making their living by the business of war; for they were always making raids or serving as mercenaries; they were often in the service of the Indian king (and he paid well, they said, for he was a very wealthy man) and often in the service of Astyages. [26]

"Then why do they not enter my service now?" asked Cyrus; "I will pay as much as any one ever did."

They assented and said that the volunteers would be many. [27]

These terms were thus agreed upon; and when Cyrus heard that the Chaldaeans made frequent trips to the Indian king, remembering that representatives from him had once come to Media to investigate conditions there and had then visited the enemy to inquire into theirs also, he wished to have him learn what he had done. [28] Accordingly, he began to speak as follows:

"King of Armenia," said he, "and you Chaldaeans, tell me — if I should now send one of my men to the Indian king, would you send along some of yours to conduct him on the way and to co-operate with him in getting what I want from the king of India? Now I should like to have more money, in order to be in a position both to pay generous wages when I ought, and to honour with rewards those of

my fellow-soldiers who deserve it; and the reason why I wish to have a generous supply of money as possible is that I expect to need it, and I shall be glad to spare yours; for I now count you among my friends; but from the Indian king I should be glad to accept a contribution, if he would offer it. [29]

“Now, when the messenger, to whom I am asking you to furnish guides and co-workers, arrives there, he will speak on this wise: ‘King of India, Cyrus has sent me to you; he says that he needs more funds, for he is expecting another army from his home in Persia’ — and that is true,” said he, “for I am expecting one—’if, therefore, you will send him as much as you conveniently can, he says that if God will give him good success, he will try to make you think that you were well advised in doing him this favour.’ [30]

This my envoy will say; do you now, in your turn, give your representatives such instructions as you think expedient for you. And if we get anything from him, we shall have more abundant funds to use; and if we do not, we shall know that we owe him no thanks, but may, as far as he is concerned, settle everything with a view to our own interests.” [31]

Thus Cyrus spoke; and he believed that those of the Armenians and Chaldaeans who were to go would say such things of him as he desired all men to say and to hear of him. And then, when it was time, the banquet came to an end, and they went to rest.

3. On the following day Cyrus gave the envoy the commission of which he had spoken and sent him on his way; and the Armenian king and the Chaldeans sent along those who they thought would be most competent to co-operate and to say what was appropriate concerning Cyrus.

Then he manned the fort with a competent garrison, supplied it with all things necessary, and left in command a Mede who he thought would be most acceptable to Cyaxares; and then he departed, taking with him not only the army which he had brought with him but also the reinforcements that he had received from the Armenians, and about four thousand Chaldaeans, who considered themselves actually better than all the rest put together. [2]

And when he came down into the inhabited part of the country, not one of the Armenians remained indoors, but all, both men and

women, in their joy at the restoration of peace, came forth to meet him, each one carrying or bringing whatever he had of value. And their king did not disapprove, for he thought that Cyrus would thus be all the better pleased at receiving honour from all. And finally also the queen with her daughters and her younger son came up to him bringing not only the money which before Cyrus had refused to take, but other gifts as well. [3]

And when he saw it Cyrus said: "You shall not make me go about doing good for pay! No, good queen; take back home with you this money which you bring; and do not give it to the king again to bury, but with it get your son as fine an outfit as possible and send him to the army; and with what is left get both for yourself and your husband, your daughters and your sons, anything the possession of which will enable you to adorn yourselves more handsomely and spend your days more happily. But let it suffice," he added, "to bury in the earth only our bodies, when the end shall come to each." [4]

Thus he spoke and rode past her. And the king of Armenia escorted him on his way, as did all the rest of the people, proclaiming him again and again their benefactor, their valiant hero. And this they continued to do until he had quitted their borders. And as there was now peace at home, the king increased the contingent of troops that he sent with him. [5]

Thus Cyrus departed, not only enriched with the ready money that he had received, but also having secured by his conduct far larger funds in reserve, to draw upon in time of need.

That night he encamped upon the frontier, and the next day he sent the army and the money to Cyaxares; for he was near by, as he had promised to be. But Cyrus himself went hunting with Tigranes and the best of his Persians, wherever they came across game, and he was delighted with the sport. [6]

Now when he came back to Media he gave to each of his captains as much of the money as he thought sufficient, so that they in turn might be able to reward any of the men under them with whose conduct they were pleased; for he thought that if each one made his division worthy of commendation, he would find the whole army in fine condition. And whenever he himself saw anywhere anything calculated to improve his army, he always procured it and distributed

it in presents from time to time among the most deserving; for he thought that everything that his army had that was beautiful and fine was an adornment to himself. [7]

And when he was about to distribute a portion of what he had received, he took his place in the midst of the captains, lieutenants, and all whom he was about to reward, and spoke to this effect: “My friends, there seems now to be a kind of gladness in our hearts, both because some degree of prosperity has come to us and because we have the means of rewarding those whom we will and of receiving rewards, each according to his deserts. [8] But let us be sure to remember to what kind of conduct these blessings are due; for if you will consider, you will find that it is this — watching when occasion demanded, undergoing toil, making due haste, and never yielding to the enemy. Accordingly, we must in future also be brave men, knowing that obedience, perseverance, and the endurance of toil and danger at the critical time bring the great pleasures and the great blessings.” [9]

Cyrus now saw that his soldiers were in good physical condition to endure the fatigue of military service, that their hearts were disposed to regard the enemy with contempt, that they were skilled each in the exercise adapted to his kind of armour, and that they were all well disciplined to obey the officers; accordingly, he was eager to undertake some move against the enemy at once, for he knew that generals often find some even of their best laid plans brought to naught through delay. [10]

And he further observed that, because they were so eager to excel in those exercises in which they vied with one another, many of the soldiers were even jealous of one another; for this reason also he wished to lead them into the enemy’s country as soon as possible. For he knew that common dangers make comrades kindly disposed toward one another, and that in the midst of such dangers there is no jealousy of those who wear decorations on their armour or of those who are striving for glory; on the contrary, soldiers praise and love their fellows even more, because they recognize in them co-workers for the common good. [11]

Accordingly, he first completely armed his forces and marshalled them in the best and most imposing order possible; then he called

together the generals, colonels, captains, and lieutenants; for these had been exempted from enrolment in the lines of the regular battalions; and even when it was necessary for any of them to report to the commander-in-chief or to transmit any order, no part of the army was left without a commanding officer, for the sergeants and corporals kept in proper order the divisions from which the superior officers had gone. [12]

And when the staff-officers had come together, he conducted them along the ranks, showed them in what good order everything was and pointed out to them the special strength of each contingent of the auxiliaries. And when he had filled them with an eager desire for immediate action, he bade them go to their own several divisions and tell their men what he had told them and try to inspire in them all a desire to begin the campaign, for he wished them all to start out in the best of spirits; and early in the morning they were to meet him at Cyaxares's gates. [13] Thereupon they all went their way and proceeded so to do. At daybreak on the following day the staff-officers presented themselves at the gates of the king. So Cyrus went in with them to Cyaxares and began to speak as follows:

"I am sure, Cyaxares," said he, "that you have this long time been thinking no less than we of the proposition that I am going to lay before you; but perhaps you hesitate to broach the subject for fear it should be thought that you speak of an expedition from here because you are embarrassed at having to maintain us. [14] Therefore, since you do not say anything, I will speak both for you and for ourselves. We are all agreed that, inasmuch as we are quite ready, it is best not to sit down here in a friendly country and wait till the enemy have invaded your territory before we begin to fight, but to go as quickly as possible into the enemy's country. [15] For now, while we are in your country, we do your people's property much injury quite against our will; but if we go into the enemy's country, we shall do injury to theirs with all our hearts. [16]

"In the second place, you support us now at great expense; whereas, if we take the field, we shall get our support from the enemy's country. [17] And then again, if we were likely to be in any greater danger there than here, we should, perhaps, have to choose the safer course. But their numbers will be the same, whether we

wait here or whether we go and meet them in their own territory. And our numbers in the fight will be just the same, whether we engage them as they come hither or whether we go against them to join battle. [18] We shall, however, find the courage of our soldiers much better and stronger, if we assume the offensive and show that we are not unwilling to face the foe; and they will be much more afraid of us, when they hear that we do not sit down at home and cower in fear of them, but that, when we hear that they are coming, we advance to meet them to join battle as soon as possible, and do not wait until our country is ravaged, but take the initiative and devastate theirs. [19] And surely,” he added, “if we make them more afraid and ourselves more courageous, I think it would be a great gain to us and it would, as I reckon it, lessen the danger under such circumstances for us and increase it for the enemy. And my father always says, and so do you, and all the rest agree, that battles are decided more by men’s souls than by the strength of their bodies.” [20]

Thus he spoke; and Cyaxares answered: “Do not let yourselves imagine, Cyrus and the rest of you Persians, that I am embarrassed at having to support you. As for invading the enemy’s country at once, however, I too consider that the better plan from every point of view.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “since we are agreed, let us make ready and, as soon as ever the gods give us their sanction, let us march out without a moment’s delay.” [21]

Hereupon they gave the soldiers the word to make ready to break camp. And Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice first to Sovereign Zeus and then to the rest of the gods; and he besought them to lead his army with their grace and favour and to be their mighty defenders and helpers and counsellors for the common good. [22] And he called also upon the heroes who dwelt in Media and were its guardians.

And when the sacrifice was found to be favourable and his army was assembled at the frontier, then amid favourable auspices he crossed into the enemy’s country. And as soon as he had crossed the boundary, there again he made propitiatory offerings to Earth with libations and sought with sacrifices to win the favour of the gods and heroes that dwelt in Assyria. And when he had done this he sacrificed again to Zeus, the god of his fathers; and of the other

divinities that were brought to his attention he neglected not one. [23]

And when these rites were duly performed, they at once led the infantry forward a short distance and pitched camp, while with the cavalry they made a raid and got possession of a large quantity of every sort of booty. And thenceforward they shifted their camp from time to time, kept provisions supplied in abundance, and ravaged the country, while they awaited the enemy's approach. [24]

And when rumours came that the enemy were advancing and no longer ten days' march away, then Cyrus said: "Now, Cyaxares, is the time for us to go to meet them and not to let either the enemy or our own men suppose that we fail to advance against them out of fear, but let us make it clear that we are not going to fight against our will." [25]

As Cyaxares agreed to this, they advanced in battle order each day as far as they thought proper. Their dinner they always prepared by day-light, and at night they never lighted a fire in camp. They did, however, keep fires burning in front of the camp, in order that if any one approached in the dark, they might see him by the light of the fire but not be seen. And frequently also they kept fires burning in the rear of the camp for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; and so sometimes the enemy's scouts fell into the hands of the pickets; for because the fires were behind, they supposed themselves to be still far in front of the camp. [26]

Then, when the two armies were near each other, the Assyrians and their allies drew a ditch around their camp, as even to this day the barbarian kings do whenever they go into camp; and they throw up such entrenchments with ease because of the multitude of hands at their command. They take this precaution because they know that cavalry troops — especially barbarian cavalry — are at night prone to confusion and hard to manage. [27] For they keep their horses hobbled at the mangers, and if any enemy should make an attack, it is a difficult task to loose the horses in the darkness, it is difficult to bridle them, difficult to saddle them, difficult to put on a coat of mail, and utterly impossible to mount and ride through camp. For all these reasons and also because they think that if they are behind fortifications they are in a position to choose their time for fighting, the Assyrians and the rest of the barbarians throw up breastworks. [28]

With such tactics the armies were approaching each other; but when, as they advanced, they were only about a parasang apart, the Assyrians encamped in the manner described in a place surrounded, indeed, by a ditch, but open to view. Cyrus, on the other hand, encamped in a place as much out of sight as possible, keeping under cover behind the hills and villages, for he thought that if all one's equipment for war flashes suddenly into view, it inspires more terror in the enemy. And that night each side stationed advance guards, as was proper, and went to rest. [29]

And on the following day the Assyrian king and Croesus and the other commanders let their troops rest within the entrenchments; but Cyrus and Cyaxares awaited them in battle array, ready to fight if the enemy should come on. But when it was evident that the enemy would not come out from behind their breastworks nor accept battle that day, Cyaxares called Cyrus and the staff officers besides and spoke as follows: [30] "Men," said he, "I propose to march up to those fellows' breastworks, drawn up just as we are now, and show them that we are eager to fight. For," said he, "if we do that and they do not come out against us, our men will come back to camp more full of courage, and the enemy seeing our daring will be more frightened." [31]

Such was his proposal. But Cyrus said: "No, by the gods, Cyaxares, let us not do that; never! For if we march out and show ourselves, as you suggest, the enemy will see us marching up but will have no fear, for they know that they are secure against any injury; and when we withdraw without having accomplished anything, they will furthermore see that our numbers are inferior to their own and despise us; and to-morrow they will come out with much stouter hearts. [32] But as matters stand now," said he, "as they know that we are here but do not see us, you may be sure that they do not despise us but inquire anxiously what in the world this means, and I am positive that they are talking about us all the time. But when they come out, then we must show ourselves and at once engage them hand to hand, when we shall have them where we have long since been wishing to have them." [33]

When Cyrus had thus spoken, Cyaxares and the rest agreed with him. And then, when they had dined and stationed their sentinels and

lighted many fires in front of the outposts, they went to rest. [34]

Early on the following day Cyrus crowned himself with a garland and prepared to sacrifice, and sent word to the rest of the peers to attend the service with chaplets on their heads. And when the sacrifice was concluded, Cyrus called them together and said: "Men, the gods announce, as the soothsayers say and also as I interpret it, that there is to be a battle; through the omens of the sacrifice they grant us victory and promise us no loss. [35]

Now I should be ashamed indeed to suggest to you how you ought to conduct yourselves at such a time; for I know that you understand what you have to do, that you have practised it, and have been continually hearing of it just as I have, so that you might properly even teach others. But if you happen not to have had this other matter called to your attention, listen. [36]

"Those whom we recently took as our comrades and whom we are trying to make like ourselves — these men we must remind of the conditions on which we have been maintained by Cyaxares, what we have been in training for, why we have invited them to join us, and what it is in which they said they would gladly be our rivals. [37] And remind them also that this day will prove what each one is worth. For when people are late in learning anything, it is not surprising that some of them actually need a monitor; and we may be content if they manage even with the help of a suggestion to prove themselves valiant. [38] And in doing this, you will at the same time be getting a proof of yourselves also. For he who on such an occasion can make others more valiant would naturally also gain the consciousness that he is himself a thoroughly valiant man; he, on the other hand, who keeps all to himself the admonition to such conduct and rests satisfied with that might properly consider himself but half valiant. [39]

The reason why I do not speak to them but bid you do so is that so they may try to please you, for you are in touch with them, each in his own division. And remember this, that if in their eyes you prove yourselves courageous, you will teach not only your comrades but many others also, not by precept merely but by example, to be courageous." [40] In concluding, he told them to go with their chaplets on and take luncheon and when they had poured the libation to go,

still wearing the chaplets, to their posts.

And when they had gone away, he called in the officers of the rear-guard and gave them the following instructions: [41] “Men of Persia, you also have now taken your places among the peers, and you have been selected for your positions because you are considered in every way equal to the bravest, and by virtue of your years even more discreet than they. And so you occupy a place not at all less honourable than that of our front-rank men. For as you are behind, you can observe those who are valiant and by exhorting them make them still more valiant; and if any one should be inclined to hang back and you should see it, you would not permit it. [42]

And because of your years and because of the weight of your armour it is more to your advantage than to any others’ that we should be victorious. And if those in front call to you and bid you follow, obey them and see that you be not outdone by them even in this respect but give them a counter cheer to lead on faster against the enemy. Now go and get your luncheon and then go with your chaplets on your heads with the others to your posts.” [43]

Thus Cyrus and his men were occupied; and the Assyrians, when they had lunched, came out boldly and bravely drew up in line. And the king in person rode along in his chariot and marshalled the lines and exhorted them as follows: [44] “Men of Assyria, now is the time for you to be brave men; for the struggle now impending is one for your lives, for the land in which you were born, for the homes in which you were bred, for your wives and children and all the blessings you enjoy. For if you are victorious, you will have possession of all that, as before; but if you are defeated, be well assured that you will surrender it all to the enemy. [45] Therefore, as you desire victory, stand and fight; for it would be folly for men who desire to win a battle to turn their backs and offer to the enemy the side of their body that is without eyes or hands or weapons; and any one who wishes to live would be a fool if he tried to run away, when he knows that it is the victors who save their lives, while those who try to run away are more likely to meet their death than those who stand their ground. And if any one desires wealth, he also is foolish if he submits to defeat. For who does not know that the victors not only save what is their own but take in addition the property of the

vanquished, while the vanquished throw both themselves and all they have away?" Thus the Assyrian was occupied; [46]

and Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that now was the time to advance upon the enemy. "For," said he, "although those outside the fortifications are as yet but few, they will become many while we are advancing; let us therefore not wait until their numbers are more than our own, but let us go while yet we think we could defeat them easily." [47]

"But, Cyaxares," Cyrus answered, "if it is not more than half of them that are defeated, you may rest assured that they will say that we attacked only a few because we were afraid of their main body, and they will maintain that they have not been defeated; the result will be that you will find another battle necessary; and then they may perhaps plan better than they have now in delivering themselves so completely to our disposal that we may fight as many or as few of them as we please." [48]

The messengers received this answer and were gone. And at this juncture Chrysantas, the Persian, and certain other peers came up with some deserters. And Cyrus, as a matter of course, asked the deserters what was going on among the enemy; and they said that the troops were already coming out under arms and that the king was out in person marshalling them and addressing them with many earnest words of exhortation as they came out in succession. So, they said, those reported who heard him. [49]

"How would it do, Cyrus," Chrysantas then asked, "for you to get your men together, too, while yet you may, and exhort them, and see if you also might make your soldiers better men." [50]

"Do not let the exhortations of the Assyrian trouble you in the least, Chrysantas," Cyrus answered; "for no speech of admonition can be so fine that it will all at once make those who hear it good men if they are not good already; it would surely not make archers good if they had not had previous practice in shooting; neither could it make lancers good, nor horsemen; it cannot even make men able to endure bodily labour, unless they have been trained to it before." [51]

"But, Cyrus," answered Chrysantas, "it is really enough if you make their souls better with your words of exhortation."

"Do you really think," returned Cyrus, "that one word spoken

could all at once fill with a sense of honour the souls of those who hear, or keep them from actions that would be wrong, and convince them that for the sake of praise they must undergo every toil and every danger? Could it impress the idea indelibly upon their minds that it is better to die in battle than to save one's life by running away? [52]

And," he continued, "if such sentiments are to be imprinted on men's hearts and to be abiding, is it not necessary in the first place that laws be already in existence such that by them a life of freedom and honour shall be provided for the good, but that upon the bad shall be imposed a life of humiliation and misery which would not be worth living? [53]

"And then again, I think, there must be, in addition to the laws, teachers and officers to show them the right way, to teach them and accustom them to do as they are taught, until it becomes a part of their nature to consider the good and honourable men as really the most happy, and to look upon the bad and the disreputable as the most wretched of all people. For such ought to be the feelings of those who are going to show the victory of training over fear in the presence of the enemy. [54] But if, when soldiers are about to go armed into battle, when many forget even the lessons oft learned of old, if then any one by an oratorical flourish can then and there make men warlike, it would be the easiest thing under heaven both to learn and to teach the greatest virtue in the world. [55] For even in the case of those whom we have kept and trained among ourselves, I, for my part, should not trust even them to be steadfast, if I did not see you also before me, who will be an example to them of what they ought to be and who will be able to prompt them if they forget anything. But I should be surprised, Chrysantas, if a word well spoken would help those wholly untrained in excellence to the attainment of manly worth any more than a song well sung would help those untrained in music to high attainments in music." [56]

Thus they conversed. And again Cyaxares sent to Cyrus to say that he was making a serious mistake to delay instead of leading as soon as possible against the enemy. And then Cyrus answered the messengers saying: "Very well; but I want him to know that there are not yet as many of them outside the breastworks as we ought to have;

and tell him this in the presence of all. Nevertheless, since he thinks best, I will lead on at once.” [57]

When he had said this, he prayed to the gods and led out his army. And as soon as he began to advance, he led on at a double-quick pace and they followed in good order, for they understood marching in line and had practised it; moreover, they followed courageously, because they were in eager rivalry with one another and because their bodies were in thorough training and because the front-rank men were all officers; and they followed gladly, because they were intelligent men; for they had become convinced by long instruction that the easiest and safest way was to meet the enemy hand to hand — especially if that enemy were made up of bowmen, spearmen, and cavalry. [58]

While they were still out of range, Cyrus passed the watchword, Zeus our Helper and our Guide. And when the watchword came back and was delivered again to him, Cyrus himself began the usual paean, and they all devoutly joined with a loud voice in the singing, for in the performance of such service the God-fearing have less fear of men. [59] And when the paean was ended, the peers marched on cheerily <well-disciplined>, looking toward one another, calling by name to comrades beside them and behind them, and often saying: “On, friends,” “On, brave fellows;” thus they encouraged one another to the charge. And those behind, hearing them, in their turn cheered the front line to lead them bravely on. So Cyrus’s army was filled with enthusiasm, ambition, strength, courage, exhortation, self-control, obedience; and this, I think, is the most formidable thing an enemy has to face. [60]

But when the main body of the Persians began to get close to them, those of the Assyrians who dismounted from their chariots and fought in front of their army remounted their chariots and gradually drew back to their own main body, while the bowmen, spearmen, and slingers let fly their missiles long before they could reach the enemy. [61] And when the Persians, charging on, set foot upon the missiles that had been discharged, Cyrus shouted, “Bravest of men, now let each press on and distinguish himself and pass the word to the others to come on faster.” And they passed it on; and under the impulse of their enthusiasm, courage, and eagerness to close with the enemy

some broke into a run, and the whole phalanx also followed at a run.
[62]

And even Cyrus himself, forgetting to proceed at a walk, led them on at a run and shouted as he ran: "Who will follow? Who is brave? Who will be the first to lay low his man?"

And those who heard him shouted with the same words, and the cry passed through all the ranks as he had started it: "Who will follow? Who is brave?" [63]

In such spirit the Persians rushed to the encounter, and the enemy could not longer stand their ground but turned and fled back into their entrenchments. [64] And the Persians on their part, following them up to the gates, mowed many of them down as they were pushing and shoving one another; and upon some who fell into the ditches they leaped down and slew them, both men and horses; for some of the chariots were forced in their flight to plunge into the ditches. [65] And when the Median cavalry saw this, they also charged upon the enemy's cavalry; but the latter gave way, like the rest. Then followed a pursuit of horses and men and slaughter of both. [66]

And those of the Assyrians inside the fort who stood upon the rampart of the breastworks neither had the presence of mind to shoot arrows or hurl spears at the enemy who were mowing down their ranks, nor had they the strength to do so because of the awful spectacle and their own panic fear. And presently, discovering that some of the Persians had cut their way through to the gates in the embankment, they turned away even from the inner rampart of the breastworks. [67] And the women of the Assyrians and their allies, seeing the men in flight even inside the camp, raised a cry and ran panic-stricken, both those who had children and the younger women as well, while they rent their garments, tore their cheeks, and begged all whom they met not to run away and leave them but to defend both them and their children and themselves as well. [68]

Then even the kings themselves with their most trusty followers took their stand at the gates, mounted upon the ramparts, and both fought in person and encouraged the rest to fight. [69]

But when Cyrus realized what was going on, he feared lest his men, even if they did force their way in, might be worsted by superior numbers, for his own men were but few; so he gave orders

to retreat still facing the foe, until they were out of range. [70]

Then one might have seen the ideal discipline of the peers; for they themselves obeyed at once and at once passed on the word to the rest. And when they were out of range, they halted in their regular positions, for they knew much more accurately than a chorus, each the spot where he should stand.

BOOK IV.

1. Cyrus remained there for a while with his army and showed that they were ready to do battle, if any one should come out. But as no one did come out against him, he withdrew as far as he thought proper and encamped. And when he had stationed his outposts and sent out his scouts, he called together his own men, took his place in their midst, and addressed them as follows: [2]

“Fellow-citizens of Persia, first of all I praise the gods with all my soul; and so, I believe, do all of you; for we not only have won a victory, but our lives have been spared. We ought, therefore, to render to the gods thank-offerings of whatsoever we have. And I here and now commend you as a body, for you have all contributed to this glorious achievement; but as for the deserts of each of you individually, I shall try by word and deed to give every man his due reward, when I have ascertained from proper sources what credit each one deserves. [3] But as to Captain Chrysantas, who fought next to me, I have no need to make enquiry from others, for I myself know how gallant his conduct was; in everything else he did just as I think all of you also did; but when I gave the word to retreat and called to him by name, even though he had his sword raised to smite down an enemy he obeyed me at once and refrained from what he was on the point of doing and proceeded to carry out my order; not only did he himself retreat but he also with instant promptness passed the word on to the others; and so he succeeded in getting his division out of range before the enemy discovered that we were retreating or drew their bows or let fly their javelins. And thus by his obedience he is unharmed himself and he has kept his men unharmed. [4] But others,” said he, “I see wounded; and when I have enquired at what moment of the engagement they received their wounds, I will then express my opinion concerning them. But Chrysantas, as a mighty man of war, prudent and fitted to command and to obey — him I now promote to a colonelship. And when God shall vouchsafe some further blessing, then, too, I shall not forget him. [5]

“I wish also to leave this thought with all of you,” he went on: “never cease to bear in mind what you have just seen in this day’s

battle, so that you may always judge in your own hearts whether courage is more likely to save men's lives than running away, and whether it is easier for those to withdraw who wish to fight than for those who are unwilling, and what sort of pleasure victory brings; for you can best judge of these matters now when you have experience of them and while the event is of so recent occurrence. [6] And if you would always keep this in mind, you would be more valiant men.

“Now go to dinner, as men beloved of God and brave and wise; pour libations to the gods, raise the song of victory, and at the same time be on the lookout for orders that may come.” [7]

When he had said this, he mounted his horse and rode away to Cyaxares. They exchanged congratulations, as was fitting, and after Cyrus had taken note of matters there and asked if there were anything he could do, he rode back to his own army. Then he and his followers dined, stationed their pickets duly, and went to rest. [8]

The Assyrians, on the other hand, inasmuch as they had lost their general and with him nearly all their best men, were all disheartened, and many of them even ran away from the camp in the course of the night. And when Croesus and the rest of their allies saw this, they too lost heart; for the whole situation was desperate; but what caused the greatest despondency in all was the fact that the leading contingent of the army had become thoroughly demoralized. Thus dispirited, then, they quitted their camp and departed under cover of the night. [9] And when it became day and the enemy's camp was found to be forsaken of men, Cyrus at once led his Persians first across the entrenchments. And many sheep and many cattle and many wagons packed full of good things had been left behind by the enemy. Directly after this, Cyaxares also and all his Medes crossed over and had breakfast there. [10] And when they had breakfasted, Cyrus called together his captains and spoke as follows:

“What good things, fellow-soldiers, and how great, have we let slip, it seems, while the gods were delivering them into our hands! Why, you see with your own eyes that the enemy have run away from us; when people behind fortifications abandon them and flee, how would any one expect them to stand and fight, if they met us in a fair and open field? And if they did not stand their ground when they were yet unacquainted with us, how would they withstand us

now, when they have been defeated and have suffered heavy loss at our hands? And when their bravest men have been slain, how would their more cowardly be willing to fight us?" [11]

"Why not pursue them as swiftly as possible," said one of the men; "now that the good things we have let slip are so manifest to us?"

"Because," he replied, "we have not horses enough; for the best of the enemy, those whom it were most desirable either to capture or to kill, are riding off on horseback. With the help of the gods we were able to put them to flight, but we are not able to pursue and overtake them." [12]

"Then why do you not go and tell Cyaxares this?" said they.

"Come with me, then, all of you," he answered, "so that he may know that we are all agreed upon this point."

Thereupon they all followed and submitted such arguments as they thought calculated to gain their object. [13]

Now Cyaxares seemed to feel some little jealousy because the proposal came from them; at the same time, perhaps, he did not care to risk another engagement; then, too, he rather wished to stay where he was, for it happened that he was busily engaged in making merry himself, and he saw that many of the other Medes were doing the same. However that may be, he spoke as follows: [14]

"Well, Cyrus, I know from what I see and hear that you Persians are more careful than other people not to incline to the least intemperance in any kind of pleasure. But it seems to me that it is much better to be moderate in the greatest pleasure than to be moderate in lesser pleasures; and what brings to man greater pleasure than success, such as has now been granted us? [15]

"If, therefore [when we are successful], we follow up our success with moderation, we might, perhaps, be able to grow old in happiness unalloyed with danger. But if we enjoy it intemperately and try to pursue first one success and then another, see to it that we do not share the same fate that they say many have suffered upon the sea, that is, because of their success they have not been willing to give up seafaring, and so they have been lost; and many others, when they have gained a victory, have aimed at another and so have lost even what they gained by the first. [16] And that is the way with us;

for if it were because they were inferior to us in numbers that the enemy are fleeing from us, perhaps it might be safe for us actually to pursue this lesser army. But, as it is, reflect with what a mere fraction of their numbers we, with all our forces, have fought and won, while the rest of theirs have not tasted of battle; and if we do not compel them to fight, they will remain unacquainted with our strength and with their own, and they will go away because of their ignorance and cowardice. But if they discover that they are in no less danger if they go away than if they remain in the field, beware lest we compel them to be valiant even against their will. [17] And let me assure you that you are not more eager to capture their women and children than they are to save them. And bethink you that even wild swine flee with their young, when they are discovered, no matter how great their numbers may be; but if any one tries to catch one of the young, the old one, even if she happens to be the only one, does not think of flight but rushes upon the man who is trying to effect the capture. [18] And now, when they had shut themselves up in their fortifications, they allowed us to manage things so as to fight as many at a time as we pleased. But if we go against them in an open plain and they learn to meet us in separate detachments, some in front of us (as even now), some on either flank, and some in our rear, see to it that we do not each one of us stand in need of many hands and many eyes. And besides," said he, "now that I see the Medes making merry, I should not like to rout them out and compel them to go into danger." [19]

"Nay," said Cyrus in reply; "please do not place anybody under compulsion; but allow those who will volunteer to follow me, and perhaps we may come back bringing to you and each of your friends here something for you all to make merry with. For the main body of the enemy we certainly shall not even pursue; for how could we ever overtake them? But if we find any detachment of their army straggling or left behind, we shall bring them to you. [20] And remember," he added, "that we also, when you asked us, came a long journey to do you a favour; and it is therefore only fair that you should do us a favour in return, so that we may not have to go home empty-handed nor always be looking to your treasury here for support." [21]

"Very well," said Cyaxares then; "if indeed any one will volunteer

to follow you, I for my part should be really grateful to you.”

“Well, then,” said he, “send with me some one of these notables in positions of trust to announce your commands.”

“Take any of them you wish,” said the other, “and go.” [22]

Now it happened that the man who had once pretended to be a kinsman of his and had got a kiss from him was present there. Cyrus, therefore, said at once: “This man will do.”

“Let him follow you, then,” said Cyaxares. “And do you,” he added to Artabazus, “say that whoever will may go with Cyrus.” [23]

So then he took the man and went away. And when they had come out, Cyrus said: “Now then, you shall prove if you spoke the truth when you said that you liked to look at me.”

“If you talk that way,” said the Mede, “I shall never leave you.”

“Will you do your best, then, to bring others also with you?” asked Cyrus.

“Yes, by Zeus,” he answered with an oath, “to such an extent that I shall make you also glad to look at me.” [24]

Then, as he had his commission from Cyaxares also, he not only gave his message to the Medes with enthusiasm, but he added that, for his part, he himself would never leave the noblest and best of men, and what was more than all, a man descended from the gods.

2. While Cyrus was thus occupied, messengers came as if providentially from the Hyrcanians. Now the Hyrcanians are neighbours of the Assyrians; they are not a large nation; and for that reason they also were subjects of the Assyrians. Even then they had a reputation for being good horsemen, and they have that reputation still. For this reason the Assyrians used to employ them as the Spartans do the Sciritae, sparing them neither in hardships nor in dangers. And on that particular occasion they were ordered to bring up the rear (they were cavalrymen about a thousand strong), in order that, if any danger should threaten from behind, they might have to bear the brunt of it instead of the Assyrians. [2] But as the Hyrcanians were to march in the very rear, they had their wagons also and their families in the rear. For, as we know, most of the Asiatic peoples take the field accompanied by their entire households. So in this particular campaign, the Hyrcanians had taken the field thus attended. [3]

But as they reflected how they were being treated by the

Assyrians, that the Assyrian monarch was now slain and the army defeated, that there was great panic throughout the ranks, and that the allies were discouraged and deserting — as they thought over these conditions, they decided that now was a good opportunity to revolt, if Cyrus and his followers would join them in an attack. So they sent envoys to Cyrus; for in consequence of the battle his name had been very greatly magnified. [4] And those who were sent told Cyrus that they had good reason to hate the Assyrians and that now, if he would proceed against them, they would be his allies and his guides as well. And at the same time they also gave him an account of the enemy's plight, for they wished above all things to incite him to push the campaign. [5]

“Do you really think,” Cyrus enquired, “that we could still overtake them before they reach their strongholds? For we,” he added, “consider it hard luck that they have run away from us when we were not watching.” Now he said this to make them think as highly as possible of his troops. [6]

They answered that if Cyrus and his army would start out at daybreak in light marching order, he would come up with them the next day: for because their numbers were so vast and so encumbered with baggage, the enemy were marching slowly. “And besides,” they said, “as they had no sleep last night, they have gone ahead only a little way and are now encamped.” [7]

“Have you, then, any surety to give us,” Cyrus asked, “to prove that what you say is true?”

“Yes,” they answered, “we are ready to ride away and bring you hostages this very night. Only do you also give us assurance in the name of the gods and give us your right hand, that we may give to the rest of our people, too, the same assurance that we receive from you.” [8]

Thereupon he gave them his solemn promise that, if they should make good their statements, he would treat them as his true friends, so that they should count for no less in his esteem than the Persians or the Medes. And even to this day one may see the Hyrcanians holding positions of trust and authority, just like those of the Persians and Medes who are thought to be deserving. [9]

When they had dined, he led out his army while it was still

daylight, and he bade the Hyrcanians wait for him that they might go together. Now the Persians, as was to be expected, came out to a man to go with him, and Tigranes came with his army; [10] while of the Medes some came out because as boys they had been friends of Cyrus when he was a boy, others because they liked his ways when they had been with him on the chase, others because they were grateful to him for freeing them, as they thought, from great impending danger, and still others because they cherished the hope that as he seemed to be a man of ability he would one day be exceedingly successful and exceedingly great besides; others wished to requite him for some service he had done for them while he was growing up in Media; many, too, owed to his kindness of heart many a favour at the hands of his grandfather; and many, when they saw the Hyrcanians and when the report spread that these would lead them to rich plunder, came out (apart from other motives) for the sake of getting some gain. [11]

The result was that almost all came out — even the Medes, except those who happened to be feasting in the same tent with Cyaxares; these and their subordinates remained behind. But all the rest hastened out cheerily and enthusiastically, for they came not from compulsion but of their own free will and out of gratitude. [12]

And when they were out of the camp, he went first to the Medes and praised them and prayed the gods above all things graciously to lead them and his own men, and he prayed also that he himself might be enabled to reward them for this zeal of theirs. In concluding, he stated that the infantry should go first, and he ordered the Medes to follow with their cavalry. And wherever they were to rest or halt from their march, he enjoined it upon them that some of their number should always come to him, that they might know the need of the hour. [13]

Then he ordered the Hyrcanians to lead the way.

“What!” they exclaimed, “are you not going to wait until we bring the hostages, that you also may have a guarantee of our good faith before you proceed?”

“No,” he is said to have answered; “for I consider that we have the guarantee in our own hearts and hands. For it is with these, I think, that we are in a position to do you a service, if you speak the truth;

but if you are trying to deceive us, we think that, as things are, we shall not be in your power, but rather, if the gods will, you shall be in ours. And hark you, men of Hyrcania,” said he, “as you say that your people are bringing up the enemy’s rear, inform us, as soon as you see them, that they are yours, that we may do them no harm.” [14]

When the Hyrcanians heard this, they led the way, as he ordered. They wondered at his magnanimity; and they no longer had any fear of either the Assyrians or the Lydians or their allies, but they feared only lest he should think that it was not of the slightest moment whether they joined him or not. [15]

As they proceeded, night came on, and it is said that a light from heaven shone forth upon Cyrus and his army, so that they were all filled with awe at the miracle but with courage to meet the enemy. And as they were proceeding in light marching order with all dispatch, they naturally covered a great distance, and in the morning twilight they drew near to the army of the Hyrcanians. [16] And when the messengers recognized the fact, they reported to Cyrus that these were their own people; for they said that they recognized them both by the fact that they were in the rear and by the number of their fires. [17]

Upon hearing this report he sent one of the two messengers to them with orders to say that if they were friends, they should come to meet him with their right hands raised. And he sent along also one of his own men and ordered him to tell the Hyrcanians that he and his army would govern their conduct according to the way in which they should see the Hyrcanians behave. And thus it came to pass that one of the messengers remained with Cyrus, while the other rode away to the Hyrcanians. [18]

While Cyrus was watching to see what the Hyrcanians were going to do, he halted his army. and Tigranes and the officers of the Medes rode up to him and asked what they should do. And he said to them: “What you see there not far away is the Hyrcanian army; and one of their envoys has gone to them, and one of our men with him, to tell them all, if they are our friends, to come to meet us with their right hands upraised. Now, if they do so, give to them the right hand of fellowship, each of you to the man opposite himself, and at the same time bid them welcome. But if they raise a weapon or attempt

to run away, we must lose no time in trying not to leave a single one of these first alive.” [19]

Such were his commands. And the Hyrcanians were delighted when they heard the report of the envoys, and leaping upon their horses they came at once with right hands upraised, as directed, and the Medes and Persians gave the right hand of fellowship and bade them welcome. [20]

“Men of Hyrcania,” Cyrus said presently, “we trust you now, as you see; and you also ought to feel the same way toward us. But tell us first how far it is from here to the headquarters of the enemy and the main body of their army.”

“Not much more than a parasang,” they answered. [21]

“Come on, then, Persians and Medes,” Cyrus cried; “and you Hyrcanians — for now I speak with you also as confederates and allies — you must know that we are in a position where we shall meet with nothing but disaster if we betray a lack of courage; for the enemy know what we have come for. But if we go into the attack upon the enemy with might and main and with stout hearts, you will see right soon that, just like a lot of slaves caught in an attempt to run away, some of them will beg for mercy, others will try to escape, others still will not even have presence of mind to do either. For they will see us before they have recovered from their first defeat, and they will find themselves caught neither thinking of our coming, nor drawn up in line, nor prepared to fight. [22] If, therefore, we wish from this time forth to eat well, to sleep soundly, and to live comfortably, let us not give them time either to take counsel or to provide any defence for themselves, or even to recognize at all that we are human beings; but let them think that nothing but shields, swords, bills, and blows have descended upon them. [23]

“And you, Hyrcanians,” said he, “spread yourselves out in the van and march before us, in order that only your arms may be seen and that our presence here may be concealed as long as possible. And when I come up with the enemy’s army, then leave with me, each of you, a division of cavalry for me to use while I remain near their camp. [24] But you, officers and men of years, march together in close order, if you are wise, so that if you fall in with any compact body you may never be forced back; and leave the pursuit to the younger

men, and let them kill all they can; for this is the safest measure — to leave now as few of the enemy alive as possible. [25]

“And if we win the battle,” he continued, “we must be on our guard against an error which has lost the day for many in the hour of victory — turning aside to plunder. For the man who does this is no longer a soldier but a camp-follower; and any one who will is free to treat him as a slave. [26]

“You should realize this also, that nothing is more enriching than victory. For the victor has swept together all the spoil at once, the men and the women, the wealth and all the lands. Therefore have an eye to this alone — that we may conserve our victory; for even the plunderer himself is in the enemy’s power if he is conquered. And remember even in the heat of pursuit to come back to me while it is yet daylight; for after nightfall we shall not admit another man.” [27]

When he had said this he sent them away to their several companies with orders to issue, as they marched, the same directions each to his own corporals (for the corporals were in the front so as to hear); and they were to bid the corporals each one to announce it to his squad.

Then the Hyrcanians led the way while he himself with his Persians occupied the centre as they marched. The cavalry he arranged, as was natural, on either flank. [28]

And when daylight came, some of the enemy wondered at what they saw, some realized at once what it meant, some began to spread the news, some to cry out, some proceeded to untie the horses, some to pack up, others to toss the armour off the pack-animals, still others to arm themselves, while some were leaping upon their horses, some bridling them, others helping the women into the wagons, and others were snatching up their most valuable possessions to save them; still others were caught in the act of burying theirs, while the most of them sought refuge in precipitate flight. We may imagine that they were doing many other things also — all sorts of other things — except that no one offered to resist, but they perished without striking a blow. [29]

As it was summer, Croesus, the king of Lydia, had had his women sent on by night in carriages, that they might proceed more comfortably in the cool of the night, and he himself was following

after with his cavalry. [30] And the Phrygian king, the ruler of Phrygia on the Hellespont, they say, did the same. And when they saw the fugitives who were overtaking them, they enquired of them what was happening, and then they also took to flight as fast as they could go. [31]

But the king of Cappadocia and the Arabian king, as they were still near by and stood their ground though unarmed, were cut down by the Hyrcanians. But the majority of the slain were Assyrians and Arabians. For as these were in their own country, they were very leisurely about getting away. [32]

Now the Medes and Hyrcanians, as they pursued, committed such acts as men might be expected to commit in the hour of victory. But Cyrus ordered the horsemen who had been left with him to ride around the camp and to kill any that they saw coming out under arms; while to those who remained inside he issued a proclamation that as many of the enemy's soldiers as were cavalymen or targeteers or bowmen should bring out their weapons tied in bundles and deliver them up, but should leave their horses at their tents. Whoever failed to do so should soon lose his head. Now Cyrus's men stood in line around them, sabre in hand. [33] Accordingly, those who had the weapons carried them to one place, where he directed, and threw them down, and men whom he had appointed for the purpose burned them. [34]

Now Cyrus recollected that they had come with neither food nor drink, and without these it was not possible to prosecute a campaign or to do anything else. And as he was considering how to procure the best possible supplies with the greatest possible dispatch, it occurred to him that all those who take the field must have some one to take care of the tent and to have food prepared for the soldiers when they came in. [35] So he concluded that of all people these were the ones most likely to have been caught in the camp, because they would have been busy packing up. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation for all the commissaries to come to him; but if a commissary officer should be lacking anywhere, the oldest man from that tent should come. And to any one who should dare to disobey he threatened direst punishment. But when they saw their masters obeying, they also obeyed at once. And when they had come, he first ordered those

of them to sit down who had more than two months' supply of provisions in their tents. [36] And when he had noted them, he gave the same order to those who had one month's supply. Hereupon nearly all sat down. [37] And when he had this information he addressed them as follows:

"Now then, my men," said he, "if any of you have a dislike for trouble and wish that you might receive kind treatment at our hands, be sure to see to it that there be twice as much food and drink prepared in each tent as you used to get ready every day for your masters and their servants; and get everything else ready that belongs to a good meal; for whichever side is victorious, they will very soon be here and they will expect to find plenty of every sort of provisions. Let me assure you, then, that it would be to your advantage to entertain those men handsomely." [38]

When they heard this, they proceeded with great alacrity to carry out his directions, while he called together his captains and spoke as follows: "I realize, friends, that it is possible for us now to take luncheon first, while our comrades are away, and to enjoy the choicest food and drink. But I do not think that it would be of more advantage to us to eat this luncheon than it would to show ourselves thoughtful for our comrades; neither do I think that this feasting would add as much to our strength as we should gain if we could make our allies devoted to us. [39] But if we show ourselves to be so neglectful of them that we are found to have broken our fast even before we know how they are faring, while they are pursuing and slaying our enemies and fighting any one that opposes them, let us beware lest we be disgraced in their eyes and lest we find ourselves crippled by the loss of our allies. If, on the other hand, we take care that those who are bearing the danger and the toil shall have what they need when they come back, a banquet of this sort would, in my opinion, give us more pleasure than any immediate gratification of our appetites. [40] And remember," said he, "that even if we were under no obligation to show them every consideration, even so it is not proper for us as yet to sate ourselves with food or drink; for not yet have we accomplished what we wish, but, on the contrary, everything is now at a crisis and requires care. For we have enemies in camp many times our own number, and that, too, under no

confinement. We not only must keep watch against them but we must keep watch over them, so that we may have people to look after our provisions. Besides, our cavalry are gone, making us anxious to know where they are and whether they will stay with us if they do come back. [41]

“And so, my men,” said he, “it seems to me that we should take only such meat and such drink as one would suppose to be least likely to overcome us with sleep and foolishness. [42]

“Besides, there is also a vast amount of treasure in the camp, and I am not ignorant of the fact that it is possible for us to appropriate to ourselves as much of it as we please, though it belongs just as much to those who helped us to get it. But I do not think it would bring us greater gain to take it than it would to show that we mean to be fair and square, and by such dealing to secure greater affection from them than we have already. [43] And so it seems best to me to entrust the division of the treasure to the Medes and Hyrcanians and Tigranes when they come; and if they apportion to us the smaller share, I think we should account it our gain; for because of what they gain, they will be the more glad to stay with us. [44] For to secure a present advantage would give us but short-lived riches. But to sacrifice this and obtain the source from which real wealth flows, that, as I see it, could put us and all of ours in possession of a perennial fountain of wealth. [45]

“And if I am not mistaken, we used to train ourselves at home, too, to control our appetites and to abstain from unseasonable gain with this in view, that, if occasion should ever demand it, we might be able to employ our powers of self-control to our advantage. And I fail to see where we could give proof of our training on a more important occasion than the present.” [46]

Thus he spoke; and Hystaspas, one of the Persian peers, supported him in the following speech: “Why, yes, Cyrus; on the chase we often hold out without a thing to eat, in order to get our hands on some beast, perhaps one worth very little; and it would be strange indeed now, when the quarry we are trying to secure is a world of wealth, if we should for a moment allow those passions to stand in our way which are bad men’s masters but good men’s servants. I think, if we did so, we should be doing what does not befit us.” [47]

Such was Hystaspas's speech, and all the rest agreed with it. Then Cyrus said: "Come then, since we are of one mind on this point, send each of you five of the most reliable men from his platoon. Let them go about and praise all those whom they see preparing provisions; and let them punish more unsparingly than if they were their masters those whom they see neglectful."

Accordingly, they set about doing so.

3. Now a part of the Medes were already bringing in the wagons which had been hurried forward and which they had overtaken and turned back packed full of what an army needs; others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought along; these also they captured and brought in. [2]

For even unto this day all who go to war in Asia take with them to the field what they prize most highly; for they say that they would do battle the more valiantly, if all that they hold dearest were there; for these, they say, they must do their best to protect. This may, perhaps, be true; but perhaps also they follow this custom for their own sensual gratification. [3]

When Cyrus saw what the Medes and Hyrcanians were doing, he poured reproach, as it were, upon himself and his men, because during this time the others seemed to be surpassing them in strenuous activity and gaining something by it, too, while he and his men remained in a position where there was little or nothing to do. And it did seem so; for when the horsemen brought in and showed to Cyrus what they brought, they rode away again in pursuit of the others; for, they said, they had been instructed by their officers so to do.

Though Cyrus was naturally nettled at this, still he assigned a place to the spoil. And again he called his captains together and standing where they would all be sure to hear his words of counsel, he spoke as follows: [4] "Friends, we all appreciate, I am sure, that if we could but make our own the good fortune that is now dawning upon us, great blessings would come to all the Persians and above all, as is reasonable, to us by whom they are secured. But I fail to see how we are to establish a valid claim to the spoil if we cannot gain it by our own strength; and this we cannot do, unless the Persians have cavalry of their own. [5] Just think of it," he went on; "we Persians

have arms with which, it seems, we go into close quarters and put the enemy to flight; and then when we have routed them, how could we without horses capture or kill horsemen or bowmen or targeteers in their flight? And what bowmen or spearmen or horsemen would be afraid to come up and inflict loss upon us, when they are perfectly sure that they are in no more danger of being harmed by us than by the trees growing yonder? [6] And if this is so, is it not evident that the horsemen who are now with us consider that everything that has fallen into our hands is theirs no less than ours, and perhaps, by Zeus, even more so? [7] As things are now, therefore, this is necessarily the case. But suppose we acquired a body of cavalry not inferior to theirs, is it not patent to us all that we should be able even without them to do to the enemy what we are now doing with their aid, and that we should find them then less presumptuous toward us? For whenever they chose to remain or to go away, we should care less, if we were sufficient unto ourselves without them. Well and good. [8] No one, I think, would gain-say me in this statement, that it makes all the difference in the world whether the Persians have their own cavalry or not. But perhaps you are wondering how this may be accomplished. Well then, supposing that we wished to organize a division of cavalry, had we not better consider our resources and our deficiencies? [9] Here, then, in camp are numbers of horses which we have taken and reins which they obey, and everything else that horses must have before you can use them. Yes, and more, all that a horseman must use we have — breastplates as defensive armour for the body and spears which we may use either to hurl or to thrust. [10] What then remains? Obviously we must have men. Now these above all other things we have; for nothing is so fully ours as we ourselves are our own.

“But perhaps some one will say that we do not know how to ride. No, by Zeus; and no one of these who now know how to ride did know before he learned. But, some one may say, they learned when they were boys. [11] And are boys more clever in learning what is explained to them and what is shown them than are men? And which are better able with bodily strength to put into practice what they have learned, boys or men? [12] Again, we have more time for learning than either boys or other men; for we have not, like boys, to

learn to shoot, for we know how already; or to throw the spear, for we understand that, too. No; nor yet again are we so situated as other men, some of whom are kept busy with their farming, some with their trades, and some with other domestic labours, while we not only have time for military operations, but they are forced upon us. [13] And this is not like many other branches of military discipline, useful but laborious; nay, when it comes to marching, is not riding more pleasant than tramping along on one's own two feet? And when speed is required, is it not delightful quickly to reach a friend's side, if need be, and quickly to overtake a man or an animal, if occasion should require one to give chase? And is this not convenient, that the horse should help you to carry whatever accoutrement you must take along? Surely, to have and to carry are not quite the same thing. [14]

“What one might have most of all to fear, however, is that in case it is necessary for us to go into action on horseback before we have thoroughly mastered this task, we shall then be no longer infantrymen and not yet competent cavalrymen. But not even this is an insurmountable difficulty; for whenever we wish, we may at once fight on foot; for in learning to ride we shall not be unlearning any of our infantry tactics.” [15]

Thus Cyrus spoke; and Chrysantas seconded him in the following speech: “I, for one, am so eager to learn horsemanship, that I think that if I become a horseman I shall be a man on wings. [16] For as we are now, I, at least, am satisfied, when I have an even start in running a race with any man, if I can beat him only by a head; and when I see an animal running along, I am satisfied if I can get a good aim quickly enough to shoot him or spear him before he gets very far away. But if I become a horseman I shall be able to overtake a man though he is as far off as I can see him; and I shall be able to pursue animals and overtake them and either strike them down from close at hand or spear them as if they were standing still; [and they seem so, for though both be moving rapidly, yet, if they are near to one another, they are as if standing still.] [17]

Now the creature that I have envied most is, I think, the Centaur (if any such being ever existed), able to reason with a man's intelligence and to manufacture with his hands what he needed, while he possessed the fleetness and strength of a horse so as to overtake

whatever ran before him and to knock down whatever stood in his way. Well, all his advantages I combine in myself by becoming a horseman. [18] At any rate, I shall be able to take forethought for everything with my human mind, I shall carry my weapons with my hands, I shall pursue with my horse and overthrow my opponent by the rush of my steed, but I shall not be bound fast to him in one growth, like the Centaurs. [19] Indeed, my state will be better than being grown together in one piece; for, in my opinion at least, the Centaurs must have had difficulty in making use of many of the good things invented for man; and how could they have enjoyed many of the comforts natural to the horse? [20] But if I learn to ride, I shall, when I am on horseback, do everything as the Centaur does, of course; but when I dismount, I shall dine and dress myself and sleep like other human beings; and so what else shall I be than a Centaur that can be taken apart and put together again? [21]

“And then,” he added, “I shall have the advantage of the Centaur in this, too, that he used to see with but two eyes and hear with but two ears, while I shall gather evidence with four eyes and learn through four ears; for they say that a horse actually sees many things with his eyes before his rider does and makes them known to him, and that he hears many things with his ears before his rider does and gives him intimation of them. Put me down, therefore,” said he, “as one of those who are more than eager to become cavalrymen.”

“Aye, by Zeus,” said all the rest, “and us too.” [22]

“How would it do, then,” Cyrus asked, “since we are all so very well agreed upon this matter, if we should make a rule for ourselves that it be considered improper for any one of us whom I provide with a horse to be seen going anywhere on foot, whether the distance he has to go be long or short, so that people may think that we are really Centaurs?” [23]

He put the question thus and they all voted aye. And so from that time even to this day, the Persians follow that practice, and no Persian gentleman would be seen going anywhere on foot, if he could help it.

Such were their discussions on this occasion.

4. And when it was past midday, the Median and Hyrcanian horsemen came in, bringing both horses and men that they had taken.

For they had spared the lives of all who had surrendered their arms.
[2]

And when they had ridden up, Cyrus asked them first whether his men were all safe. And when they answered this in the affirmative, he asked how they had fared. And they narrated to him what they had accomplished and proudly told how gallantly they had behaved in every particular. [3] And he listened with pleasure to all they wished to tell him, and then he praised them in these words:

“It is quite evident that you have conducted yourselves as brave men; and any one can see it, for you appear taller and handsomer and more terrible to look upon than heretofore.” [4]

Then he enquired of them further how far they had ridden and whether the country was inhabited. And they replied, first, that they had ridden a long way, and second, that all the country was inhabited and that it was full of sheep and goats, cattle and horses, grain and all sorts of produce. [5]

“There are two things,” said he, “that it were well for us to look out for: that we make ourselves masters of those who own this property, and that they stay where they are. For an inhabited country is a very valuable possession, but a land destitute of people becomes likewise destitute of produce. [6]

Those, therefore, who tried to keep you off, you slew, I know; and you did right. For this is the best way to conserve the fruits of victory. But those who surrendered you have brought as prisoners of war. Now, if we should let them go, we should, I think, do what would be in itself an advantage. [7]

For, in the first place, we should not have to keep watch against them nor should we have to keep watch over them, nor yet to furnish them with food; for, of course, we do not mean to let them starve to death; and in the second place, if we let them go, we shall have more prisoners of war than if we do not. [8] For, if we are masters of the country, all they that dwell therein will be our prisoners of war; and the rest, when they see these alive and set at liberty, will stay in their places and choose to submit rather than to fight. This, then, is my proposition; but if any one else sees a better plan, let him speak.”

But when they heard his proposal they agreed to adopt it. [9]

Accordingly, Cyrus called the prisoners together and spoke as

follows: [10] “My men,” said he, “you have now saved your lives by your submission; and in the future also, if you continue to be obedient, no change whatever shall come to you except that you shall not have the same ruler over you as before; but you shall dwell in the same houses and work the same farms; you shall live with the same wives and have control of your children just as now. [11] But you shall not have to fight either us or any one else; but when any one injures you, we will fight for you; and that no one may even ask military service of you, bring your arms to us. And those that bring them shall have peace, and what we promise shall be done without guile. But as many as fail to deliver up their weapons of war, against these we ourselves shall take the field immediately. [12] But if any one of you comes to us in a friendly way and shows that he is dealing fairly with us and giving us information, we shall treat him as our benefactor and friend and not as a slave. Accept these assurances for yourselves, and convey them to the rest also. [13] But if,” said he “while, you are willing to accept these terms of submission, some others are not, do you lead us against them that you may be their masters and not they yours.”

Thus he spoke and they did obeisance and promised to do what he directed.

5. When they were gone, Cyrus said: “Medes and Armenians, it is now high time for us all to go to dinner; and everything necessary has been prepared for you to the best of our ability. Go, then, and send to us half of the bread that has been baked — enough has been made for all; but do not send us any meat nor anything to drink; for enough has been provided for us at our own quarters. [2]

“And you, Hyrcanians,” he said to these, “lead them to their several tents — the officers to the largest (you know which they are), and the rest as you think best. And you yourselves also may dine where it best pleases you. For your own tents also are safe and sound, and there also the same provision has been made as for these. [3]

“And all of you may be assured of this, that we shall keep the night-watches for you outside the camp, but do you look out for what may happen in the tents and have your arms stacked conveniently; for the men in the tents are not yet our friends.” [4]

Then the Medes and Tigranes and his men bathed, changed their

clothes (for they were provided with a change), and went to dinner. Their horses also were provided for.

Of the bread, half was sent to the Persians; but neither meat for relish nor wine was sent, for they thought that Cyrus and his men had those articles left in abundance. But what Cyrus meant was that hunger was their relish and that they could drink from the river that flowed by. [5]

Accordingly, when Cyrus had seen that the Persians had their dinner, he sent many of them out, when it was dark, in squads of five and ten, with orders to lie in hiding round about the camp; for he thought that they would serve as sentinels, in case any one should come to attack from the outside, and at the same time that they would catch any one who tried to run away with his possessions. And it turned out so; for many did try to run away, and many were caught. [6] And Cyrus permitted those who effected the capture to keep the spoil, but the men he bade them slay; and so after that you could not easily have found, had you tried, any one attempting to get away by night. [7]

Thus, then, the Persians employed their time; but the Medes drank and revelled and listened to the music of the flute and indulged themselves to the full with all sorts of merry-making. For many things that contribute to pleasure had been captured, so that those who stayed awake were at no loss for something to do. [8]

Now the night in which Cyrus had marched out, Cyaxares, the king of the Medes, and his messmates got drunk in celebration of their success; and he supposed that the rest of the Medes were all in camp except a few, for he heard a great racket. For inasmuch as their masters had gone off, the servants of the Medes were drinking and carousing without restraint, especially as they had taken from the Assyrian army wine and many other supplies. [9]

But when it was day and no one came to his headquarters except those who had been dining with him, and when he heard that the camp was forsaken by the Medes and the cavalry, and when he discovered on going out that such was really the case, then he fumed and raged against both Cyrus and the Medes because they had gone off and left him deserted. And straightway, in keeping with his reputation for being violent and unreasonable, he ordered one of

those present to take his own cavalry corps and proceed at topmost speed to Cyrus's army and deliver the following message: [10]

"I should think that even you, Cyrus, would not have shown such want of consideration toward me; and if Cyrus were so minded, I should think that at least you Medes would not have consented to leave me thus deserted. And now, if Cyrus will, let him come with you; if not, do you at least return to me as speedily as possible." [11]

Such was his message. But he to whom he gave the marching order said: "And how shall I find them, your majesty?"

"How," he answered, "did Cyrus and those with him find those against whom they went?"

"Why," said the man, "by Zeus, I am told that some Hyrcanians who had deserted from the enemy came hither and went away as his guides." [12]

Upon hearing this, Cyaxares was much more angry than ever with Cyrus for not even having told him that, and he sent off in greater haste to recall the Medes, for he hoped to strip him of his forces; and with even more violent threats than before, he ordered the Medes to return. And he threatened the messenger also if he did not deliver his message in all its emphasis. [13]

Accordingly, the officer assigned to this duty set out with his cavalry, about a hundred in number, vexed with himself for not having gone along with Cyrus when he went. And as they proceeded on their journey, they were misled by a certain by-path and so lost their way and did not reach the army of their friends, until they fell in with some deserters from the Assyrians and compelled them to act as their guides. And so they came in sight of the camp-fires sometime about midnight. [14] And when they came up to the camp, the sentinels, following the instructions of Cyrus, refused to admit them before daylight.

Now at peep of day the first thing that Cyrus did was to call the magi and bid them select the gifts ordained for the gods in acknowledgment of such success; [15] and they proceeded to attend to this, while he called the peers together and said: "Friends, God holds out before us many blessings. But we Persians are, under the present circumstances, too few to avail ourselves of them. For if we fail to guard what we win, it will again become the property of others; and

if we leave some of our own men to guard what falls into our possession, it will very soon be found out that we have no strength. [16]

Accordingly, I have decided that one of you should go with all speed to Persia, present my message and ask them to send reinforcements with the utmost dispatch, if the Persians desire to have control of Asia and the revenues accruing therefrom. [17] Do you, therefore, go, for you are the senior officer, and when you arrive tell them this; and say also that for whatever soldiers they send I will provide maintenance after they come. Conceal from them nothing in regard to what we have, and you see for yourself what there is. And what portion of these spoils honour and the law require that I should send to Persia — in regard to what is due the gods, ask my father; in regard to what is due to the State, ask the authorities. And let them send men also to observe what we do and to answer our questions. And you,” said he, “make ready and take your own platoon to escort you.” [18]

After this he called in the Medes also and at the same moment the messenger from Cyaxares presented himself and in the presence of all reported his king’s anger against Cyrus and his threats against the Medes; and at the last he said that Cyaxares ordered the Medes to return, even if Cyrus wished to stay. [19]

On hearing the messenger, therefore, the Medes were silent, for they were at a loss how they could disobey him when he summoned them, and they asked themselves in fear how they could obey him when he threatened so, especially as they had had experience of his fury. [20] But Cyrus said: “Well, Sir Messenger and you Medes, inasmuch as Cyaxares saw in our first encounter that the enemy were numerous and as he does not know how we have been faring, I am not at all surprised that he is concerned for us and for himself. But when he discovers that many of the enemy have been slain and all have been routed, in the first place he will banish his fears and in the second place he will realize that he is not deserted now, when his friends are annihilating his enemies. [21]

“But further, how do we deserve any blame, since we have been doing him good service and have not been doing even that on our own motion? But I, for my part, first got his consent to march out

and take you with me; while you did not ask whether you might join the expedition and you are not here now because you desired to make such an expedition, but because you were ordered by him to make it — whoever of you was not averse to it. This wrath, therefore, I am quite sure, will be assuaged by our successes and will be gone with the passing of his fear. [22]

“Now, therefore, Sir Messenger,” said he, “take some rest, for you must be fatigued, and since we are expecting the enemy to come either to surrender, or possibly to fight, let us, fellow-Persians, get into line in as good order as possible; for if we present such an appearance, it is likely that we shall better promote the accomplishment of what we desire. And you, king of Hyrcania, be pleased to order the commanders of your forces to get them under arms, and then attend me here.” [23]

And when the Hyrcanian had done so and returned, Cyrus said: “I am delighted, king of Hyrcania, to see that you not only show me your friendship by your presence, but also that you evidently possess good judgment. And now it is evident that our interests are identical. For the Assyrians are enemies to me, and now they are still more hostile to you than to me. [24] Under these circumstances, we must both take counsel that none of the allies now present shall desert us, and also that, if we can, we may secure other allies besides. Now you heard the Mede recalling the cavalry; and if they go away, we only, the infantry, shall be left. [25]

Accordingly, it is necessary for you and for me to do all we can to make this man also who is recalling them desire to remain with us himself. Do you, therefore, find and assign to him a tent where he will have the best kind of a time, with everything he wants; while I, for my part, will try to assign him some post that he himself would rather fill than go away. And do you have a talk with him and tell him what wealth we have hopes that all our friends will obtain, if we are successful in this; and when you have done this, come back again to me.” [26]

Accordingly, the Hyrcanian took the Mede and went away to a tent. And then the officer who was going to leave for Persia presented himself ready to start. And Cyrus commissioned him to tell the Persians what has been set forth in the foregoing narrative and

also to deliver a letter to Cyaxares. “Now,” said he, “I wish to read my message to you also, that you may understand its contents and confirm the facts, if he asks you anything in reference to them.”

Now the contents of the letter ran as follows: [27]

“My Dear Cyaxares:

We have not left you deserted; for no one is deserted by his friends at a time when he is conquering his enemies. We do not even think that we have brought you into any danger through our departure; but we maintain that the farther away we are, the greater the security we provide for you. [28]

For it is not those who sit down nearest to their friends that provide them with the greatest security; but it is those who drive the enemy farthest away that help their friends most effectually out of danger. [29]

“And consider how I have acted toward you and how you have acted toward me, and yet in spite of all, you are finding fault with me. At all events, I brought you allies — not merely as many as you persuaded to come, but as many as ever I had it in my power to bring; whereas you gave to me, when I was on friendly soil, as many as I could persuade to join me, and now when I am in the enemy’s territory you are recalling not merely those who may be willing to leave me, but all my men. [30]

Indeed, I thought at that time that I was under obligation both to you and to your men; but now you are acting so as to force me to leave you out of consideration and to try to devote all my gratitude to those who have followed me. [31]

“However, I cannot on my part treat you in the same spirit as you treat me, but at this very moment I am sending to Persia for reinforcements, with directions that as many as shall come to join me shall be at your service, if you need them for anything before we return, not as they may be pleased to serve, but as you may wish to employ them. [32]

“Furthermore, although I am a younger man than you, let me advise you not to take back what you have once given, lest ill-will be your due instead of gratitude, nor to summon with threats those whom you would have come to you quickly; and again let me advise you not to employ threats against large numbers, while at the same

time you assert that you are deserted, for fear you teach them to pay no attention to you. [33]

“We shall try, however, to come to you just as soon as we have accomplished what we think it would be a common benefit to you and to us to have done.

Farewell.

Cyrus.” [34]

“Deliver this to him and whatever he asks you in regard to these matters, answer him in keeping with what is written. And you can do this with perfect truth, for my instructions to you in regard to the Persians correspond exactly with what is written in my letter.”

Thus he spoke to him and giving him the letter sent him away, adding the injunction that he should make haste as one who knows that it is important to be back again promptly. [35]

At this moment he observed that all — both the Medes and the Hyrcanians and Tigranes’s men — were already under arms, and the Persians also stood under arms. And some of the natives from near by were already delivering up horses and arms. [36]

And the javelins he commanded them to throw down in the same place as in the former instance, and they whose task this was burned all that they did not themselves need. But as for the horses, he commanded those who brought them to keep them and wait until he sent them word. Then he called in the officers of the cavalry and of the Hyrcanians and spoke as follows: [37]

“Friends and allies, do not wonder that I call you together so often. For our present situation is novel, and many things about it are in an unorganized condition; and whatever lacks organization must necessarily always cause us trouble until it is reduced to order. [38]

“We now have much spoil that we have taken, and men besides. But, as we do not know how much of it belongs to each one of us, and as the captives do not know who are their several masters, it is consequently impossible to see very many of them attending to their duty, for almost all are in doubt as to what they are expected to do. [39] In order, therefore, that this may not go on so, divide the spoil; and whoever has been assigned a tent with plenty of food and drink and people to serve him, and bedding and clothing and other things with which a soldier’s tent should be furnished so as to be

comfortable — in such a case nothing more need be added, except that he who has received it should be given to understand that he must take care of it as his own. But if any one has got into quarters that lack something, do you make a note of it and supply the want. [40] And I am sure that what is left over will be considerable, for the enemy had more of everything than is required by our numbers. Furthermore, the treasurers, both of the Assyrian king and of the other monarchs, have come to me to report that they have gold coin in their possession, by which they referred to certain payments of tribute. [41]

Notify them, therefore, to deliver all this also to you, wherever you have your headquarters. And give that man reason to fear who shall not do as you command. And do you take the money and pay it out to the cavalry and infantry in the proportion of two to one, in order that you may all have the wherewithal to buy whatever you still may need. [42]

“Further,” he added, “let the herald proclaim that no one shall interfere with the market in the camp, but that the hucksters may sell what each of them has for sale and, when they have disposed of that, get in a new stock, that our camp may be supplied.” [43]

And they proceeded at once to issue the proclamation. But the Medes and Hyrcanians asked: “How could we divide this spoil without help from you and your men?” [44]

And Cyrus in turn answered their question as follows: “Why, my good men, do you really suppose that we must all be present to oversee everything that has to be done, and that I shall not be competent in case of need to do anything on your behalf, nor you again on ours? How else could we make more trouble and accomplish less than in this way? [45] No,” said he; “you must look to it, for we have kept it for you and you must have confidence in us that we have kept it well; now for your part, do you divide it, and we shall have the same confidence in your dividing it fairly. [46] And there is something more that we, on our part, shall try to gain for the common advantage. For here, you observe, first of all, how many horses we have right now, and more are being brought in. If we leave them without riders, they will be of no use to us but will only give us the trouble of looking after them; but if we put riders upon them, we

shall at the same time be rid of the trouble and add strength to ourselves. [47] If, therefore, you have others to whom you would rather give them and with whom you would rather go into danger, if need should be, than with us, offer them the horses. If, however, you should wish to have us as your comrades in preference to others, give them to us. [48] And I have good reasons for asking; for just now when you rode on into danger without us, you filled us with apprehension lest something should happen to you and made us very much ashamed because we were not at your side. But if we get the horses, we shall follow you next time. [49] And if it seems that we are of more use to you by fighting with you on horseback, in that case we shall not fail for want of courage. But if it seems that by turning footmen again we could assist to better advantage, it will be open to us to dismount and at once stand by you as foot soldiers; and as for the horses, we shall manage to find some one to whom we may entrust them.” [50]

Thus he spoke, and they made answer: “Well, Cyrus, we have no men whom we could mount upon these horses; and if we had, we should not choose to make any other disposition of them, since this is what you desire. So now,” they added, “take them and do as you think best.” [51]

“Well,” said he, “I accept them; may good fortune attend our turning into horsemen and your dividing the common spoils. In the first place, set apart for the gods whatever the magi direct, as they interpret the will of the gods. Next select for Cyaxares also whatever you think would be most acceptable to him.” [52]

They laughed and said that they would have to choose women for him.

“Choose women then,” said he, “and whatever else you please. And when you have made your choice for him, then do you Hyrcanians do all you can to see that all those who volunteered to follow me have no cause to complain. [53]

“And do you Medes, in your turn, show honour to those who first became our allies, that they may think that they have been well advised in becoming our friends. And allot his proper share of everything to the envoy who came from Cyaxares and to those who attended him; and invite him also to stay on with us (and give him to

understand that this is my pleasure also), so that he may know better the true state of things and report the facts to Cyaxares concerning each particular. [54] As for the Persians with me,” he said, “what is left after you are amply provided for will suffice for us; for we have not been reared in any sort of luxury, but altogether in rustic fashion, so that you would perhaps laugh at us, if anything gorgeous were to be put upon us, even as we shall, I know, furnish you no little cause for laughter when we are seated upon our horses, and, I presume,” he added, “when we fall off upon the ground.” [55]

Hereupon they proceeded to the division of the spoil, laughing heartily at his joke about the Persian horsemanship, while he called his captains and ordered them to take the horses and the grooms and the trappings of the horses, and to count them off and divide them by lot so that they should each have an equal share for each company. [56]

And again Cyrus ordered proclamation to be made that if there were any one from Media or Persia or Bactria or Caria or Greece or anywhere else forced into service as a slave in the army of the Assyrians or Syrians or Arabians, he should show himself. [57] And when they heard the herald’s proclamation, many came forward gladly. And he selected the finest looking of them and told them that they should be made free, but that they would have to act as carriers of any arms given them to carry; and for their sustenance he himself, he said, would make provision. [58]

And so he led them at once to his captains and presented them, bidding his men give them their shields and swords without belts, that they might carry them and follow after the horses. Furthermore, he bade his captains draw rations for them just as for the Persians under him. The Persians, moreover, he bade always ride on horseback with their corselets and lances, and he himself set the example of doing so. He also instructed each one of the newly-mounted officers to appoint some other peer to take his place of command over the infantry of the peers.

6. Thus, then, they were occupied. Meanwhile Gobryas, an Assyrian, a man well advanced in years, came up on horseback with a cavalry escort; and they all carried cavalry weapons. And those who were assigned to the duty of receiving the weapons ordered

them to surrender their spears, that they might burn them as they had done with the rest. But Gobryas said that he wished to see Cyrus first. Then the officers left the rest of the horsemen there, but Gobryas they conducted to Cyrus. [2] And when he saw Cyrus, he spoke as follows:

“Sire, I am by birth an Assyrian; I have also a castle, and wide are the domains which I govern. I have also about a thousand horse which I used to put at the disposal of the Assyrian king, and I used to be his most devoted friend. But since he has been slain by you, excellent man that he was, and since his son, who is my worst enemy, has succeeded to his crown, I have come to you and fall a suppliant at your feet. I offer myself to be your vassal and ally and ask that you will be my avenger; and thus, in the only way I may, I make you my son, for I have no male child more. [3] For he who was my son, my only son, a beautiful and brave young man, Sire, and one who loved me and paid me the filial reverence that would make a father happy — him this present king — when the old king, the father of the present ruler, invited my son to his court purposing to give him his daughter in marriage — and I let him go; for I was proud that, as I flattered myself, I should see my son wedded to the king’s daughter — then, I say, the man who is now king invited him to go hunting with him and gave him permission to do his best in the chase, for he thought that he himself was a much better rider than my son. And my boy went hunting with him as his friend, and when a bear came out, they both gave chase and the present ruler let fly his javelin but missed. Oh! would to God he had not! Then my son threw (as he should not have done) and brought down the bear. [4]

And then that man was vexed, to be sure, as it proved, but covered his jealousy in darkness. But when again a lion appeared, he missed again. There was nothing remarkable in that, so far as I can see; but again a second time my son hit his mark and killed the lion and cried, ‘Have I not thrown twice in succession and brought an animal down each time!’ Then that villain no longer restrained his jealous wrath but, snatching a spear from one of the attendants, smote him in the breast — my son, my only, well-loved son — and took away his life. [5] And I, unhappy I, received back a corpse instead of a bridegroom, and, old man that I am, I buried with the first down upon his cheeks

my best, my well-beloved son. But the murderer, as if he had slain an enemy, has never shown any repentance, nor has he, to make amends for his wicked deed, ever deigned to show any honour to him beneath the earth. His father, however, expressed his sorrow for me and showed that he sympathized with me in my affliction. [6] And so, if he were living, I should never have come to you in a way to do him harm; for I have received many kindnesses at his hands and I have done him many services. But since the sceptre has passed on to the murderer of my son, I could never be loyal to him and I am sure that he would never regard me as a friend. For he knows how I feel toward him and how dark my life now is, though once it was so bright; for now i am forsaken and am spending my old age in sorrow. [7]

“If, therefore, you will receive me and I may find some hope of getting with your help some vengeance for my dear son, I think that I should find my youth again and, if I live, I should no longer live in shame; and if I die, I think that I should die without a regret.” [8]

Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: “Well, Gobryas, if you prove that you really mean all that you say to us, I not only receive you as a suppliant, but promise you with the help of the gods to avenge the murder of your son. But tell me,” said he, “if we do this for you and let you keep your castle and your province and the power which you had before, what service will you do us in return for that?” [9]

“The castle,” he answered, “I will give you for your quarters when you come; the tribute of the province, which before I used to pay to him, I will pay to you; and whithersoever you march I will march with you at the head of the forces of my province. Besides,” said he, “I have a daughter, a maiden well-beloved and already ripe for marriage. I used once to think that I was rearing her to be the bride of the present king. But now my daughter herself has besought me with many tears not to give her to her brother’s murderer; and I am so resolved myself. And now I leave it to you to deal with her as I shall prove to deal with you.” [10]

“According as what you have said is true,” Cyrus then made answer, “I give you my right hand and take yours. The gods be our witnesses.”

When this was done he bade Gobryas go and keep his arms; he

also asked him how far it was to his place, for he meant to go there. And he said: "If you start to-morrow early in the morning, you would spend the night of the second day with us." [11]

With these words he was gone, leaving a guide behind. And then the Medes came in, after they had delivered to the magi what the magi had directed them to set apart for the gods. And they had selected for Cyrus the most splendid tent and the lady of Susa, who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Asia, and two of the most accomplished music-girls; and afterward they had selected for Cyaxares the next best. They had also supplied themselves with such other things as they needed, so that they might continue the campaign in want of nothing; for there was an abundance of everything. [12]

And the Hyrcanians also took what they wanted; and they made the messenger from Cyaxares share alike with them. And all the tents that were left over they delivered to Cyrus for the use of his Persians. The coin they said they would divide, as soon as it was all collected; and this they did.

BOOK V.

1. Such were their words and deeds. Then Cyrus ordered the men whom he knew to be Cyaxares's most intimate friends to divide among themselves the keeping of the king's portion of the booty. "And what you offer me," he added, "I accept with pleasure; but it shall always be at the service of any one of you who at any time is most in need of it."

"If you please, then, Cyrus," said one of the Medes who was fond of music, "when I listened last evening to the music-girls whom you now have, I was entranced; and if you will give me one of them, I should, I think, be more happy to go to war with you than to stay at home."

"Well," said Cyrus, "I will not only give her to you, but I believe that I am under greater obligation to you for your asking than you to me for receiving her; so thirsty am I to do you favours."

So he that asked received her. [2]

Then Cyrus called to him Araspas, a Mede, who had been his friend from boyhood — the same one to whom he had given his Median robe when he laid it off as he was returning from Astyages's court to Persia — and bade him keep for him both the lady and the tent. [3] Now this woman was the wife of Abradatas of Susa; and when the Assyrian camp was taken, her husband happened not to be there, having gone on an embassy to the king of Bactria; for the Assyrian king had sent him thither to negotiate an alliance, because he chanced to be a guest-friend of the Bactrian king. This, then, was the lady that Cyrus placed in the charge of Araspas, until such a time as he himself should take her. [4] And when he received this commission Araspas asked: "And have you seen the lady, Cyrus, whom you give into my keeping?" said he.

"No, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "not I."

"But I have," said the other. "I saw her when we selected her for you. And when we went into her tent, upon my word, we did not at first distinguish her from the rest; for she sat upon the ground and all her handmaids sat around her. And she was dressed withal just like her servants; but when we looked round upon them all in our desire

to make out which one was the mistress, at once her superiority to all the rest was evident, even though she sat veiled, with her head bowed to the earth. [5] But when we bade her rise, all her attendants stood up with her, and then was she conspicuous among them both for her stature and for her nobility and her grace, even though she stood there in lowly garb. And she could not hide her tears as they fell, some down her dress, some even to her feet. [6] Then, when the oldest man in our company said: 'Have no fear, lady; for though we understand that your husband also is a noble man, yet we are choosing you out for a man who, be assured, is not his inferior either in comeliness or intelligence or power, but, as we at least think, if there is any man in the world who deserves admiration, that man is Cyrus; and his you shall henceforth be.' Now when the lady heard that, she rent her outer garment from top to bottom and wept aloud; and her servants also cried aloud with her. [7]

"And then we had vision of most of her face and vision of her neck and arms. And let me tell you, Cyrus," said he, "it seemed to me, as it did to all the rest who saw her, that there never was so beautiful a woman of mortal birth in Asia. But," he added, "you must by all means see her for yourself." [8]

"No, by Zeus," said Cyrus; "and all the less, if she is as beautiful as you say."

"Why so?" asked the young man.

"Because," said he, "if now I have heard from you that she is beautiful and am inclined just by your account of her to go and gaze on her, when I have no time to spare, I am afraid that she will herself much more readily persuade me to come again to gaze on her. And in consequence of that I might sit there, in neglect of my duties, idly gazing upon her." [9]

"Why Cyrus," said the young man breaking into a laugh, "you do not think, do you, that human beauty is able to compel a man against his will to act contrary to his own best interests? Why," said he, "if that were a law of nature, it would compel us all alike. [10] Do you observe," said he, "how fire burns all alike? That is its nature. But of beautiful things we love some and some we do not; and one loves one, another another; for it is a matter of free will, and each one loves what he pleases. For example, a brother does not fall in love

with his sister, but somebody else falls in love with her; neither does a father fall in love with his daughter, but somebody else does; for fear of God and the law of the land are sufficient to prevent such love. [11] But,” he went on, “if a law should be passed forbidding those who did not eat to be hungry, those who did not drink to be thirsty, forbidding people to be cold in winter or hot in summer, no such law could ever bring men to obey its provisions, for they are so constituted by nature as to be subject to the control of such circumstances. But love is a matter of free will; at any rate, every one loves what suits his taste, as he does his clothes or shoes.” [12]

“How then, pray,” said Cyrus, “if falling in love is a matter of free will, is it not possible for any one to stop whenever he pleases? But I have seen people in tears of sorrow because of love and in slavery to the objects of their love, even though they believed before they fell in love that slavery is a great evil; I have seen them give those objects of their love many things that they could ill afford to part with; and I have seen people praying to be delivered from love just as from any other disease, and, for all that, unable to be delivered from it, but fettered by a stronger necessity than if they had been fettered with shackles of iron. At any rate, they surrender themselves to those they love to perform for them many services blindly. And yet, in spite of all their misery, they do not attempt to run away, but even watch their darlings to keep them from running away.” [13]

“Yes,” the young man answered; “there are some who do so; but such are wretched weaklings, and because of their slavery, I think, they constantly pray that they may die, because they are so unhappy; but, though there are ten thousand possible ways of getting rid of life, they do not get rid of it. And this very same sort attempt also to steal and do not keep their hands off other people’s property; but when they commit robbery or theft, you see that you are the first to accuse the thief and the robber, because it was not necessary to steal, and you do not pardon him, but you punish him. [14] Now in this same way, the beautiful do not compel people to fall in love with them nor to desire that which they should not, but there are some miserable apologies for men who are slaves to all sorts of passions, I think, and then they blame love. But the high-minded and the good, though they also have a desire for money and good horses and beautiful women,

have the power to let all that alone so as not to touch anything beyond the limit of what is right. [15] At any rate,” he added, “I have seen this lady and though she seemed to me surpassingly beautiful, still I am here with you, I practise horsemanship, and I do everything else that it is my duty to do.” [16]

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Cyrus; “for you came away perhaps in less time than love takes, as its nature is, to get a man ensnared. For, you know, it is possible for a man to put his finger in the fire and not be burned at once, and wood does not burst at once into flame; still, for my part, I neither put my hand into the fire nor look upon the beautiful, if I can help it. And I advise you, too, Araspas,” said he, “not to let your eyes linger upon the fair; for fire, to be sure, burns only those who touch it, but beauty insidiously kindles a fire even in those who gaze upon it from afar, so that they are inflamed with passion.” [17]

“Never fear, Cyrus,” said he, “even if I never cease to look upon her, I shall never be so overcome as to do anything that I ought not.”

“Your professions,” said he, “are most excellent. Keep her then, as I bid you, and take good care of her; for this lady may perhaps be of very great service to us when the time comes.” [18]

After this conversation, then, they separated.

And as the young man found the lady so beautiful and at the same time came to know her goodness and nobility of character, as he attended her and thought he pleased her, and then also as he saw that she was not ungrateful but always took care by the hands of her own servants not only that he should find whatever he needed when he came in, but that, if he ever fell sick, he should suffer no lack of attention — in consequence of all this, he fell desperately in love with her; and what happened to him was perhaps not at all surprising. Thus matters began to take this turn. [19]

Cyrus, however, wishing to have his Medes and allies stay with him voluntarily, called a meeting of all his staff-officers, and when they were come together he spoke as follows: [20] “Men of Media and all here present, I am very sure that you came out with me, not because you desired to get money by it nor because you thought that in this you were doing Cyaxares a service; but it was to me that you wished to do this favour, and it was out of regard for me that you

were willing to make the night-march and to brave dangers with me. [21] For this also I thank you — I should be in the wrong not to do so; but I do not think that I am as yet in a position to make you an adequate return, and this I am not ashamed to say. But let me assure you,” said he, “that I should be ashamed to say ‘if you will stay with me, I will make you a proper return;’ for I think it would look as if I were saying it merely to make you more willing to stay with me. Instead of that, this is what I mean: even though you go back now in obedience to Cyaxares, still, if I achieve any success, I shall try so to act that you also will praise me. [22] For as to myself, I certainly am not going back, but I will be true to the oaths and the pledges which I gave the Hyrcanians, and I will never be caught playing them false; and I will also endeavour so to conduct myself that Gobryas, who is now offering us both his castle and his country and his forces, shall not repent his coming to us. [23] And above all, now that the gods are so manifestly blessing our efforts, I should fear to offend them, and I should be ashamed in their sight to go away without good reason and leave what they have bestowed. Thus, therefore, I propose to act,” said he; “and do you also do as you judge to be best, and tell me what your decision is.” [24]

Thus he spoke. And the first one to reply was the man who had once upon a time claimed to be a kinsman of Cyrus. “For my part, O my king,” said he—”for to me you seem to be a born king no less than is the sovereign of the bees in a hive. For as the bees always willingly obey the queen-bee and not one of them deserts the place where she stays; and as not one fails to follow her if she goes anywhere else — so marvellous a yearning to be ruled by her is innate to them; [25] so also do men seem to me to be drawn by something like the same sort of instinct toward you. And of that we have proof; for when you started to return from our country to Persia, what man of the Medes either young or old failed to follow you, until Astyages made us turn back? And when you hastened to our aid from Persia, we saw that almost all your friends followed with you of their own free will. Again, when you wished to come out on this expedition, all the Medes volunteered to follow you. [26] And now, too, this is our feeling, so that with you we are not afraid even in the enemy’s land, while without you we are afraid even to return home.

Now the rest may tell for themselves what they mean to do. But as for me, Cyrus, I, with the men whom I command, will remain with you and endure the sight of you and tolerate your goodness to us.” [27]

Following him, Tigranes spoke as follows: “Cyrus,” said he, “you need never be surprised when I fail to speak. For my mind has been disciplined not to offer counsel but to do what you command.” [28]

“Well, Medes,” said the Hyrcanian king, “if you should go away now, I should say that it was the plot of the evil one to prevent your becoming exceedingly blest. For, in all common sense, who would turn away from the enemy when they are in flight, or refuse to take their arms when they surrender them, or their persons and property when they offer them — especially under such a leader as we have? For, I swear to you by all the gods, he seems to me happier in doing us kindnesses than in enriching himself.” [29]

Following him, all the Medes spoke to this effect: “It is you, Cyrus, that have brought us out here, and when you think the time to return has come, lead us back with you.”

And when Cyrus heard that, he uttered this prayer: “Hear me, I beseech thee, O Zeus almighty, and grant that in service to them I may surpass the honour they show to me.” [30]

Thereupon he commanded the rest to station guards and after that to do for themselves whatever they pleased; and the Persians he bade divide the tents among themselves — to the cavalry the ones appropriate to their use and to the infantry such as sufficed for their needs — and to arrange matters so that the commissaries in the tents should do all that was required of them, prepare everything necessary, and carry it to the quarters of the Persians, and have their horses groomed and fed, and that the Persians should have no duty other than to practise the arts of war.

Thus they spent that day.

2. Rising early the next morning they started — Cyrus, on horseback, with those of the Persians who had been transformed into cavalymen, to the number of about two thousand — to visit Gobryas. And those who carried the horsemen’s shields and sabres followed behind them, to the same number; the rest of the army also proceeded in its proper divisions. He ordered the horsemen, each one, to inform their new squires that if any one of them should be

seen behind the rear-guard or get in front of the van or be found on the flanks outside the line of march, he should be punished. [2]

Toward evening of the second day they arrived at Gobryas's castle; and they saw that the fortress was exceedingly strong and that everything was ready on the walls so that there might be most effective fighting from them. And they saw many cattle also and a great many sheep driven up under protection of the fortifications. [3]

Then Gobryas sent to Cyrus and bade him ride around and see where access was most easy and send in some of his trusted officers to examine what was inside and report back to him what they saw. [4] So Cyrus, wishing, as a matter of fact, to see for himself whether the fort could be stormed in case Gobryas should prove false, rode round on every side and saw that it was everywhere too strong for any one to approach. And those whom he had sent in to Gobryas brought back the report that there were provisions enough inside to last the garrison, as it seemed to them, for a whole generation. [5]

Now Cyrus was pondering what all this meant, when Gobryas himself came out bringing with him all his followers; and some of them brought out with them wine and flour and barley-meal; others brought cattle, goats, sheep, swine, and all kinds of provisions — a plenty of everything for a dinner for Cyrus's whole army. [6] And they whose business it was apportioned it and set about preparing the meal. And when all his men were outside, Gobryas bade Cyrus enter, in whatever way he thought he might enter most safely. So Cyrus sent in ahead of him some scouts and a part of his forces, and then with this precaution he went in himself. And when he had gone in, keeping the gates wide open, he called to him all his friends and the officers of the troops with him. [7] And when they were inside, Gobryas brought out golden goblets, pitchers, and vases, all sorts of ornaments, an almost countless pile of darics, and all sorts of treasure in great quantities; and finally he brought out his daughter, a marvel of beauty and stature, but in mourning for her brother who was dead; and he said: "These treasures, Cyrus, I present to you, and this my daughter I entrust to you to make what disposal of her you may see fit. But we make our prayer to you, I, as I have done already, that you avenge my son, and she that you be the avenger of her brother." [8]

"Well," said Cyrus in reply to this, "I promised you even then

that, assuming that you did not speak me false, I should do all in my power to avenge you; and now, when I see that you are truthful, my promise is already due; and I promise her likewise that with heaven's help I will fulfil my promise to the letter.

"Now as to these treasures," said he, "I accept them, but I give them again to your daughter here and the man who shall marry her. But one gift of yours will I take as I leave you, in place of which not even all the wealth of Babylon (and that is enormous) — no, not even all the wealth of all the world would send me away more happy than with this gift from you." [9]

And Gobryas, wondering what he meant and suspecting that he meant his daughter, asked: "And what might that gift be, Cyrus?"

"Gobryas," he replied, "it is this: I believe that there are many men who would not consent to be wicked or unjust or false, but they die before it is ever discovered what sort of men they are, simply because no one has ever seen fit to entrust them with great wealth or kingly power or mighty fortresses or lovely children; [10] but you have now placed in my hands your fortress and all sorts of wealth, your forces and your precious child, and have thus given me an opportunity of showing to all the world that I would not do an act of wickedness against a friend or do a wrong for the sake of gain or willingly prove false to a covenant. [11] And so long as I am an honest man and receive men's approbation as bearing this reputation, I assure you that I shall never forget this proof of your confidence but shall try to show you all fair honour in return. [12]

"And as for your daughter," he continued, "do not fear that you shall fail to find a husband worthy of her; for I have many noble friends; some one of them will marry her. But whether he will have as much money as you are ready to give me or even many times as much, I could not say. Let me tell you, however, that there are some of them who do not admire you one whit the more for the money you have to offer; but with me they are vying now and praying to all the gods that it may be granted them one day to prove that they are not less faithful to their friends than I, and that so long as they live they would never yield to their enemies, unless some god should cross them. But their virtue and their good name they would not barter for all your wealth and the wealth of the Assyrians and Syrians to boot.

Such men, let me tell you, are sitting here.” [13]

“By the gods, Cyrus,” said Gobryas with a laugh, “please show me where they are, that I may ask you for one of them to be my son-in-law.”

“There will be no need of your getting that information from me,” answered Cyrus; “but, if you will go with us, you will be able yourself to point each one of them out to somebody else.” [14]

When he had thus spoken, he clasped Gobryas’s right hand in his and rose to depart, taking with him all his followers. And though Gobryas urged him to dine in the castle, he declined, but dined in camp and took Gobryas with him as his guest. [15] And as he reclined upon a mat of straw he asked this question: “Tell me, Gobryas, do you think you have more coverlets than each one of us?”

“I am perfectly sure, by Zeus,” the other answered, “that you have more coverlets and more couches, and that your dwelling is much larger than mine; for you take heaven and earth for your dwelling, and you have as many couches as you can find resting-places on the ground, while you regard as your proper coverlets not wool that sheep produce, but whatever the mountains and plains bring forth.” [16]

Thus, as Gobryas dined with them for the first time and saw the simplicity of the food set before them, he thought his own people more refined than they. [17] But he soon perceived the temperance of the soldiers who sat at meat with him; for no Persian of the educated class would allow it to appear that he was captivated with any kind of food or drink, either with his eyes gloating over it, or with his hands greedy to get it, or with his thoughts so engrossed by it as to fail to observe things that would attract his attention if he were not at meat; but just as good horsemen do not lose their self-command when on horseback but can ride along and at the same time see and hear and say whatever they should, so also the educated Persians think that at their meals they ought to show themselves sensible and temperate; and to become excited over food or drink seems to them altogether swinish and bestial. [18]

He noticed further about them that they asked one another such questions as people are more pleased to be asked than not, that they indulged in such banter as is more agreeable to hear than not; he

observed how far their jests were removed from insult, how far they were from doing anything unbecoming, and how far from offending one another. [19] But what seemed to him most extraordinary of all was that when on active service they did not think they ought to be served with a larger share than any one else of those who were going into the same dangers, but that they considered it the most sumptuous feast to make those who were to be their comrades in arms as efficient as possible. [20]

When Gobryas rose to go home, he is reported to have said: "I am no longer surprised, Cyrus, that while we possess more cups and clothing and gold than you, we ourselves are worth less than you are. For our whole thought is to have as much of those things as possible, while your whole thought seems to me to be that you may be yourselves as capable as possible." [21]

Thus he spoke; and Cyrus answered: "Please see to it, Gobryas, that you are here early in the morning with your cavalry under arms, so that we may see your forces, and then you shall lead us through your country so that we may know what we have to consider as belonging to our friends and what as belonging to our enemies." [22]

When they had thus spoken, they went away, each to his own proper task.

When day dawned, Gobryas came with his cavalry and led the way. But Cyrus, as became a general, turned his thoughts not only upon the march, but at the same time, as he proceeded, he kept studying the situation to see whether it might be in any way possible to make the enemy weaker or his own side stronger. [23] So he called Gobryas and the Hyrcanian king to him, for he supposed that they must know best what he thought he needed to learn, and said: "My dear friends, I think that I should be making no mistake to consult with you in regard to this war and to rely upon your trustworthiness. For I observe that you have greater need than I to see to it that the Assyrian shall not get the upper hand of us: if I am unsuccessful in this, I shall, perhaps, find some other place of refuge; whereas in your case, I see that if he gains the upper hand, all that you have passes into other hands. [24] For, as for me, he is my enemy, not because he hates me, but because he imagines that it would be inimical to his interests for our nation to become great, and for that

reason he is making war upon us; but you he actually hates, for he thinks that you have done him wrong.”

To this they both answered in the same way, that he should proceed with what he had to say, for they recognized the truth of what he had said and knew that it was a matter of vital concern to them how things turned out in the future. [25] Then he began as follows: “Tell me, then,” said he, “does the Assyrian king believe that you are the only ones who are hostile to him, or do you know of any one else who is his enemy?”

“Yes, by Zeus,” said the Hyrcanian; “the Cadusians, a large and powerful nation, are most bitter enemies of his; and so are our neighbours, the Sacians, for they have suffered very severely at his hands; for he attempted to subjugate them just as he did us.” [26]

“Well then,” said he, “do you think that these two nations would like to join us in an attack upon the Assyrian?”

“Yes,” they answered, “and right eagerly, if they could find a way to combine their forces with ours.”

“And what is to hinder such a union of forces?” asked Cyrus.

“The Assyrians,” they answered, “the same nation, through whose country you are now marching.” [27]

“But, Gobryas,” said Cyrus, when he heard this, “do you not accuse this young fellow who has just come to the throne of cruel insolence of character?”

“That judgment, I think,” said Gobryas, “is warranted by my experience with him.”

“Pray, are you the only man towards whom he has acted in this way,” Cyrus asked, “or are there others also?” [28]

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Gobryas; “there are others also. But why should I recount his acts of insolence toward the weak? For once when he and the son of a man much more powerful than I were drinking together, a young man who, like my son, was his comrade, he had him seized and castrated; and the occasion, so some people said, was simply because his concubine had praised his friend, remarking how handsome he was and felicitating the woman who should be his wife; but the king himself now maintains that it was because the man had made advances toward his concubine. And so now he is a eunuch, but he has come into the kingdom, for his father

is dead.” [29]

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “do you think that he also would be glad to see us, if he thought we could help him?”

“Think!” said Gobryas, “I am sure of it. But, Cyrus, it would be difficult to see him.”

“Why?” asked Cyrus.

“Because, to effect a union of forces with him, one has to march along under the very walls of Babylon.” [30]

“Why, pray,” said the other, “is that so difficult?”

“Because, by Zeus,” said Gobryas, “I know that the forces that would come out of that city alone are many times as large as your own at present; and let me tell you that the Assyrians are now less inclined than heretofore to deliver up their arms and to bring in their horses to you for the very reason that to those of them who have seen your army it seemed a small one; and a rumour to this effect has now been widely spread abroad. And,” he added, “I think we should do better to proceed cautiously.” [31]

“I think you are right, Gobryas, in admonishing us to march with the utmost caution,” Cyrus made answer upon hearing this suggestion from him. “But when I think of it, I cannot conceive of any safer procedure for us than to march directly upon Babylon, if that is where the main body of the enemy’s forces is. For they are, as you say, numerous; and if they take courage, they will also, as I say, give us cause to fear them. [32] However, if they do not see us and get the idea that we are keeping out of sight because we are afraid of them, then, let me assure you, they will recover from the fear with which we inspired them; and the longer we keep out of their sight, the greater the courage that will spring up within them in place of that fear. But if we march upon them at once, we shall find many of them still in tears over those whom we have slain, many still wearing bandages on the wounds they received from us, and all still mindful of the daring of this army of ours and of their own flight and defeat. [33] And let me assure you, Gobryas,” he continued, “that your large bodies of men, when they are inspired with confidence, display a spirit that is irresistible; but when once they are frightened, the greater their numbers are, the greater and more overpowering the panic that seizes them. [34] For it comes over them increased by the

many faint-hearted words they hear and magnified by the many wretched figures and the many dejected and distorted countenances they see; and by reason of the large numbers it is not easy with a speech to quell the panic, nor by a charge against the enemy to inspire them with courage, nor by a retreat to rally their spirits; but the more you try to encourage them to bravery, in so much the greater peril do they think they are. [35]

“Again, by Zeus,” said he, “let us consider precisely how this matter stands: if, in future, victory on the field of battle is to rest with that side which counts the greater numbers, you have good reason to fear for us and we really are in danger. If, however, battles are still to be decided by good fighting as they have been before, it would not be at all amiss for you to be bold and confident; for, please God, you will find far more men on our side who are eager to fight, than on theirs. [36] And to give yourself still more confidence, bethink you also of this: the enemy are much fewer now than they were before we defeated them, much weaker than when they fled before us; while we are bigger now since we have conquered and stronger since you have been added to us. For you must no longer undervalue your own men, now that they are with us; for be assured, Gobryas, that when they are with the victors, even those who follow the camp go along without a fear. [37]

“And do not forget this either, that the enemy may find us even now, if they will. And, let me assure you, we could in no possible way strike more terror into them when they do see us, than by marching upon them. As this, therefore, is my conviction, lead us straight on to Babylon.”

3. As they thus proceeded, they arrived on the fourth day at the boundaries of Gobryas’s domains. And as soon as Cyrus was in the enemy’s country, he arranged in regular order under his own command the infantry and as much of the cavalry as seemed to him best. The rest of the cavalry he sent out to forage, with orders to kill those who were under arms but to bring every one else to him, as well as any cattle they might take. The Persians he ordered to join the foraging party. And many of them were thrown from their horses and came back, but many of them also came bringing a great quantity of plunder. [2]

When all the booty was brought in, he called the peers and the officers of the Medes and Hyrcanians together and addressed them as follows: "My friends, Gobryas has entertained us all with great munificence. So, if we should set apart the share of the spoil ordained for the gods and a portion sufficient for the army and give the rest to him, should we not be doing the right thing? For we should be giving immediate proof that we are trying to outdo those who do good to us, in the good we do to them." [3]

When they heard this they all signified their approval and applauded the proposition; and one of them also spoke as follows: "By all means, Cyrus," said he, "let us do that. And it would be a good stroke of policy, too; for it seems to me that Gobryas regards us as no better than a lot of beggars because we have not come here with our pockets full of darics and because we do not drink from golden goblets. And if we do this, then he would realize that it is possible for men to be gentlemen, even without gold." [4]

"Come then," said Cyrus, "turn over to the magi what belongs to the gods, set apart for the army its share, and then call Gobryas in and give the rest to him."

So they set aside what was required and gave the rest to Gobryas. [5]

After this Cyrus renewed his march upon Babylon, with his army in the same order as when the battle was fought. But as the Assyrians did not march out to meet them, Cyrus ordered Gobryas to ride up and say: "If the king wishes to come out and fight for his country, I myself would join him and fight for him too; but if the king will not protect his country, then I must needs submit to the victors." [6]

Accordingly, Gobryas rode to a place where he could safely give his message; and the king sent out a messenger to deliver to Gobryas this reply: "This is your sovereign's response to you, Gobryas: 'I do not regret that I killed your son, but only that I did not kill you, too. And if you and your men wish to fight, come back a month from now. Just at present we have no time to fight, for we are still busy with our preparations.'" [7]

"I only hope that this regret of yours may never cease," Gobryas replied; "for it is evident that I have been something of a thorn in your flesh, ever since you began to feel it." [8]

Gobryas returned with the Assyrian king's reply, and when Cyrus heard it he drew off his army; then summoning Gobryas he said to him: "Tell me, you were saying, were you not, that you thought that the prince who was castrated by the Assyrian would be on our side?"

"Why, of course;" he replied, "I feel perfectly sure of it; for he and I have often talked together freely." [9]

"Well then, when you think best, go to him; but first of all be sure that you meet him alone and in secret; and when you have conferred with him, if you see that he wishes to be our friend, you must manage to keep his friendship a secret. For in time of war one could not in any way do more good to one's friends than by seeming to be their enemy, nor more harm to enemies than by seeming to be their friend." [10]

"Now mark my word," said Gobryas; "I am sure that Gadatas would even pay for the opportunity of doing the present Assyrian king some serious harm. But what harm he could do it is for us on our part to consider." [11]

"Now tell me this," said Cyrus, "in regard to the fort which stands upon the frontier of the country and which you say was built to serve as a base of operations against the Hyrcanians and the Sacians and an outwork to protect this country in time of war — do you think that the eunuch, if he went there with his army, would be admitted by the commandant?"

"Yes; certainly he would," said Gobryas, "if he came to him as unsuspected as he now is." [12]

"Then," answered Cyrus, "if I should make an attack on his fortifications as if I wished to gain possession of them, while he defended himself with all his might; and if I should take something of his and he in turn should capture either some of our other men or some of the messengers I send to those who, you say, are enemies of the Assyrian king; and if these captives should say that they had come out to get an army and ladders to use against the fortress; and if then the eunuch, on hearing this, should pretend that he had come to give warning; under these conditions, he would be unsuspected." [13]

"Under such circumstances," answered Gobryas, "the commandant would certainly admit him — aye, and would beg him to remain there until you went away."

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “if he could but once get in, he would be in a position to put the fort in our hands?” [14]

“That is at all events probable,” answered Gobryas, “if he were within, helping with the preparations, while you on the outside made a vigorous attack.”

“In that case,” Cyrus replied, “go and try to explain these plans to him and win his coo+peration and then return. And no better assurance of our good faith could you give him in word or deed than to show him what you happen to have received at our hands.” [15]

Thereupon Gobryas went away; and when the eunuch saw him, he gladly concurred in all the plans and settled with him the things they were to do.

So, when Gobryas reported back that all the proposals were heartily accepted by the eunuch, on the day following Cyrus made his attack and Gadatas his defence. And there was also a fort which Cyrus took, as Gadatas had indicated; [16] while of the messengers whom Cyrus sent with instructions which way to go, some Gadatas allowed to escape to bring the troops and fetch the ladders; but some he took and straitly examined in the presence of many witnesses, and when he heard from them the purpose of their journey, he made ready at once and set out in the night as if to give the alarm. [17] And the end was that he was trusted and entered the fort as an ally to defend it; and for a while he helped the commandant to the extent of his ability in making preparations; but when Cyrus came, he made himself master of the place, employing also as his assistants in seizing it those men of Cyrus’s whom he had taken prisoners. [18]

When this was accomplished, the eunuch, after setting things in order within the fort, came out and did him obeisance according to the custom and said: “Joy be with you, Cyrus!” [19]

“So it is,” said he; “for by the favour of the gods you not only bid me joy but even compel me to be joyful. For believe me, I consider it a great advantage to leave this place friendly to my allies in this country. From you, Gadatas,” Cyrus went on, “the Assyrian has, it seems, taken away the power of begetting children, but at any rate he has not deprived you of the ability of acquiring friends. Let me assure you that by this deed you have made of us friends who will try, if we can, to stand by you and aid you no less efficiently than if

we were your own children.” [20]

Thus he spoke; and at this juncture the Hyrcanian king, who had just heard what had happened, ran up to Cyrus and taking his right hand said to him: “O what a blessing you are to your friends, Cyrus, and what a debt of gratitude to the gods you lay upon me, because they have brought me into association with you!” [21]

“Go then,” said Cyrus, “take this fortress on account of which you congratulate me and so dispose of it that it may be of the most service to your people and to the rest of the allies, and especially,” he added, “to Gadatas here, who gained possession of it and delivered it to us.” [22]

“What then?” said the Hyrcanian. “When the Cadusians come and the Sacians and my people, are we to call in some of them also, that all of us who are concerned may consult together how we may use the fortress to the best advantage?” [23]

To this plan Cyrus gave assent. And when all those who were interested in the fort were gathered together, they decided that it should be occupied in common by those to whose advantage it was to have it in the hands of friends, so that it might be an outwork for them in time of war and a base of operations against the Assyrians. [24]

Because of this incident the Cadusians, Sacians, and Hyrcanians joined the expedition in greater numbers and with greatly increased zeal. And thereafter a new division was added to the army, consisting of Cadusians, about twenty thousand targeteers and about four thousand horsemen; of Sacians, about ten thousand bowmen and about two thousand mounted archers; while the Hyrcanians also sent as many more foot-soldiers as they could and filled up the ranks of their cavalry to the number of two thousand; for up to this time most of their cavalry had been left at home, because the Cadusians and the Sacians were enemies of the Assyrians. [25]

Now during the time that Cyrus was busy with the arrangements about the fortress, many of the Assyrians of the country round about surrendered their horses and many laid down their arms, because now they were afraid of all their neighbours. [26]

And after this, Gadatas came to Cyrus and said that messengers had come to him with the information that when the Assyrian king

heard the facts about the fortress, he was exceedingly wroth and was preparing to invade his country. "If, then, you will permit me to go, Cyrus, I should try to save the fortified places; the rest is of less account." [27]

"If you start now," said Cyrus, "when shall you reach home?"

"The day after to-morrow," answered Gadatas, "I shall dine in my own land."

"But you do not think, do you, that you will find the Assyrian already there?" said Cyrus.

"Nay, I am sure of it," he replied; "for he will make haste while he thinks you are still far away." [28]

"How many days," asked Cyrus, "do you think it would take me with my army to get there?"

"Sire," Gadatas made reply, "your army now is large and you could not reach my residence in less than six or seven days."

"Well," said Cyrus, "do you go as quickly as possible, and I will follow as best I can." [29]

So Gadatas went away, and Cyrus summoned all the officers of the allies, and there seemed to be there now many noble men and brave. In this assembly, then, Cyrus spoke as follows: [30]

"Friends and allies, Gadatas has done what seems a very valuable service to us all, and that, too, before receiving any favour whatsoever at our hands. And now comes the report that the Assyrian is going to invade his country, partly, as it seems plain, from a wish to punish him because he thinks Gadatas has done him a great wrong; and perhaps also he understands that if those who desert him for us do not suffer any harm at his hands, while those who follow him are destroyed by us, the chances are that very soon no one will be willing to stay with him. [31] So now, my men, it seems to me that we should be doing what is fair, if we gave Gadatas, our benefactor, our heartiest assistance; and at the same time we should be doing only what is right in paying a debt of gratitude. But apart from that, it seems to me that we should be gaining an advantage for ourselves. [32]

For if we should show every one that we try to surpass in doing harm those who do us harm, and that we surpass in well-doing those who do well by us, the consequences of such conduct would be that

many would wish to become our friends and not one would desire to be our enemy. [33]

“But should we decide to abandon Gاداتas, with what arguments under heaven could we ever persuade any one else to do us a favour? How could we have the effrontery to approve our own conduct? And how could any one of us look Gاداتas in the face, if, as numerous as we are, we should be surpassed in well-doing by one man and that one a man in such a plight as Gاداتas is?” [34]

Thus he spoke, and all heartily agreed to do as he said.

“Come then,” he continued, “since you agree with these suggestions, and first, let us leave men in charge of the beasts of burden and the wagons, each division appointing such of their number as are best suited to go with them; and let Gobryas have command of them in our place and be their guide; [35]

For he is acquainted with the roads and in other ways is qualified for that task. As for us, let us proceed with the most able-bodied men and horses, taking with us three days’ provisions. For the more lightly and simply equipped we go, the more we shall enjoy our luncheon and dinner and sleep in the days to follow. [36] And now let us march in the following order: Chrysantas, do you lead in the van the men armed with breastplates, for the road is smooth and wide. Have all your captains in front, each company following in single file; for, massed together, we can march with the greatest speed and the greatest safety. [37] And the reason why I direct the men armed with breastplates to lead the march is that they are the slowest portion of the army; and when the slowest lead, then all the more quickly moving troops can follow easily, as a matter of course. But when at night the light forces lead, it is not at all a strange thing for the line to be broken and a gap formed, for the vanguard outstrips the rear. [38]

“Next let Artabazus follow at the head of the Persian targeteers and bowmen; following him, Andamyas, the Mede, in command of the Median infantry; next, Embas with the Armenian infantry; then, Artuchas with the Hyrcanians; he will be followed by Thambradas at the head of the Sacian infantry force and Datamas with that of the Cadusians. [39] Let these all lead the way with their captains in front, the targeteers on the right and the archers on the left of their own

squares; for, marching thus, they are more easily handled. [40] Next to these the camp-followers of all the army are to follow; their officers should see to it that they have everything ready packed up before they sleep, and early in the morning let them be present with the baggage at the appointed place, ready to follow the march in proper order. [41]

“After the camp-followers let Madatas, the Persian, bring up the Persian cavalry; let him also arrange the cavalry captains in front, and let each captain lead his company in single file, just like the infantry officers. [42] After them will come Rhambacas, the Mede, with his cavalry in the same order; after them you, Tigranes, with yours, and the rest of the cavalry officers, each with the forces with which he joined us. After them you Sacians are to fall in line; and last of all, just as they came, the Cadusians will bring up the rear; and you, Alceunas, who are their commander, for the present look out for all in the rear and do not allow any one to fall behind your horsemen. [43]

“Take care to march in silence, both officers and all who are wise; for in the night there is more need to use ears than eyes to secure information and to have things done. And to be thrown into confusion in the night is a much more serious matter than in the daytime and one more difficult to remedy. [44] Therefore let silence be maintained, and let the prescribed order be preserved.

“And the night watches, whenever you are to start off before daylight, must be made as short and as numerous as possible, so that want of sleep on account of doing sentinel duty may not be serious and exhaust the men for the march. And when the hour for starting comes, let the signal be given on the horn. [45] And then do you all, with whatever is necessary, step out into the road to Babylon; and let each commander, as he gets his division in motion, pass the word to the man behind him to come on.” [46]

Hereupon they went to their tents, and, as they went, they remarked to one another what a good memory Cyrus had and how he called every one by name as he assigned them their places and gave them their instructions. [47] Now Cyrus made a study of this; for he thought it passing strange that, while every mechanic knows the names of the tools of his trade and the physician knows the names of

all the instruments and medicines he uses, the general should be so foolish as not to know the names of the officers under him; and yet he must employ them as his instruments not only whenever he wishes to capture a place or defend one, but also whenever he wishes to inspire courage or fear. And whenever Cyrus wished to honour any one, it seemed to him proper to address him by name. [48] Furthermore, it seemed to him that those who were conscious of being personally known to their general exerted themselves more to be seen doing something good and were more ready to abstain from doing anything bad. [49] And when he wanted a thing done, he thought it foolish to give orders as do some masters in their homes: "Some one go get water!" "Some one split wood!" [50] For when orders are given in that way, all, he thought, looked at one another and no one carried out the order; all were to blame, but no one felt shame or fear as he should, because he shared the blame with many. It was for this reason, therefore, that he himself spoke to every one by name to whom he had any command to give. [51] Such, at least, was Cyrus's opinion about this matter.

The soldiers, however, then went to dinner, stationed sentinels, packed up everything they needed, and went to bed. [52] At midnight the signal horn sounded. Cyrus informed Chrysantas that he would wait for him on the road ahead of the army, took with him his aides-de-camp, and went on; and a short time afterward Chrysantas came up at the head of his heavy-armed soldiers. [53] To him Cyrus turned over the guides and bade him advance leisurely, for the troops were not yet all on the way. He himself took his stand by the roadside, and as the troops came on he sent them forward in their order, and to those who were late he sent a messenger to bid them hasten. [54] And when they were all on the road, he sent some horsemen to Chrysantas to say that they were now all on the way; "Now then, double quick!" [55] He himself riding his horse leisurely along to the front inspected the ranks; and to those whom he saw marching along in silence and in good order he would ride up and inquire who they were, and when he was informed he would praise them. But if he saw any in confusion, he would inquire into the cause of it and try to quiet the disorder. [56]

Only one of his measures of precaution that night has been left

unmentioned — namely, that he sent out in front of the main body of the army a few light-armed infantrymen to keep Chrysantas in sight and be kept in sight by him, to listen and gather information in whatever way they could, and report to Chrysantas what it seemed expedient that he should know. There was also an officer in command of them who kept them in order, and what was of importance he communicated to Chrysantas, but he did not trouble him by reporting what was immaterial. [57]

In this manner, therefore, they proceeded all night long; but when it became day, he left the cavalry of the Cadusians with their infantry (for these also were in the extreme rear), so that the latter might not be without the protection of cavalry; but the rest he ordered to ride up to the front, because the enemy were in front. He adopted this plan, in order that, if he happened to find any opposition, he might have his forces in fighting order to meet it, and that, if anything should be seen anywhere in flight, he might give chase with the utmost readiness. [58] He always kept drawn up in order one body of troops who were to pursue and another who were to stay with him; but he never suffered his main line to be broken. [59]

Thus, then, Cyrus led his army; but he himself did not keep to the same position, but riding about, now here, now there, kept watch, and if they needed anything, he provided for it.

Thus, then, Cyrus and his army were proceeding.

4. Now there was a certain man among the officers of Gadatas's cavalry who, when he saw that his prince had revolted from the Assyrian, concluded that if some misfortune were to overtake Gadatas, he might himself obtain from the Assyrian all his chief's wealth and power. With this in view, he sent one of his trusted friends to the Assyrian, instructing his messenger, in case he found the Assyrian army already in Gadatas's country, to tell their king that if he would lay an ambushade, he would take Gadatas and his followers prisoners. [2] He furthermore commissioned him to explain how small an army Gadatas had and to make it clear that Cyrus was not with him; he also pointed out the road by which Gadatas was likely to return; and, that he might find fuller credence, he instructed his own subordinates to surrender to the Assyrian king, together with all that was in it, the fortress which he himself happened to be

holding in Gadatas's country. He promised besides that he would come himself when he had slain Gadatas, if he could, but that, if he failed in the attempt, at least he would in future be on the king's side. [3]

And the man who had been given this commission rode as fast as his horse could carry him; he came into the presence of the Assyrian king and made known the purpose of his coming. When the king heard it, he at once took possession of the fortress and with a large force of horse and chariots laid his ambuscade in a cluster of villages. [4]

When Gadatas was not far from these villages, he sent some scouts on in advance to make a thorough search. And when the Assyrian was informed of the scouts' approach, he ordered two or three chariots and several horsemen to start up and gallop off as if they were affrighted and only a few in number. When the scouts saw that, they started in pursuit themselves and beckoned to Gadatas to come on. He, too, was deceived and started at full speed in pursuit. The Assyrians, in turn, when they thought Gadatas near enough to be taken, issued from their ambuscade. [5] And when Gadatas and his men saw this, they began to flee, as was natural; and the enemy, as was also natural, started in pursuit. At this juncture, the man who was plotting against Gadatas struck a blow at him but failed to inflict a mortal wound; still he smote him on the shoulder and wounded him.

When he had done this, he darted off to join the pursuing Assyrians; and when they recognized who he was, he took his place with them and urging his horse at full speed he joined with the king in the pursuit. [6] Then those who had the slowest horses were evidently being overtaken by those who had the fleetest; and just as Gadatas's men were becoming quite exhausted, because they were already jaded and worn out by their march, they saw Cyrus coming up with his army, and one may imagine that they rushed up to them with delight, like men putting into port out of a storm. [7] At first Cyrus was surprised; but when he comprehended the situation, he continued, while the enemy were all riding against him, to lead his army in battle order against them. But the enemy, recognizing the real state of affairs, turned and fled. Thereupon Cyrus ordered those who had been detailed for that purpose to start in pursuit, while he

himself followed as he thought expedient. [8] Here chariots also were captured, some because the charioteers were thrown out, a part of them from wheeling around too sharply, others for other reasons, while some were intercepted by the cavalry and taken. And many men were slain, and among them the man who had wounded Gadatas. [9] Of the Assyrian infantry, however, who happened to be besieging Gadatas's fortress, some fled to that fort which had been lost to Gadatas by betrayal, others had time to reach a large city of Assyria, in which the king himself with his horsemen and chariots also took refuge. [10]

Now when Cyrus finished his pursuit of the enemy, he returned to Gadatas's country; and after he had given instructions to those whose duty it was to take care of the spoil, he went at once to visit Gadatas and see how his wound was. But as he was going, he was met by Gadatas with his wound already bandaged. And Cyrus was delighted at seeing him and said: "Why, I was coming to see how you were." [11]

"And I, by the gods," said Gadatas, "was coming to gaze upon you again and see what you may look like, you who possess such a soul. For though I do not see what need you now have of my assistance, and though you made no promise to do this for me and have been put under no obligation whatever to me, at least no personal obligation, yet because you fancied that I had given some assistance to your friends, you have come so gallantly to my relief that at this moment, whereas by myself I am a lost man, by your goodness I am saved. [12] By the gods, Cyrus, if I were such a man as once I was and had children, I doubt if I could have had a child as kind to me as you have been; for I know that this present king of Assyria, like many another son that I have known, has caused his own father much more trouble than he can now cause you." [13]

"You fail to notice a much greater wonder, Gadatas, when you now express your wonder at me," Cyrus made reply.

"And what is that, pray?" asked Gadatas.

"That so many Persians have shown their interest in you," he answered, "and so many Medes and Hyrcanians, and all the Armenians, Sacians, and Cadusians here present." [14]

"O Zeus," said Gadatas in prayer, "I pray that the gods may grant

many blessings to them and most of all to him who is responsible for their being so generous toward me. But, Cyrus, in order that we may entertain handsomely these men whom you have been praising, accept as gifts of friendship these trifles, such as I can give.”

At the same time he had a great many things brought out, so that any one who wished might sacrifice and that the whole army might be entertained in a manner worthy of their deeds of glory and the glorious issue. [15]

The Cadusian prince had been guarding the rear and had no share in the pursuit; so, wishing to do something brilliant on his own account, he went off, without consulting Cyrus or saying anything to him, to make a foray into the country toward Babylon. And as the Cadusian cavalry were scattered, the Assyrian, returning from his city in which he had taken refuge, came suddenly upon them with his own army in battle array. [16] And when he discovered that the Cadusians were alone, he made an attack, slew the commander of the Cadusians and many others, took some of their horses, and recovered the spoil which they happened to be carrying off. He also pursued them as far as he thought was safe and then turned back. So the survivors of the Cadusians arrived at the camp, the first of them towards evening. [17]

When Cyrus found out what had happened, he went out to meet them, and if he saw any one that was wounded he received him kindly and sent him on to Gadatas, that he might receive attention; the rest he helped into their tents and saw to it that they should have provisions, taking some of the Persian peers along to help him in looking after them. For under such circumstances, the good are ready to undertake extra labour. [18] Still Cyrus was evidently very much distressed, so that, when the rest went to dinner at the usual hour, he with his aides and the surgeons did not go; for he would not wittingly leave any uncared for, but either looked after them in person, or, if he did not succeed in doing that, he showed his personal interest by sending some one to attend to them. [19]

Thus they went to sleep that evening. At daybreak he made proclamation for all the Cadusians and the officers of the rest to assemble; and he addressed them as follows:

“Friends and allies, that which has happened might happen to any

man; for it is not at all strange, I think, for mortal man to err. Still it is worth our while to reap some benefit from this occurrence, the lesson never to detach from our main body a force weaker than the forces of the enemy. [20] I do not mean by that that we should never go off, if circumstances require it, with a still smaller detachment than that with which the Cadusian prince went. But if an officer, when he starts on an expedition, communicates his intention to one that is able to bring help, he may possibly fall into a trap, but then it is equally possible for the one who remains behind to entrap the enemy and turn them away from the detached corps; or he may annoy the enemy in some other way and so secure safety for his friends; and thus even those who are at a distance will not be out of reach but will keep in touch with the main body. But the man who goes off without communicating his purpose is in the same situation, no matter where he is, as if he were carrying on a campaign alone. [21]

“But in return for this, we shall ere long, God willing, have our revenge on the enemy. So, as soon as you have had luncheon, I shall lead you to the place where this befell. There we shall not only bury the dead, but, God willing, on the very spot where the enemy think they have won a victory we will show them others better than they are. We shall at least let them have no satisfaction in looking even on the place where they slaughtered our allies. If they do not come out to meet us, we shall burn their villages and ravage their country, so that they may have no joy in viewing what they did to us but may be distressed at contemplating there their own misfortunes. [22]

“The rest of you, therefore, go to luncheon. But you, Cadusians, go first and elect from your own number according to your custom a new general, who shall look out for your interests with the help of the gods and of us, if you have any need of our help as well; and when you have made your choice, send the man you have elected to me.” [23]

So they did as he bade. And when Cyrus led the army out, he assigned the man elected by the Cadusians his position and bade him lead his contingent near to himself, “in order,” he said, “that we may, if we can, put new courage into your men.” Thus, then, they proceeded; and when they came to the place, they buried the Cadusians and ravaged the country. And when they had done so they

returned again into the land of Gadatas, bringing their supplies from the enemy's country. [24]

And when he reflected that those who had gone over to him would suffer severely, as they were in the vicinity of Babylon, if he were not always at hand, he ordered those of the enemy whom he released to tell the Assyrian king (he also sent a herald to bear the same message) that he was ready to leave in peace the labourers tilling the land and to do them no harm, provided the king, on his part, would be willing to allow those farmers who had transferred their allegiance to him to work their farms. [25] "And yet," he had them say, "even if you are able to hinder them, you will hinder but few; for the country of those who have come over to me is small; while the land under your dominion that I should allow to be cultivated is extensive. Then, as to the harvesting of the crops, if there is war, the victor, I suppose, will do the reaping; but if there is peace, it is evident that you will do it. If, however, any of my adherents take up arms against you, or any of yours against me, upon such we will both execute vengeance according to our ability." [26]

This message he entrusted to the herald and sent him away. And when the Assyrians heard it, they did everything they could to persuade the king to accept the proposal, and to leave as little of the war as possible. [27] The Assyrian king, moreover, whether because he was persuaded by his countrymen or whether he himself also wished it so, agreed to the proposal; so a covenant was made to the effect that the farmers should have peace, but the men under arms war. [28]

This concession Cyrus obtained for the farming classes. But as for the herds out grazing, he ordered his friends, if they wished, to drive them in and keep them in the territory under their own control; but the enemy's cattle they brought in as their legitimate prey from whatever quarter they could, so that the allies might be better pleased with the expedition. For the dangers were the same, even if they did not go foraging for provisions, while the burdens of war seemed lighter, if the army was to be fed at the enemy's cost. [29]

When Cyrus was making preparations to depart, Gadatas came to him and brought many gifts of every sort, as might be expected from a wealthy house, and, most important of all, he brought many horses

that he had taken from horsemen of his own whom he had come to distrust on account of the conspiracy against him. [30] When he came into Cyrus's presence he spoke as follows: "These gifts, Cyrus, I beg to offer you for the present; and do you accept them, if you have any use for them. But pray consider that everything else of mine is yours; for there is not and never can be a child of my own to whom I can leave my estates, but with my death our race and name must be altogether blotted out. [31] And by the gods, who see all things and hear all things, I swear to you, Cyrus, that it is not for anything wrong or base that I have said or done that I have suffered this affliction."

As he uttered these words he burst into tears over his lot and could say no more. [32]

And Cyrus, as he listened, pitied him for his misfortune and answered him thus: "Your horses I accept; for I shall do you a service by giving them to men who are more loyal to you, it seems, than your own men who had them but now; and for myself, I shall the sooner increase my Persian cavalry to full ten thousand horse, as I have been eager this long time to do. But do you take these other things away and keep them until you see me in possession of wealth enough so that I shall not be outdone in requiting you. For if, as we part, you should give me larger gifts than you receive from me, by the gods, I do not see how I could possibly help being ashamed." [33]

"Well," said Gadatas in reply, "I can trust you for that; for I know your ways. Still, bethink you whether I am in a position to keep these things safe for you. [34] For while we were friends to the Assyrian king, my father's estate seemed to me the finest in the world; for it was so near to the mighty city of Babylon that we enjoyed all the advantages of a great city but could come back home and be rid of all its rush and worry. But now that we are his enemies, it is obvious that with your departure we ourselves and our whole house shall be the victims of plots; and I think we shall lead an utterly miserable life, for we shall have our enemies close at hand and see them stronger than ourselves. [35]

"Perhaps, then, some one might say: 'And why, pray, did you not think of that before you revolted?' Because, Cyrus, on account of the outrage I had suffered and my consequent resentment, my soul was

not looking out consistently for the safest course but was pregnant with this thought, whether it would ever be in my power to get revenge upon that enemy of gods and men, who cherishes an implacable hatred not so much toward the man who does him wrong as toward the one whom he suspects of being better than himself. [36] Therefore, since he is such a scoundrel himself, he will find no supporters but those who are worse scoundrels than himself. But if some one of them by any chance be found better than he, never fear, Cyrus, that you will have to fight that good man; but he will take care of him, scheming unceasingly until he has got rid of that man who is better than himself. But as for me, he will, I think, even with worthless fellows easily be strong enough to harass me. [37]

As Cyrus heard this, it seemed to him that Gadatas said something worthy of consideration; so he answered at once: "Pray then, Gadatas," said he, "let us make the fortifications strong with garrisons and safe, that you may have confidence in their security, whenever you go into them; and then do you take the field with us yourself so that, if the gods continue on our side as they now are, he may be afraid of you, not you of him. And bring with you whatsoever of yours you like to look at or to have with you, and come. It seems to me, too, that you would be very useful to me, and I shall try to be the same to you, as far as I can." [38]

On hearing this, Gadatas breathed more freely and said: "Could I get things ready before you go? For, you see, I should like to take my mother with me."

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered, "you will have plenty of time; for I will hold back until you say it is all right." [39]

Accordingly, Gadatas went away in company with Cyrus and strengthened the forts with garrisons and then packed up everything that a great house might need for comfort. And he brought with him many of his own loved and trusted friends and many also of those whom he distrusted, compelling some to bring along their wives, others their brothers and sisters, in order that he might keep them under control, when bound by such ties. [40]

And from the first Cyrus kept Gadatas among those about him as he marched, to give him information in regard to roads and water, fodder and provisions, so that they might be able to camp where

things were most abundant. [41]

And when, as he proceeded, he came in sight of the city of Babylon and it seemed to him that the road which he was following led close by the walls, he called Gobryas and Gadatas to him and asked if there were not another road, so that they need not march right by the wall. [42]

“Yes, sire,” answered Gobryas; “in fact, there are many roads; but I supposed that you would surely wish to march as near to the city as possible, in order to show him that your army is now large and imposing; for even when you had a smaller force, you came right up to the very walls and he saw that we had no great numbers. So now, even if he really is to some extent prepared (for he sent word to you that he was making preparations to fight you), I am sure that, when he sees your forces, his own will again seem to him extremely ill-prepared.” [43]

“You seem to be surprised, Gobryas,” said Cyrus in answer, “that I marched right up to the walls when I came with a much smaller army, whereas now with a larger force I am unwilling to march close up under the walls. [44] But do not be surprised; for marching up to and marching by are not the same thing. For every one leads up in the order best for fighting [and the wise also retreat in the safest possible way, and not in the quickest], [45] but an army must needs march by with the wagons in an extended line and with the rest of the baggage vans in a long train. And these must all be covered by soldiers, and the enemy must never see the baggage wagons unprotected by arms. [46] When people march in this way, therefore, they necessarily have the fighting men drawn out in a thin, weak line. If, then, the enemy should ever decide to sally out in a compact body from their walls, on whichever part they came to close quarters they would close with much greater force than those have who are marching by. [47] Then, too, those who are marching in a long column must be a long distance from their supports, while the townspeople have but a short way to go to make a dash on a force near them and again retire. [48]

“On the other hand, if we march by at a distance from the walls not less than that at which we are now proceeding with our long extended line, they will have a view of our full numbers, to be sure,

but behind the fringe of arms the whole host will look terrible. [49] Be that as it may, if they should really make a sally at any point, we should see them a long way off and not be caught unprepared; or rather, I should say, friends, they will not so much as make the attempt when they have to go far from their walls, unless they judge that the whole of their force is superior to the whole of ours; for a retreat is a perilous thing for them.” [50]

When he said this, those present agreed that what he said was right, and Gobryas led the way as he had directed. And as the army marched by the city, he constantly kept the part just passing the city the strongest, and so moved on. [51]

Thus he continued his march and came in the usual number of days to the place on the boundaries between Media and Syria from which he had originally started. Of the three forts of the Syrians there, Cyrus in person assaulted one, the weakest, and took it by storm; of the other two, Cyrus, by intimidation, brought the garrison of the one to surrender, and Gadatas, by persuasion, that of the other.

5. When this had been accomplished, he sent to Cyaxares and requested him to come to camp to hold a council of war concerning the disposition to be made of the forts which they had captured, and, after reviewing the army, to advise what steps he thought they ought to take next for the future conduct of the war. “But if he bids me,” said he, “tell him that I would come and join camps with him.” [2]

Accordingly, the messenger went away to deliver this message. Meanwhile Cyrus had given orders to bring out the tent of the Assyrian king which the Medes had selected for Cyaxares, to make it ready with all kinds of furnishings, and to conduct into the women’s apartments of the tent the woman and with her the music-girls, who had been selected for Cyaxares. And this was done. [3]

When the envoy to Cyaxares had delivered his message, Cyaxares gave it his attention and decided that it was better for the army to stay at the frontier. And there was the more reason, for the Persians whom Cyrus had sent for had come — forty thousand bowmen and peltasts. [4] And as he saw that these were a severe drain on the Median land, it seemed to him more desirable to get rid of the present army than to admit another host. So when the officer in command of the reinforcements from Persia inquired of Cyaxares, in

accordance with the instructions he had from Cyrus, whether he had any need of his army, he said “No”; and so this general went that same day at the head of his forces to Cyrus, for he heard that Cyrus was in that neighbourhood. [5]

On the following day Cyaxares set out with the Median cavalry who had stayed with him, and when Cyrus learned that he was approaching, he went out to meet him with the Persian cavalry, which was now a large body; he took with him also all the Median, Armenian, and Hyrcanian horse, and those of the rest of the allies who were the best mounted and best armed; all these he took with him by way of displaying his forces to Cyaxares. [6] But when Cyaxares saw many fine, valiant men in the company of Cyrus, while his own escort was small and of little worth, he thought it a thing dishonourable, and grief gat hold on him. So when Cyrus dismounted from his horse and came up to him, intending to kiss him according to custom, Cyaxares dismounted from his horse but turned away. He refused to kiss him and could not conceal his tears. [7]

Thereupon Cyrus bade all the rest withdraw and wait. And he himself caught Cyaxares by the hand, led him to the shade of some palm-trees away from the road, ordered some Median rugs to be spread for him, and begged him to be seated; then sitting down beside him, he spoke as follows: [8]

“In the name of all the gods, uncle,” said he, “tell me why you are angry with me; and what do you find wrong that you take it so amiss?”

“Because, Cyrus,” Cyaxares then made answer, “while I am supposed to be the scion of a royal father and of a line of ancestors who were kings of old as far back as the memory of man extends, and while I am called a king myself, still I see myself riding along with a mean and unworthy equipage, while you come before me great and magnificent in the eyes of my own retinue as well as the rest of your forces. [9] And this I think it a hard thing to suffer even at the enemy’s hands and much harder, O Zeus, at the hands of those from whom I should least of all expect such treatment. For I think I should rather ten times sink into the earth than be seen so humiliated and see my own men disregarding me and laughing at me; for I am not ignorant of the fact not only that you are greater than I, but also

that even my vassals come to meet me more powerful than I am myself and well enough equipped to do more harm to me than I can do to them.” [10]

And as he said this he was still more violently overcome with weeping, so that he affected Cyrus, too, till his eyes filled with tears. But after pausing for a moment Cyrus answered him as follows:

“Well, Cyaxares, in this you do not speak truly nor do you judge correctly, if you think that by my presence the Medes have been put in a position to do you harm; [11] but that you are angered and threaten them gives me no surprise. However, whether your anger against them is just or unjust, I will not stop to inquire; for I know that you would be offended to hear me speak in their defence. To me, however, it seems a serious error for a ruler to be angry with all his subjects at the same time; for, as a matter of course, threatening many makes many enemies, and being angry with all at the same time inspires them all with a common sense of wrong. [12]

It was for this reason, let me assure you, that I did not let them come back without me, for I was afraid that in consequence of your anger something might happen for which we should all be sorry. With the help of the gods, therefore, you are secured against that by my presence.

“As to your supposition that you have been wronged by me — I am exceedingly sorry, if, while I have been striving to the utmost of my ability to do as much good as possible to my friends, I seem after all to be accomplishing just the opposite. [13]

“But enough of this; let us not thus idly accuse one another; but, if possible, let us examine what sort of wrong it is that has come from me. I am ready to make you a proposal, the fairest that can be made between friends: if it appear that I have done you harm, I confess that I am in the wrong; but if it turn out that I have done you no harm and intended none, will you then on your part confess that you have suffered no wrong at my hands?” [14]

“Nay, I must,” said he.

“And if it is demonstrated that I have done you good and have been eager to do as much for you as I could, pray should I not deserve your praise rather than your blame?”

“That is only fair,” said he. [15]

“Come, then,” said Cyrus, “and let us consider all that I have done, all my acts one by one; for so it will be most clearly seen what is good and what is bad. [16] And let us begin, if you think it far enough back, with my assuming this command. Now, you remember, when you learned that the enemy had gathered in great numbers and that they were starting against you and your country, you at once sent to the Persian state to ask for help and to me personally to ask me to try to come myself at the head of the forces, if any of the Persians should come. Did I not comply with your request, and did I not come to you leading for your service as many and as valiant men as I could?”

“Yes,” said he; “you certainly came.” [17]

“Well then,” he answered, “tell me first whether in this you impute to me any wrong against you or do you not rather count it a benefit towards you?”

“Obviously,” Cyaxares replied, “in that I see a benefit.” [18]

“Good, then,” answered Cyrus; “and when the enemy came and we had to do battle with them, did you then see me ever shirking toil or avoiding danger?”

“No, by Zeus,” said he; “I certainly did not.” [19]

“Furthermore, when with the help of the gods the victory was ours and the enemy retreated, when I urged you to come in order that we might together pursue them, together take vengeance upon them, and together reap the fruits of victory if any rich spoil should fall to our lot — can you charge me with any selfish purpose in that?” [20]

To this Cyaxares said nothing. So Cyrus went on again: “Well, seeing that it suits you better to be silent than to reply to this question, tell me whether you thought you were wronged in any way because, when you did not think it safe to pursue, I excused you from a share in that peril and asked you to let some of your cavalry go with me. For if I did wrong also in asking that, and that, too, when I had previously given you my own services as an ally, that is yours to prove.” [21]

And as Cyaxares again said nothing, Cyrus resumed: “Well, seeing that you do not choose to answer that either, please tell me then if I did you wrong in the next step I took: when you answered that you saw that the Medes were enjoying themselves and that you

would not be willing to disturb their pleasures and oblige them to go off into dangers, then, far from being angry with you for that, I asked you again for a favour than which, as I knew, nothing was less for you to grant or easier for you to require of the Medes: I asked you, as you will remember, to allow any one who would to follow me. Was there anything unfair, think you, in that? [22]

“Well then, when I had obtained this concession from you, it amounted to nothing, unless I were to gain their consent. So I went to see if I could get their consent; and those whom I persuaded I took with me, by your permission, on my expedition. But if you think that deserving of blame, then, no matter what you may offer, one may not, it seems, accept it from you without blame. [23]

“Thus, then, we started; and does not every one know what we did when we were gone? Did we not capture the enemy’s camp? Are not many of those who came against you slain? Aye, and of the enemy still alive many have been deprived of their arms; many others of their horses; moreover, the belongings of those who before were robbing you and carrying off your property you now see in the hands of your friends and being brought in, some for you, some for those who are under your dominion. [24]

But what is most important and best of all, you see your own territory increasing, that of the enemy diminishing; you see the enemy’s fortresses in your possession, and your own, which had before all fallen under the Assyrian’s power, now restored again to you. Now, I do not know that I can say that I should like to learn whether any one of these results is a bad thing or whether any one is not a good thing for you, but at any rate I have no objection to listening to what you have to say. So tell me what your judgment on the question is.” [25]

When he had thus spoken, Cyrus ceased, and Cyaxares answered as follows: “Well, Cyrus, I do not see how any one could say that what you have done is bad; but still, let me tell you, these services of yours are of such a nature that the more numerous they appear to be, the more they burden me. [26]

For as to territory, I should rather extend yours by my power than see mine thus increased by you; for to you it brings glory to do this, but to me these same things somehow bring disgrace. [27] And as for

money, it would be more agreeable for me to bestow it in this way upon you than to receive it from you under such circumstances as those under which you now offer it. For in being thus enriched by you, I feel even more wherein I am made poorer. And I think I should be less displeased to see my subjects actually wronged a little by you than to see, as I do, that they have received great benefits from you. [28] But,” he went on, “if it seems to you that it is unreasonable of me to take these things to heart, put yourself in my place and see in what light they appear to you. And tell me — if any one should pet your dogs, which you have been training for the protection of yourself and yours, and make them more familiar with himself than with you, would he please you with such petting? [29] Or if that seems to you a belittling comparison, think on this: if any one were to tamper with the attendants that you kept for your body-guard and for service in war, and so dispose them that they would rather be his than yours, would you be grateful to him for such kindness? [30] Again, let us take the object that men love most and most dearly cherish — suppose some one were to court your wife and make her love him more than yourself, would such kindness give you pleasure? Far from it, I think; for I am sure that he who should be guilty of such conduct would be doing you the greatest of all injuries. [31]

“But to quote an example most nearly akin to my own case — if any one should so treat the Persians whom you have brought here as to make them more glad to follow him than you, would you consider him your friend? I trow not; but you would consider him more of an enemy than if he were to slay many of them. [32] Or again, if you in your kindness of heart were to tell one of your friends to take whatever of yours he wanted, and if he, accepting your offer, should make off with everything he could and enrich himself with what belonged to you, while you had not even enough left for moderate use, could you consider such a one a blameless friend? [33]

“Well then, Cyrus, it seems to me that your treatment of me has been, if not that, at least something like that; for what you say is true: I told you to take those who wished to go with you, and off you went with my whole force and left me deserted. And now what you have taken with my forces you bring to me, forsooth, and with my own

strength you increase my realm; and I, it seems, having no share in securing this good fortune, must submit like a mere woman to receive favours, and you are a hero in the eyes of all the world and especially of my subjects here, while I am not considered worthy of my crown. [34]

Do you think that these are deeds of kindness, Cyrus? Let me tell you that if you had any regard for me, there is nothing of which you would be so careful not to rob me as my reputation and my honour. For what do I gain, if I have my realm extended wide and lose my own honour? For I was not made king of the Medes because I was more powerful than they all, but rather because they themselves accounted us to be in all things better than themselves.” [35]

“By the gods, uncle,” said Cyrus, interrupting him before he had finished speaking, “if I have ever done you any favour before, please do me now the favour that I beg of you: desist from blaming me for the present, and when you have proof from us how we feel toward you, if it then appears that what I have done was done for your benefit, return my greeting when I greet you and consider me your benefactor; but if it seems the other way, then blame me.” [36]

“Well,” said Cyaxares, “perhaps you are right after all; I will do so.”

“Say then,” said Cyrus, “may I kiss you, too?”

“If you please,” said the other.

“And you will not turn away from me, as you did a little while ago?”

“No,” said he.

So he kissed him. [37]

And when the Medes and the Persians and the rest saw that, for they were all concerned to see what the outcome would be, they were satisfied and glad. Then Cyrus and Cyaxares mounted their horses and led the way, and the Medes followed after Cyaxares (for Cyrus gave them a nod so to do), the Persians fell in behind Cyrus, and the rest behind them. [38]

And when they came to the camp and had lodged Cyaxares in the tent that had been made ready for him, they who had been detailed to do so supplied him with what he needed; [39] and as long as he had leisure before dinner, Cyaxares received calls from the Medes; some

of them came of their own accord, but most of them went at the suggestion of Cyrus, taking presents with them — the one a handsome cup-bearer, another a fine cook, another a baker, another a musician, another a cup, another fine raiment; and every one of them, as a rule, presented him with at least one of the things that he had himself taken, [40] so that Cyaxares changed his mind and realized that Cyrus was not alienating their affections from him and that the Medes were no less attentive to him than before. [41]

And when the hour for dinner came, Cyaxares summoned Cyrus and asked him, as he had not seen him for a long time, to dine with him. But Cyrus answered: "Please, Cyaxares, do not ask me. Do you not see that all these who are here are here at our instance? I should not be doing right, then, if I should let them get the impression that I was neglecting them and pursuing my own pleasure. For when soldiers think they are being neglected, the good ones become much more despondent and the bad much more presuming. [42] But do you now go to dinner, especially as you have come a long way; and if any come to pay their respects to you, do you greet them kindly and entertain them well, so that they may feel confidence toward you also. For my part, I must go and attend to those matters of which I have been speaking to you. [43] And tomorrow morning my staff-officers will come with me to your headquarters, in order that we may all consult with you about what we should do next. Do you then and there lay before us the question whether it seems best to continue the campaign or whether it is now time to disband the armies." [44]

After this Cyaxares attended to his dinner, while Cyrus collected those of his friends who were most able to think and to co-operate with him when occasion demanded, and addressed them as follows:

"My friends, with the help of the gods we have, you see, all that we prayed for at the first. For wherever we go, we are masters of the country. What is more, we see the enemy reduced, and ourselves increased in both numbers and strength. [45]

Now, if the allies we have gained would only stay on with us, we should be able to accomplish much more both by force, when occasion calls for it, and by persuasion, when that is needed; and it is not my business a whit more than it is yours to see to it that as many of the allies as possible agree to stay; [46] but just as, when we are

called upon to fight, the one who conquers the greatest number has the glory of being considered the most valorous, so also when we are called upon to use persuasion, he that converts the greatest number to our opinion would justly be accounted at once the most eloquent and the most efficient. [47] Do not, however, aim at displaying to us the arguments that you will address to each one of them, but set to work with the feeling that those who are persuaded by any one of you will show what they are by what they do. [48] Do you, therefore, see to this. And I, for my part, will try to see to it, as far as I can, that the soldiers are supplied with all that they need, while they are deliberating about going on with the campaign.”

BOOK VI.

1. After spending that day in the manner described, they dined and went to rest. Early on the following morning all the allies came to Cyaxares's headquarters. So while Cyaxares was attiring himself (for he heard that there was a large concourse of people at his doors), various friends were presenting the allies to Cyrus. One group brought the Cadusians, who begged him to stay; another, the Hyrcanians; some one brought forward the Sacians, and some one else, Gobryas; Hystaspas presented Gadatas, the eunuch, and he also begged Cyrus to remain. [2] Then Cyrus, though he realized that Gadatas had for some time been frightened almost to death for fear the army should be disbanded, laughing said: "It is clear, Gadatas, that Hystaspas here has been instigating you to the ideas that you have been expressing." [3] And Gadatas lifting up his hands toward heaven declared on his oath that he had not been influenced by Hystaspas to entertain those feelings. "But I know," said he, "that if you and your men go away, it is all over with me. For this reason, I introduced the subject with him of my own accord, asking him if he knew what it was your intention to do with reference to disbanded the army." [4]

"I was wrong, then, as it seems," said Cyrus, "in accusing our friend Hystaspas."

"Aye, by Zeus, Cyrus, you were indeed," said Hystaspas. "For I was only remarking to our friend Gadatas that it was not possible for you to go on with the campaign; for I told him that your father was sending for you." [5]

"What do you mean?" said Cyrus. "Did you dare to let that get out, whether I would or no?"

"Yes, by Zeus," he answered; "for I observe that you are exceedingly anxious to go around in Persia the cynosure of all eyes, and to parade before your father the way you have managed everything here."

"And do not you wish to go home yourself?" asked Cyrus.

"No, by Zeus," said Hystaspas; "and I am not going either; but I shall stay here and be general, until I have made our friend Gadatas

master of the Assyrian.” [6]

Thus half-seriously did they jest with one another.

Meantime, Cyaxares came out in gorgeous attire and seated himself on a Median throne. And when all whose presence was required had assembled and silence prevailed, Cyaxares addressed them as follows: “Friends and allies, since I happen to be here and am older than Cyrus, it is perhaps proper for me to open the conference. To begin with, this seems to me to be an opportune time for us to discuss the question whether it is desirable to continue our campaign longer or at once to disband the armies. Any one, therefore, may express his opinion in regard to this question.” [7]

Thereupon the Hyrcanian was the first to speak: “Friends and comrades, I, for my part, cannot see what is the use of words, when the facts themselves point out the best course to follow. For we all know that when we are together, we do the enemy more harm than they do us; whereas as long as we were apart, they treated us as was most agreeable to them and most disagreeable to us.” [8]

After him the Cadusian spoke: “Why,” said he, “should we talk about going back home and being separated from one another, since not even in the field, so it seems, is it well for us to get separated? At any rate, we not long ago went off on an expedition apart from your main body and paid for it, as you also know.” [9]

After him Artabazus, the one who once claimed to be a kinsman of Cyrus, made the following speech: “In one point, Cyaxares, I beg to differ from the previous speakers: they say that we must stay here and carry on the war; but I say that it was when I was at home that I was carrying on wars. [10] And I say truly; for I often had to go to the rescue when our property was being carried off; and when our fortresses were threatened, I often had trouble to defend them; I lived in constant fear and was kept continually on guard. And I fared thus at my own expense. But now we are in possession of their forts; I am in fear of them no longer; I revel in the good things of the enemy and drink what is theirs. Therefore, as life at home was warfare, while life here is a feast, I do not care to have this festal gathering break up.” [11]

After him Gobryas spoke: “Friends and comrades, up to the present time I have only praise for Cyrus’s faithfulness; for he has

not proved untrue in anything that he has promised. But if he leaves the country now, it is evident that the Assyrian will take new heart without having to pay any penalty for the wrongs he has attempted to do us all and for those which he has done me; and I, in my turn, shall pay to him the penalty for having been your friend.” [12]

Last of all Cyrus spoke: “I, too, am not unaware, my friends, that if we disband the army, our own situation would become weaker, while the enemy will again gather force. For as many of them as have been deprived of their arms will soon have new ones made, and as many as have been deprived of their horses will soon again procure others, while in place of those who have been killed others will have grown to young manhood to take their places. And so it will not be at all surprising, if in a very short time they are able again to give us trouble. [13]

“Why then do you suppose I suggested to Cyaxares to bring up the question of disbanding the army? Let me tell you; it was because I feared for the future; for I see foes advancing against us that we shall never be able to cope with, if we go on campaigning in our present fashion. [14] For winter is coming, you know; and even granting that we have shelter for ourselves, still, by Zeus, there will be none for our horses or for our attendants or for the rank and file of the army; and without them we could not carry on the war. The provisions, wherever we have gone, we have consumed; and where we have not gone, the people out of fear of us have conveyed them into their strongholds, so that they have them themselves, and we cannot get them. [15]

Who then is so valiant and so strong that he can prosecute a war while battling against hunger and cold? If, therefore, we propose to go on with the war as we have been doing, I maintain that we ought of our own free will to disband the army, rather than against our will to be driven out of the country by lack of means. But if we wish to go on with the war, this I say we must do: we must try as quickly as we may to get possession of as many as possible of their forts and build for ourselves as many as we can. For, if this is done, that side will have more provisions which is able to get and store up more, and those will be in a state of siege who are weaker. [16] As we are, we are not at all different from those who sail the seas: they keep on sailing

continually, but they leave the waters over which they have sailed no more their own than those over which they have not sailed. But if we get fortresses, these will alienate the country from the enemy while everything will be smooth sailing for us. [17]

“But perhaps some of you may fear that you will possibly have to do garrison duty far from your own country. You need have no hesitation on that score. For since we are far from home in any event, we will take it upon ourselves to do the garrison duty for you in the places nearest to the enemy; but those parts of Assyria which are on your own borders — do you take possession of them and cultivate them. [18] For if we can safely guard what is near the enemy, you will enjoy a plenitude of peace in possession of the regions far away from them; for they, I trow, will not be able to neglect those who are close to them, while they lay schemes against those who are far away.” [19]

After these speeches all the rest, and Cyaxares with them, stood up and declared that they would be glad to co-operate with him in these plans. And Gadatas and Gobryas said that if the allies would permit them, they would each of them build a fortress, so that the allies should have these also on their side. [20]

Accordingly, when Cyrus saw that all were ready to do whatever he suggested, he finally said: “Well then, if we wish to put into execution what we say we ought to do, we should as soon as possible procure siege-engines to demolish the enemy’s forts, and builders to erect strong towers for our own defence.” [21]

Hereupon Cyaxares promised to have an engine made at his own expense and to put it at their disposal, Gadatas and Gobryas promised another, and Tigranes a third; Cyrus said that he would himself try to furnish two. [22] When this had been agreed upon, they set to work to procure engine-builders and to furnish whatever was needed for the construction of the engines; and they put in charge of it men whom they considered most competent to attend to this work. [23]

Since Cyrus realized that a long time would be required for the execution of these designs, he encamped with his army in a place which he thought was most healthful and most readily accessible for conveying there everything that was necessary. And wherever any point needed further strengthening, he made provision that those who

from time to time remained there should be in safety, even if he should be encamped at a distance with the main body of his forces. [24] But in addition to this, he made constant inquiry of those whom he thought likely to know about the country from what parts of it the army might get supplies as plentifully as possible and kept leading his men out on foraging expeditions; this he did partly that he might get supplies for the army in as great abundance as possible, partly that they might become inured to labour through these expeditions and might thus be in better health and strength, and partly that by such marches they might be enabled to keep their respective positions in mind. [25]

Thus, then, Cyrus was occupied.

From Babylon a report was now brought by deserters and confirmed by his prisoners of war, that the Assyrian king had gone off in the direction of Lydia with many talents of gold and silver and with other treasures and jewels of every sort. [26] So it became general talk among the rank and file of the soldiers that he was already conveying his treasures to a place of safety because he was afraid. But Cyrus, recognizing that he had gone for the purpose of forming, if he could, a coalition against him, made vigorous counter preparation in the expectation that he would have to fight again. And so he set about bringing to its full complement the Persian cavalry, for which he obtained horses, some requisitioned from the captives, and a certain number also presented to him by his friends; for he accepted such gifts from every one and never refused anything, whether any one offered him a fine weapon or a horse. [27]

Besides, with the chariots taken from the enemy and with whatever others he could get he equipped a corps of chariots of his own. The method of managing a chariot employed of old at Troy and that in vogue among the Cyrenaeans even unto this day he abolished; for in previous times people in Media and in Syria and in Arabia, and all the people in Asia used the chariot just as the Cyrenaeans now do. [28] But it seemed to him that inasmuch as the best men were mounted on the chariots, that part which might have been the chief strength of the army acted only the part of skirmishers and did not contribute anything of importance to the victory. For three hundred chariots call for three hundred combatants and require twelve

hundred horses. And the fighting men must of course have as drivers the men in whom they have most confidence, that is, the best men to be had. That makes three hundred more, who do not do the enemy the least harm. [29] So he abolished this method of handling chariots, and in place of it he had chariots of war constructed with strong wheels, so that they might not easily be broken, and with long axles; for anything broad is less likely to be overturned. The box for the driver he constructed out of strong timbers in the form of a turret; and this rose in height to the drivers' elbows, so that they could manage the horses by reaching over the top of the box; and, besides, he covered the drivers with mail, all except their eyes. [30] On both sides of the wheels, moreover, he attached to the axles steel scythes about two cubits long and beneath the axles other scythes pointing down toward the ground; this was so arranged with the intention of hurling the chariots into the midst of the enemy. And as Cyrus constructed them at that time, such even to this day are the chariots in use in the king's dominions.

He also had a large number of camels, some collected from among his friends and some taken in war, all brought together. [31] Thus these plans were being put into execution.

Now, he wished to send some one as a spy into Lydia to find out what the Assyrian was doing, and it seemed to him that Araspas, the guardian of the beautiful woman, was the proper person to go on this mission. Now Araspas's case had taken a turn like this: he had fallen in love with the lady and could not resist the impulse to approach her with amorous proposals. [32] But she repulsed his advances and was true to her husband, although he was far away; for she loved him devotedly. Still, she did not accuse Araspas to Cyrus, for she shrank from making trouble between friends. [33] But when Araspas, thinking that he should thus further the attainment of his desires, threatened the woman that he would use force if she would not submit willingly, then in fear of outrage the lady no longer kept it secret but sent her eunuch to Cyrus with instructions to tell him the whole story. [34] When Cyrus heard it he laughed outright at the man who had claimed to be superior to the passion of love; and he sent Artabazus back with the eunuch and bade him warn Araspas not to lay violent hands upon such a woman; but if he could win her consent, he himself would

interpose no objection. [35] So, when Artabazus came to Araspas, he rebuked him severely, saying that the woman had been given to him in trust; and he dwelt upon his ungodliness, sinfulness, and sensuality, until Araspas shed bitter tears of contrition and was overwhelmed with shame and frightened to death lest Cyrus should punish him. [36] So, when Cyrus learned of this he sent for him and had a talk with him in private. "I see, Araspas," said he, "that you are afraid of me and terribly overcome with shame. Do not feel that way, pray; for I have heard say that even gods are victims of love; and as for mortals, I know what even some who are considered very discreet have suffered from love. And I had too poor an opinion of myself to suppose that I should have the strength of will to be thrown in contact with beauty and be indifferent to it. Besides, I am myself responsible for your condition, for it was I that shut you up with this irresistible creature." [37] "Aye, Cyrus," said Araspas, interrupting him, "you are in this, just as in everything else, gentle and forgiving of human errors. Other men make me ready to sink with my shame; for ever since the report of my fall got out, my enemies have been exulting over me, while my friends come to me and advise me to keep out of the way, for fear that you punish me for committing so great a wrong." [38] "Let me tell you then, Araspas," said Cyrus, "that by reason of this very report which people have heard in regard to you, you are in a position to do me a very great favour and to be of great assistance to our allies."

"Would that some occasion might arise," answered Araspas, "in which I could be of service to you." [39] "If, then," said the other, "under pretence that you were fleeing from me you would go over into the enemy's country, I believe they would trust you."

"Aye, by Zeus," said Araspas, "and I know that even with my friends I could start the story that I was running away from you." [40] "Then you would return to us," said he, "with full information about the enemy's condition and plans. And I suppose that because of their trusting you they would make you a participant in their discussions and counsels, so that not a single thing that we wish to know would be hidden from you."

"Depend upon it," said he, "I will start at once; and one of the circumstances that will gain my story credence will be the

appearance that I have run away because I was likely to be punished by you.” [41] “And will you be able to give up the beautiful Panthea?” asked Cyrus.

“Yes, Cyrus,” said he; “for I evidently have two souls. I have now worked out this doctrine of philosophy in the school of that crooked sophist, Eros. For if the soul is one, it is not both good and bad at the same time, neither can it at the same time desire the right and the wrong, nor at the same time both will and not will to do the same things; but it is obvious that there are two souls, and when the good one prevails, what is right is done; but when the bad one gains the ascendancy, what is wrong is attempted. And now, since she has taken you to be her ally, it is the good soul that has gained the mastery, and that completely.” [42] “Well then,” answered Cyrus, “if you also have decided to go, this is what you must do so as to gain the more credence with them: tell them all about our affairs, but frame your account in such a way that your information will be the greatest possible hindrance to the success of their plans. And it would be a hindrance, if you should represent that we were making ready to invade their country at some point; for upon hearing this, they would be less likely to gather in full force, as each man would be afraid for his own possessions at home. [43] And stay with them as long as possible; for the most valuable information we can have will be in regard to what they are doing when they have come nearest to us. And advise them also to marshal themselves in whatever order seems best; for when you come away, it will be necessary for them to retain this order, even though they think you are familiar with it. For they will be slow to change it, and, if on the spur of the moment they make a change anywhere, they will be thrown into confusion.” [44]

Then Araspas withdrew; he got together the most trusted of his attendants, told some of his friends such things as he thought would contribute to the success of his scheme, and was gone. [45]

When Panthea learned that Araspas had gone away, she sent word to Cyrus, saying: “Do not be distressed, Cyrus, that Araspas has gone over to the enemy; for if you will allow me to send to my husband, I can guarantee you that a much more faithful friend will come to you than Araspas was. And what is more, I know that he will come to you with as many troops as he can bring. For while the father of the

present king was his friend, this present king once even attempted to separate me from my husband. Inasmuch, therefore, as he considers the king an insolent scoundrel, I am sure that he would be glad to transfer his allegiance to such a man as you.” [46]

When Cyrus heard that, he bade her send word to her husband; and she did so. And when Abradatas read the cipher message sent by his wife and was informed how matters stood otherwise, he joyfully proceeded with about a thousand horse to join Cyrus. When he came up to the Persian sentries, he sent to Cyrus to let him know who it was; and Cyrus gave orders to take him at once to his wife. [47]

And when Abradatas and his wife saw each other they embraced each other with joy, as was natural, considering they had not expected ever to meet again. Thereafter Panthea told of Cyrus’s piety and self-restraint and of his compassion for her.

“Tell me, Panthea,” said Abradatas when he heard this, “what can I do to pay the debt of gratitude that you and I owe to Cyrus?”

“What else, pray,” said Panthea, “than to try to be to him what he has been to you?” [48]

Later Abradatas went to Cyrus. When he saw him he took his right hand in his and said: “In return for the kindnesses you have done us, Cyrus, I do not know what more to say than that I offer myself to you to be your friend, your servant, your ally. And in whatsoever enterprise I see you engage, I shall try to co-operate with you to the very best of my ability.” [49]

“And I accept your offer,” said Cyrus. “And now I will take leave of you and let you go to dinner with your wife. Some other time you will be expected to dine at my headquarters with your friends and mine.” [50]

After this, as Abradatas observed that Cyrus was busily engaged with the scythe-bearing chariots and the mailed horses and riders, he tried to contribute from his own cavalry as many as a hundred chariots like them; and he made ready to lead them in person upon his chariot. [51] He had the harnessing of his own chariot, moreover, arranged with four poles and eight horses abreast; [and his wife, Panthea, with here own money had a golden corselet made for him and a helmet and armlet of gold;] and he had the horses of his chariot equipped with armour of solid bronze. [52]

Such was the work of Abradatas; and when Cyrus saw his chariot with four poles, he conceived the idea that it was possible to make one even with eight poles, so as to move with eight yoke of oxen the lowest story of his movable towers; including the wheels, this portion was about three fathoms high from the ground. [53] Moreover, when such towers were taken along with each division of the army, it seemed to him that they were a great help to his own phalanx and would occasion great loss to the ranks of the enemy. And on the different stories he constructed galleries also and battlements; and on each tower he stationed twenty men. [54]

Now when all the appurtenances of his towers were put together, he made an experiment of their draught; and the eight yoke of oxen drew the tower with the men upon it more easily than each individual yoke could draw its **usual** load of baggage; for the load of baggage was about twenty-five talents to the yoke; whereas the weight of the tower, on which the timbers were as thick as those of the tragic stage, together with the twenty men and their arms amounted to less than fifteen talents to each yoke of oxen. [55]

Inasmuch, therefore, as he found that the hauling of the towers was easy, he made ready to take them with the army, for he thought that seizing an advantage in time of war was at once safety and justice and happiness.

2. At this juncture, representatives from the Indian king arrived with money; they announced also that the Indian king sent him the following message: "I am glad, Cyrus, that you let me know what you needed. I desire to be your friend, and I am sending you the money, and if you need more, send for it. Moreover, my representatives have been instructed to do whatever you ask." [2]

"Well then," said Cyrus, when he heard this, "I ask some of you to remain where you have been assigned quarters and keep guard of this money and live as best pleases you, while three of you will please go to the enemy on pretence of having been sent by the king of India to make an alliance between them and him; and when you have learned how things stand there, what they are doing and proposing to do, bring word of it as soon as possible to me and to your king. And if

you perform this service acceptably, I shall be even more grateful to you for that than I am for your bringing the money with which you have come. And this is service which you are eminently fitted to perform; for spies disguised as slaves can give information of nothing more in their reports than what every one knows; whereas men in your capacity often discover even what is being planned.” [3]

The Indians were naturally pleased to hear this, and when they had been entertained by Cyrus, they made ready and set out on the following day with the solemn promise that when they had learned as much as they could they would return from the enemy’s side with all possible dispatch. [4]

The rest of his preparations for war Cyrus now continued on a magnificent scale, for he was planning no mean enterprise; and he provided not only for that which his allies had agreed upon but he also inspired his friends to rivalry among themselves, in order that each complement might strive to show its men the best armed soldiers, the most skilled horsemen, the best marksmen with spear or bow, and the most industrious workers. [5] And, as a means of accomplishing this, he took them out to hunt and rewarded those who were in each particular most efficient. Furthermore, those officers who, he saw, were eager to have their own soldiers most efficient he spurred on with praise and with whatever favours he could bestow. [6] And then, too, whenever he performed a sacrifice or celebrated a festival, he instituted in connection with it contests in all those events in which people train as a discipline for war, and to the victors he offered splendid prizes; and the whole camp was in the best of spirits. [7]

Cyrus now had almost everything ready that he wished to have for his expedition except the engines of war. For the ranks of his Persian horse were now filled up to the number of ten thousand, the scythe-bearing chariots that he himself had had constructed had now reached the full number of one hundred, and those which Abradatas of Susa had undertaken to secure like those of Cyrus had also reached the full number of one hundred more. [8]

And Cyrus had persuaded Cyaxares to transform the Median chariots also from the Trojan and Libyan type to this same style, and these amounted to another full hundred. For the camel corps,

bowmen were detailed, two upon each camel. Thus the rank and file of the army generally cherished the feeling that the victory was already perfectly assured and that the enemy's side was as nothing. [9]

While they were in this state of mind, the Indians that Cyrus had sent as spies to the enemy's camp returned with the report that Croesus had been chosen field-marshal and commander-in-chief of all the enemy's hosts, that all the allied kings had decided to join him with their entire forces, to contribute vast sums of money, and to expend them in hiring what soldiers they could and in giving presents to those whom they were under obligations to reward. [10] They reported also that many Thracian swordsmen had already been hired and that Egyptians were under sail to join them, and they gave the number as one hundred and twenty thousand men armed with shields that came to their feet, with huge spears, such as they carry even to this day, and with sabres. Besides these, there was also the Cyprian army. The Cilicians were all present already, they said, as were also the contingents from both Phrygias, Lycaonia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Arabia, and Phoenicia; the Assyrians were there under the king of Babylon; the Ionians also and the Aeolians and almost all the Greek colonists in Asia had been compelled to join Croesus, and Croesus had even sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate an alliance. [11] This army, they said, was being mustered at the River Pactolus, but it was their intention to advance to Thymbrara, where even to-day is the rendezvous of the king's barbarians from the interior. And a general call had been issued to bring provisions to market there.

The prisoners also told practically the same story as the Indian spies; for this was another thing that Cyrus always looked out for — that prisoners should be taken, from whom he was likely to gain some intelligence. And he used also to send out spies disguised as slaves to pretend that they were deserters from him. [12]

When Cyrus's army heard this report, they were disturbed, as was natural; they went about more subdued than had been their wont, they gathered in groups, and every corner was full of people discussing the situation and asking one another's opinion. [13]

When Cyrus perceived that a panic was spreading through his army, he called together the officers of the different divisions and all others whose despondency he thought might cause injury and whose

enthusiasm would be a help. And he sent word to his aides-de-camp that if any one else of the armed soldiers wished to attend the meeting and listen to the speeches, they should not hinder him. And when they had come together, he addressed them as follows: [14]

“Friends and allies, I have called you together because I observed that when this news came from the enemy, some of you looked as if you were frightened. Now it seems strange to me that any of you should really be afraid because the enemy are mustering; but when you see that we are mustered in much larger numbers than we had when we defeated them and that we are now, thank heaven, much better equipped than we were then — it is strange that when you see this you are not filled with courage! [15]

“What in the name of heaven, pray, would you who are now afraid have done, if the situation were reversed and some one told you that these forces that we have now were coming against us? And what, if you heard, in the first place, that those who had defeated us before were coming again, their hearts full of the victory they then gained; and, in the second place, that those who before made short work of the skirmishing lines of bowmen and spearmen were now coming and others like them many times their number; [16] and, in the third place, that, equipped in the same armour in which they were armed when their infantry defeated our infantry, they have cavalry now coming to meet our cavalry; that they have rejected the bow and the javelin, and that each man has adopted one heavy lance and is resolved to ride up and fight hand to hand? [17] And again, what would you have done, if you heard that chariots are coming which are not, as before, to stand still facing back as if for flight, but that the horses harnessed to the chariots are covered with mail, while the drivers stand in wooden towers and the parts of their body not defended by the towers are completely panoplied in breast-plates and helmets; and that scythes of steel have been fitted to the axles, and that it is the intention to drive these also into the ranks of the enemy? [18] Or again, if you heard that they have camels on which they will ride up to us, and a hundred horses could not endure the sight of any one of them? And again, that they are coming with towers, from which they will protect their comrades and by throwing missiles hinder us from fighting in a fair field? [19] If any one reported to you

that this was the condition of things among the enemy, what would you, who are now so frightened, have done, seeing that you were terrified when the report came that Croesus had been elected commander-in-chief of the enemy — Croesus, who was a worse coward than the Syrians; for the Syrians fled because they were defeated in the battle, whereas Croesus, instead of standing by his allies, beat a hasty retreat when he saw that they were defeated? [20] And finally, you see, the report is brought that the enemy do not feel that they are strong enough to fight us by themselves, but are hiring others in the hope that these will fight for them more valiantly than they can for themselves. However, if there are any to whom the situation over there — such as it is — seems formidable, while our own condition seems contemptible, I say, men, that we ought to send them over to the enemy, for they would be much more useful to us over there than in our ranks.” [21]

When Cyrus had finished his speech, Chrysantas, the Persian, arose and spoke as follows: “Do not wonder, Cyrus, that some looked disconsolate when they heard the report; for it was not from fear that they felt this, but from vexation — just as, if it should be announced, when people are ready and waiting to sit down to luncheon, that there is some work that they must do before they may eat, not one, I venture to say, would be pleased to hear it. So we also, thinking we were just on the point of getting rich, all put on a disconsolate look when we heard that there was some work left over which we must do; and it was not because we were frightened, but because we wished that this, too, were already accomplished. [22]

“But our disappointment is past, seeing that we are to contend not for Syria only, where there is an abundance of grain and flocks and date-palms, but for Lydia as well; for in that land there is an abundance of wine and figs and olive oil, and its shores are washed by the sea; and over its waters more good things are brought than any one has ever seen — when we think of that,” said he, “we are no longer vexed, but our courage rises to the highest point, with desire to come all the more quickly into the enjoyment of these good things in Lydia also.”

Thus he spoke; and the allies were all pleased with his speech and applauded. [23]

“And indeed, my friends,” said Cyrus, “I propose that we move against them as soon as possible, in the first place that we may reach the place where their supplies are being collected, before they do, if we can; and in the second place, because the faster we march the less perfected we shall find their arrangements and the greater we shall find their deficiencies. [24] This, then, is my proposal; but if any one thinks that any other course would be safer or easier for us, let him inform us.”

Many supported him, saying that it was expedient to proceed as soon as possible against the enemy, and no one opposed his plan; so Cyrus began to speak as follows: [25]

“Friends and allies, our souls and bodies and the arms that we shall have to use have, with God’s help, long since been made ready. And now for the march we must get together for ourselves and for the animals that we use provisions for not less than twenty days; for in reckoning it up, I find that there will be more than fifteen days’ journey in which we shall find no provisions at all; for everything there has been made away with: the enemy took all that they could, and we have taken the rest. [26] Accordingly, we must put up and carry with us food enough; for without this we should be unable either to fight or to live. As for wine, each one ought to take along only enough to last till we accustom ourselves to drinking water; for the greater part of the march will be through a country where there is no wine, and for that all the wine we can carry will not suffice, even if we take along a very great quantity. [27] That we may not, therefore, fall a prey to sickness when we suddenly find ourselves deprived of wine, we must take this course: let us now begin at once to drink water at our meals, for by so doing we shall not greatly change our manner of living. [28] For whoever eats barley bread always eats meal that has been kneaded up with water, and whoever eats wheaten bread eats of a loaf that was mixed with water; and everything boiled is prepared with water in very liberal quantities. So, if after the meal we drink some wine, our soul will lack nothing and find refreshment. [29] But later on we must also gradually diminish the amount taken after dinner, until unconsciously we have become teetotalers. For gradual transition helps any nature to bear changes. Why, God teaches us that, by leading us gradually from winter to endure the

burning heat of summer, and from the heat of summer to the rigours of winter; and we should imitate Him and reach the end we would attain by accustoming ourselves beforehand. [30]

“For your heavy blankets you may substitute an equal weight of provisions; for excess of provisions will not be useless. And do not be afraid that you will not sleep soundly for want of your blankets; if you do not, I will take the blame. However, if any one has a generous supply of clothing with him, that will be of good service to him whether he be well or ill. [31]

“For meats, we must pack up and take along only such as are sharp, pungent, salty; for these not only stimulate the appetite but also afford the most lasting nourishment. And when we come out into a country that has not been plundered, where we are at once likely to find grain again, we must then have hand-mills ready made with which to prepare food, for these are the lightest of the implements used in making bread. [32]

“Again, we must take with us the things that sick people need; for the weight they add is very small and, if we have a case of sickness, they will be very necessary.

“We must also have plenty of straps; for nearly everything that men and horses have is fastened on with straps, and when these wear out or break, everything must come to a standstill, unless one has some extra ones.

“And it will be a good thing for the man who has been taught how to smooth down a spear-shaft not to forget a rasp; and it will be well to bring along a file too; [33] for he that whets his spear whets his courage, in a way, at the same time; for a man must be overcome with shame to be whetting his spear and yet feel himself a coward.

“We must also have a good supply of lumber for the chariots and the wagons, for from constant use many parts necessarily become defective. We must have also the most indispensable tools for all these purposes; [34] for we shall not find mechanics everywhere, and almost any one can make what will serve for a day. Besides these, we must have a shovel and mattock for every wagon, and for each pack-animal an axe and a sickle; for these are useful to each one individually and often serviceable for the common good as well. [35]

“As to what is needed for the commissariat, you officers of the

armed soldiers must make inquiry of the men under you, for we must not overlook anything of this sort that any one may need; for it is we that shall feel the want of it, if it is lacking. In reference to what I order for the pack-animals, you officers of the baggage-train must inquire into the matter, and if any man is not properly provided, require him to procure what is lacking. [36]

“You superintendents of the engineering corps have here from me a list of the spearmen, the archers, and the slingers, whose names have been stricken from the roster. You must require those of them who were spearmen to carry on the march a woodcutter’s axe, those who were bowmen a mattock, and those who were slingers a shovel. With these tools they are to march in squads ahead of the wagons, so that, in case there is any need of road-building, you may get to work without delay, and so that, if I require their services, I may know where to find them when the time comes. [37]

“And finally I shall take along those of an age for military service who are smiths and carpenters and cobblers, in order that, if anything is wanted in the army in the line of their trades also, we may not suffer for lack of it. And they shall be relieved of assignments to duty under arms, but they shall occupy the position assigned to them and there ply their trades for pay at the order of whoever wishes their services. [38]

“And any merchant who wishes to accompany us, seeking a market for his wares, may do so; but if he is caught trying to sell anything within the number of days for which the troops are ordered to furnish their own provisions, he shall have all his goods confiscated. But when those days are past, he may sell as he pleases. And the man who seems to offer the largest stock of goods shall receive rewards and preferment both from the allies and from myself. [39] And if any merchant thinks he needs more money for the purchase of supplies, let him bring me vouchers for his respectability and identity, and sureties as a pledge that he is really going with the army, and he shall receive a certain amount from the fund we have.

“These are the directions I have to give in advance. If any one thinks of anything else that we need, let him inform me of it. [40]

“Now do you go and make ready, and I will sacrifice for a blessing upon our start; and when the omens from the gods are

favourable, we shall give the signal, and all must come equipped with what has been prescribed and join their own commanders at the place appointed. [41] And all of you officers, when you have made ready each his own division, come to me that you may acquaint yourselves with your several positions.”

3. When they heard this they began to make ready for the march, and Cyrus proceeded to sacrifice; and when the omens of the sacrifice were favourable, he set out with the army. On the first day he left the position he had occupied and encamped again as near as convenient to it. This he did, in order that, in case any one had forgotten anything, he might go back after it; and if any one discovered that he needed anything, he might still procure it. [2]

Cyaxares, however, remained behind with one third of the Medes, so as not to leave the home country unprotected, while Cyrus, with the cavalry at the head of the line, marched as rapidly as possible; but he never failed to send patrols ahead, and scouts up to the heights commanding the widest view before them. After these he arranged the baggage train, and where the country was flat he arranged many lines of wagons and pack-animals abreast; the phalanx followed next, and if any part of the baggage train lagged behind, such of the officers as happened to be at hand took care that they and their men should not be retarded in their advance. [3] But when the road was narrower, the soldiers put the baggage in between their lines and marched on either side of it; and if they met with any hindrance, those of the soldiers who were near the place took the matter in hand. For the most part, the companies marched with their own baggage next to them; for the baggage captains had orders to go along with their own respective companies unless something unavoidable should prevent it. [4] And the baggage man of each captain went ahead bearing an ensign that was known to the men of his own company. They were thus enabled to march close together, and they were extremely careful, each of his own property, that nothing should be left behind. As they maintained this order, it was never necessary for them to look for one another, and at the same time everything was kept close at hand and in greater safety, and the soldiers always obtained more promptly anything that was wanted. [5]

Now the scouts who went forward thought they saw men getting

fodder and fuel on the plain; and they also saw beasts of burden, some loaded with other supplies of that sort and others grazing. Then, as they looked further on into the distance, they thought that they detected smoke or a cloud of dust rising up. From all these evidences they pretty well recognised that the army of the enemy was somewhere in the neighbourhood. [6] Accordingly, the officer in command of the scouts at once sent a man to report the news to Cyrus; and when he heard it he ordered them to remain at their look-out place and send him reports from time to time of whatever they saw that was new. Moreover, he sent forward a company of cavalry with orders to try to capture some of the men moving up and down the plain, in order that he might learn more definitely the real state of affairs. Accordingly, those who received these orders proceeded to execute them. [7]

He himself halted the rest of the army there, so that they might make what preparations he considered necessary before they were in too close quarters. And he gave the word to take luncheon first and then to remain at their posts and be on the watch for orders. [8] So, when they had eaten, he summoned together the commanders of the cavalry, the infantry, and the chariot corps, and also the officers in charge of the engines, of the baggage train, and of the wagons, and they came. [9] And those who made the raid into the plain had captured some people and now brought them in; and the prisoners, when cross-questioned by Cyrus, said that they were from the camp and had come out after fodder, passing out beyond their advanced guards, while others had gone after fuel; for by reason of the vast numbers of their army, everything was scarce. [10] On hearing this, Cyrus asked: "How far from here is your army?"

"About two parasangs," they replied.

"Was there any talk about us over there?" Cyrus then asked.

"Yes, by Zeus," they answered, "a great deal, and to the effect that you were already close upon us in your advance."

"Tell me, then," said Cyrus, "were they glad when they heard we were coming?" This question he asked for the benefit of the bystanders.

"No, by Zeus," they answered; "they were not glad in the least, but were rather very much troubled." [11]

“And what are they doing now?” asked Cyrus.

“They are being marshalled in battle array,” they answered; “and yesterday and the day before they were doing the same.”

“And the marshal,” said Cyrus, “who is he?”

“Croesus himself,” they replied, “and with him a Greek and some one else — a Mede; the latter, however, was said to be a deserter from your side.”

“Grant, O Zeus almighty,” said Cyrus, “that it be mine to get hold of him, as I desire!” [12]

Then he ordered the prisoners to be led away, and turned to the bystanders as if to say something. But at that moment another messenger came from the captain of the scouts with word that a large body of cavalry was within sight on the plain. “And we presume,” he added, “that they are coming with the intention of reconnoitring the army here. And we have good reasons for the suspicion, for at a considerable distance in advance of this company about thirty other horsemen are riding forward; as a matter of fact, they are riding in the direction of our party, aiming perhaps, if possible, to get possession of our look-out point; and we who are holding this particular point are only ten in number.” [13]

So Cyrus ordered a detachment of the horsemen who formed his body-guard to ride up to the foot of the place of look-out and to remain quiet there out of sight of the enemy. “But,” he added, “when our ten leave the look-out place, rush up and attack the enemy as they come up it. But that the horsemen of the large battalion may not bring you to grief, do you, Hystaspas,” said he to that officer, “take your regiment of cavalry, go out against them, and show yourself over against the enemy’s battalion. But do not by any means allow yourself to pursue into places that you do not know, but when you have made sure that the look-out stations remain in your possession, come back. And if any ride toward you, holding up their right hands, receive them as friends.” [14]

Accordingly, Hystaspas went away and donned his armour; the men from Cyrus’s body-guard rode off at once, as he had ordered. And just within the picket line there met them, with his attendants, the man who had been sent some time since as a spy, the guardian of the lady of Susa. [15] So when Cyrus heard this, he sprang up from his

seat, went to meet him, and welcomed him cordially; and the rest, knowing nothing of the facts, were naturally astonished at his actions until Cyrus said: "My friends, here has come a man most loyal; for now all the world must know at once what he has done. He went away not because his disgrace was too great for him to bear, nor because he feared my displeasure, but because I sent him to discover for us the exact condition of the enemy and to report to us the true state of affairs. [16] And now, Araspas, I have not forgotten what I promised you, and I will fulfil it, and all these men shall help me; for it is only right, my friends, that you also should all honour him as a valiant man. For, for our general good, he has risked his life and borne the stigma that was put upon him." [17]

Then all embraced Araspas and gave him a hearty welcome. But Cyrus, remarking that there had been enough of that, added, "Tell us, Araspas, what it is of the first importance for us to know; and do not detract anything from the truth nor underrate the real strength of the enemy. For it is better for us to think it greater and find it less than to hear that it is less and find it really more formidable." [18]

"Aye," said Araspas, "but I did take steps to get the most accurate information about the size of their army; for I was present in person and helped to draw it up in battle order."

"And so," said Cyrus, "you are acquainted not only with their numbers but also with their order of battle."

"Yes, by Zeus," answered Araspas, "I am; and I know also how they are planning to conduct the battle."

"Good," said Cyrus; "still, tell us first, in round numbers, how many of them there are." [19]

"Well," he replied, "with the exception of the Egyptians, they are all drawn up thirty deep, both foot and horse, and their front extends about forty stadia; for I took especial pains to find out how much space they covered." [20]

"And how are the Egyptians drawn up?" asked Cyrus; "for you said 'with the exception of the Egyptians.'"

"The brigadier-generals drew them up — each one ten thousand men, a hundred square; for this, they said, was their manner of arranging their order of battle at home. And Croesus consented to their being so drawn up, but very reluctantly, for he wished to

outflank your army as much as possible.”

“And what is his object in doing that, pray?” asked Cyrus.

“In order, by Zeus,” he replied, “to surround you with the part that extends beyond your line.”

“Well,” said Cyrus, “they may have an opportunity to find out whether the surrounders may not be surrounded. [21] Now we have heard from you what it is of the first importance for us to learn. And you, my men, must carry out the following programme: when you leave me, look at once to your own accoutrement and that of your horses; for often, for want of a trifle, man or horse or chariot becomes useless. And early to-morrow morning, during the time that I shall be sacrificing, first you must all breakfast, both men and horses, so that we may not fail in anything that it may be of importance for us to do in any exigency.

“And then do you, Arsamas,” said he,...”and you <Chrysantas> take charge of the right wing, as you always have done, and the rest of you brigadier-generals take the posts you now have. When the race is on, it is not the time for any chariot to change horses. So instruct your captains and lieutenants to form a line with each separate platoon two deep.” <Now each platoon contained twenty-four men.> [22]

“And do you think, Cyrus,” said one of the generals, “that drawn up with lines so shallow we shall be a match for so deep a phalanx?”

“When phalanxes are too deep to reach the enemy with weapons,” answered Cyrus, “how do you think they can either hurt their enemy or help their friends? [23] For my part, I would rather have these hoplites who are arranged in columns a hundred deep drawn up ten thousand deep; for in that case we should have very few to fight against. According to the depth that I shall give my line of battle, I think I shall bring the entire line into action and make it everywhere mutually helpful. [24] I shall bring up the spearmen immediately behind the heavy-armed troops, and the bowmen immediately behind the spearmen; for why should any one put in the front ranks those who themselves acknowledge that they could never withstand the shock of battle in a hand-to-hand encounter? But with the heavy-armed troops as a shield in front of them, they will stand their ground; and the one division with their spears, the other with their

arrows will rain destruction upon the enemy, over the heads of all the lines in front. And whatever harm any one does to the enemy, in all this he obviously lightens the task of his comrades. [25] Behind all the rest I shall station the so-called rear-guard of veteran reserves. For just as a house, without a strong foundation or without the things that make a roof, is good for nothing, so likewise a phalanx is good for nothing, unless both front and rear are composed of valiant men. [26]

“Do you, therefore, take your positions as I direct, and you also, the officers of the light-armed troops, bring up your platoons immediately behind them, and you, the officers of the archery, fall in, in the same way, directly behind the light-armed troops. [27]

“Now you, the commander of the rear-guard, as you are behind all the rest with your men, issue orders to your own division that each man watch those immediately in front of him, encourage those who are doing their duty, threaten violently those who lag behind, and punish with death any one who turns his back with traitorous intent. For it is the duty of the men in the front ranks with word and deed to encourage those who follow them, while it is your business, who occupy the rear, to inspire the cowardly with greater fear than the enemy does. [28]

“That is what you have to attend to. Now you, Euphratas, who are commander of the division in charge of the engines, manage to have the teams that draw the towers follow as close as possible behind the phalanx. [29] And you, Dau+chus, who have command of the baggage-train, bring up all your division of the army next after the towers, and let your adjutants punish severely those who advance or fall behind further than is expedient. [30]

“And you, Carduchus, who have charge of the carriages which convey the women, bring them up in the rear next after the baggage-train. For, if all this follows, it will give an impression of numbers and will afford us an opportunity for an ambush; and if the enemy try to surround us, they will have to make a wider circuit; and the greater the circuit they have to make, the weaker they must necessarily make their line. [31]

“That is your course to pursue. But do you, Artaozus and Artagerses, have each of you a regiment of your infantry behind the carriages. [32] And you, Pharnuchus and Asiادات, keep each of you

the regiment of cavalry under your command out of the main line and take your stand by yourselves behind the carriages, and then come to me with the rest of the officers. You must be just as fully ready, though in the rear, as if you were to be the first to have to join battle. [33]

“And you, the commander of the men on camels, take your position also behind the women’s carriages and do whatever Artagerses commands you. [34]

“And finally, do you officers of the chariot forces cast lots, and let the one to whose lot it falls bring up his hundred chariots in front of the main line; of the other two hundred, one shall take its place in line upon the right flank of the army, the other on the left, and follow the phalanx each in single file.” [35]

Thus did Cyrus plan his order of battle.

But Abradatas, the king of Susa, said: “I will gladly volunteer to hold for you the post immediately in front of the enemy’s phalanx, Cyrus, unless you have some better plan.” [36]

And Cyrus admired his spirit and clasped his hand, and turning to the Persians in command of the other chariots he asked: “Do you consent to this?” But they answered that it was inconsistent with their idea of honour to yield the place to him; accordingly, he had them cast lots; and Abradatas was assigned by lot to the place for which he had volunteered, and took his place over against the Egyptians. [37]

This done, they went away, and when they had attended to the details of all that I have mentioned, they went to dinner; and then they stationed their pickets and went to bed.

4. Early on the following day Cyrus was sacrificing, and the rest of the army, after breakfasting and pouring libations, proceeded to array themselves with many fine tunics and corselets and helms. And they armed their horses also with frontlets and breastplates; the saddle-horses also they armed with thigh-pieces and the chariot teams with side-armour. And so the whole army flashed with bronze and was resplendent in purple. [2]

And Abradatas’s chariot with its four poles and eight horses was adorned most handsomely; and when he came to put on his linen corselet, such as they used in his country, Panthea brought him one of gold, also a helmet, arm-pieces, broad bracelets for his wrists —

all of gold — and a purple tunic that hung down in folds to his feet, and a helmet-plume of hyacinth dye. All these she had had made without her husband's knowledge, taking the measure for them from his armour. [3] And when he saw them he was astonished and turning to Panthea, he asked: "Tell me, wife, you did not break your own jewels to pieces, did you, to have this armour made for me?"

"No, by Zeus," answered Panthea, "at any rate, not my most precious jewel; for you, if you appear to others as you seem to me, shall be my noblest jewel."

With these words, she began to put the armour on him, and though she tried to conceal them, the tears stole down her cheeks. [4]

And when Abradatas was armed in his panoply he looked most handsome and noble, for he had been favoured by nature and, even unadorned, was well worth looking at; and taking the reins from his groom he was now making ready to mount his chariot. [5] But at this moment Panthea bade all who stood near to retire and then she said: "Abradatas, if ever any woman loved her husband more than her own life, I think you know that I, too, am such a one. Why, then, should I tell of these things one by one? For I think that my conduct has given you better proof of it than any words I now might say. [6] Still, with the affection that you know I have for you, I swear to you by my love for you and yours for me that, of a truth, I would far rather go down into the earth with you, if you approve yourself a gallant soldier, than live disgraced with one disgraced: so worthy of the noblest lot have I deemed both you and myself. [7] And to Cyrus I think we owe a very large debt of gratitude, because, when I was his prisoner and allotted to him, he did not choose to keep me either as his slave or as a freewoman under a dishonourable name, but took me and kept me for you as one would a brother's wife. [8] And then, too, when Araspas, who had been charged with my keeping, deserted him, I promised him that if he would let me send to you, a far better and truer friend than Araspas would come to him, in you." [9]

Thus she spoke; and Abradatas, touched by her words, laid his hand upon her head and lifting up his eyes toward heaven prayed, saying: "Grant me, I pray, almighty Zeus, that I may show myself a husband worthy of Panthea and a friend worthy of Cyrus, who has shown us honour."

As he said this, he mounted his car by the doors in the chariot-box. [10] And when he had entered and the groom closed the box, Panthea, not knowing how else she could now kiss him good-bye, touched her lips to the chariot-box. And then at once his chariot rolled away, but she followed after, unknown to him, until Abradatas turned round and saw her and said: "Have a brave heart, Panthea, and farewell! And now go back." [11]

Then the eunuchs and maid-servants took her and conducted her to her carriage, where they bade her recline, and hid her completely from view with the hood of the carriage. And the people, beautiful as was the sight of Abradatas and his chariat, had no eyes for him, until Panthea was gone. [12]

Now when Cyrus found the omens from his sacrifice favourable, and when his army was arranged as he had instructed, he had posts of observation occupied, one in advance of another, and then called his generals together and addressed them as follows: [13] "Friends and allies, the gods have sent us omens from the sacrifice just like those we had when they gave the former victory into our hands. So I wish to remind you of some things which, if you will remember them, I think will make you go into battle with much stouter hearts. [14] On the one hand, you have received much better training in the arts of war than the enemy, you have lived together and drilled together in the same place for a much longer time now than they, and together you have won a victory; most of the enemy, on the other hand, have together suffered defeat. Some on both sides, however, were not in the battle; among these our enemies know that they have traitors by their sides, while you who are with us know that you are doing battle in company with those who are glad to stand by their comrades. [15] And it is a matter of course that those who trust one another will stand their ground and fight with one heart and mind, and that those who distrust each other will necessarily be scheming, each how he may get out of the way as quickly as possible. [16]

"Therefore, my men, let us go against the enemy, to fight in a hand-to-hand encounter, with our chariots armed, against theirs unarmed; and our horses and riders in like manner armed, against theirs unarmed. [17] The infantry that you will fight against, you have fought before — all but the Egyptians; and they are armed and drawn

up alike badly; for with those big shields which they have they cannot do anything or see anything; and drawn up a hundred deep, it is clear that they will hinder one another from fighting — all except a few. [18] But if they believe that by rushing they will rush us off the field, they will first have to sustain the charge of horses and of steel driven upon them by the force of horses; and if any of them should hold his ground, how will he be able to fight at the same time against cavalry and phalanxes and towers? And that he will have to do, for those upon our towers will come to our aid and raining their missiles upon the enemy will drive them to distraction rather than to fighting. [19]

“Still, if you think we need anything more, tell me; for with the help of the gods, we shall lack for nothing. So, if any one wishes to make any remarks, let him speak. If not, do you go to the place of sacrifice and pray to the gods to whom we have sacrificed and then go back to your posts. [20] And each one of you remind his own men of what I have called to your attention, and let each man prove to those whom he commands that he is himself worthy of command, by showing himself fearless in his bearing, in his countenance, and in his words.”

BOOK VII.

1. So when they had prayed to the gods they went back to their posts; and while Cyrus and his staff were still engaged with the sacrifice, their attendants brought them meat and drink. And Cyrus remained standing just as he was and first offered to the gods a part and then began his breakfast, and kept giving a share of it also from time to time to any one who most needed it. And when he had poured a libation and prayed, he drank; and the rest, his staff-officers, followed his example. After that, he prayed to ancestral Zeus to be their guide and helper and then mounted his horse and bade his staff do the same. [2] Now all Cyrus's staff were panoplied in armour the same as his: purple tunics, bronze corselets, bronze helmets with white plumes, and sabres; and each had a single spear with a shaft of cornel wood. Their horses were armed with frontlets, breast-pieces, and thigh-pieces of bronze; these served to protect the thighs of the rider as well. The arms of Cyrus differed from those of the rest in this only, that while the rest were overlaid with the ordinary gold colour, Cyrus's arms flashed like a mirror. [3]

Then, when he had mounted his horse and sat looking off in the direction he was to take, there was a clap of thunder on the right. "Almighty Zeus, we will follow thee," he cried, and started, with Chrysantas, the master of the horse, and the cavalry on the right, and on the left Arsamas and the infantry. [4] And he gave orders to keep an eye upon his ensign and advance in even step. Now his ensign was a golden eagle with outspread wings mounted upon a long shaft. And this continues even unto this day as the ensign of the Persian king.

Before they came in sight of the enemy, he halted the army as many as three times. [5] But when they had advanced about twenty stadia, then they began to get sight of the enemy's army coming on to meet them. And when they were all in sight of one another and the enemy became aware that they greatly outflanked the Persians on both sides, Croesus halted his centre — for otherwise it is impossible to execute a surrounding manoeuvre — and began to wheel the wings around to encompass the Persians, thus making his own lines

on either flank in form like a gamma, so as to close in and attack on all three sides at once. [6] But Cyrus, although he saw this movement, did not any the more recede but led on just as before.

“Do you observe, Chrysantas, where the wings are drawing off to form their angle with the centre?” he asked, as he noticed at what a distance from the centre column on both sides they made their turning point, and how far they were pushing forward their wings in executing their flanking movement.

“Indeed I do,” answered Chrysantas, “and I am surprised, too; for it strikes me that they are drawing their wings a long way off from their centre.”

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Cyrus, “and from ours, too.” [7]

“What, pray, is the reason for that?”

“Evidently because they are afraid their wings will get too close to us while their centre is still far away and that we shall thus close with them.”

“Then,” said Chrysantas, “how will the one division be able to support the other, when they are so far apart?”

“Well,” answered Cyrus, “it is obvious that just as soon as the wings now advancing in column get directly opposite the flanks of our army, they will face about so as to form front and then advance upon us from all three sides simultaneously; for it is their intention to close in on us on all sides at once.” [8]

“Well,” said Chrysantas, “do you then think their plan a good one?”

“Yes; to meet what they see. But in the face of what they do not see, it is even worse than if they were coming on in column. But do you, Arsamas,” said he, “lead on your infantry slowly, just as you see me moving; and you, Chrysantas, follow along with the cavalry in an even line with him; meanwhile I shall go to the point where it seems to me most advantageous to open the battle; and at the same time, as I pass along, I will take observations and see how everything is with our side. [9] But when I reach the spot, and as soon as in our advance we are near enough together, I will begin the paean, and then do you press on. And the moment we come to close quarters with the enemy, you will perceive it, for there will be no little noise, I presume; and at the same moment Abradatas will charge with his chariots upon the

enemy's lines — for so he will be instructed to do — and you must follow him, keeping as close as possible behind the chariots. For in this way we shall best throw the enemy into confusion and then fall upon them. And I also shall be there as soon as I can, please God, to join in the pursuit.” [10]

When he had spoken these words, he passed along the lines the watchword, Zeus our Saviour and Guide, and rode on. And as he passed between the lines of chariots and heavy-armed infantry and bestowed a glance upon some of those in the lines, he would say: “What a pleasure it is, my friends, to look into your faces.” And then again in the presence of others he would say: “I trust you remember, men, that in the present battle not only is to-day's victory at stake, but also the first victory you won and all our future success.” [11] Before still others, as he passed along, he would remark: “For all time to come, my men, we shall never have any more fault to find with the gods; for they have given us the opportunity of winning many blessings. So let us prove ourselves valiant men.” [12] Passing still others he said: “To what fairer common feast could we ever invite each other, my men, than to this one? For now by showing ourselves brave men we may each contribute many good things for our mutual benefit.” [13] Passing others he would say: “I suppose that you understand, men, that pursuing, dealing blows and death, plunder, fame, freedom, power — all these are now held up as prizes for the victors; the cowardly, of course, have the reverse of all this. Whoever, therefore, cares for himself, let him fight with me; for I will never bring myself to do anything base or cowardly, if I can help it.” [14] But whenever he came past any of those who had fought under him before, he would say: “What need to say anything to you, my men? For you know how the brave celebrate a day in battle, and how cowards.” [15]

And as he passed along and came to Abradatas, he stopped; and Abradatas, handing the reins to his groom, came toward him, and others also of those whose positions were near, both foot and chariot-drivers, ran up. And then to the company gathered about him Cyrus said: “Abradatas, God has approved your request that you and your men should take the front ranks among the allies. So now remember this, when presently it becomes necessary for you to enter the

conflict, that Persians will not only be your witnesses but will also follow you and will not let you go into the conflict unsupported.” [16]

“Well,” answered Abradatas, “to me at least our part of the army seems to be all right; but I am anxious for the flanks; for I see the enemy’s wings stretching out strong with chariots and troops of every description, while in the centre there is nothing opposed to our side except chariots; and so if I had not obtained this position by lot, I should, for my part, be ashamed of being here, so much the safest position do I think I occupy.” [17]

“Well,” said Cyrus, “if your part is all right, never fear for the others; for with the help of the gods I will clear those flanks of enemies for you. And do not you hurl yourself upon the opposing ranks, I adjure you, until you see in flight those whom you now fear.” Cyrus indulged in such boastful speech only on the eve of battle; at other times he was never boastful at all; and he went on: “But when you see them in flight, then be sure that I am already at hand, and charge upon those fellows; for at that moment you will find your opponents most cowardly and your own men valiant.” [18]

“But now, Abradatas, while you have time, by all means ride along your line of chariots and exhort your men to the charge, cheering them by your own looks and buoying them up with hopes. Furthermore, inspire them with a spirit of rivalry that you and your division may prove yourselves the best of the charioteers. And that will be worth while; for be assured that if we are successful to-day, all men in future will say that nothing is more profitable than valour.”

Abradatas accordingly mounted and drove along and did as Cyrus had suggested. [19]

And as Cyrus passed along again, he came to the left wing, where Hystaspas was with half the Persian cavalry; he called him and said: “Now, Hystaspas, you see some use for your speed; for now, if we can kill the enemy before they kill us, not one of us will perish.” [20]

“Well,” said Hystaspas laughing, “we will take care of those opposite us; assign those on the flank to another division, so that they also may have something to do.”

“Why,” said Cyrus, “I am going on to them myself. But remember this, Hystaspas, no matter to which of us God gives the victory first, if afterwards anything is left of any part of the enemy, let us all

engage any force that still continues the fight.” [21]

Thus he spoke and passed on. And as he went along the flank, he came to the general in command of the chariots there and to him he said: “Yes, I am coming to help you; but when you see us charging on the extremity of the enemy’s wing, then do you try at the same time to break through their lines; for you will be in a much securer position if you get clear through than if you are enclosed within their line.” [22]

And as he passed on again and came behind the women’s carriages, he ordered Artagerses and Pharnuchus with their respective regiments of infantry and cavalry to stay there. “But,” said he, “when you see me charging against those opposite our right wing, do you also attack those opposite you. And you will be in a phalanx — the formation in which you would be strongest — and take the enemy on their flank, the position in which an army is weakest. And, as you see, their cavalry stands furthest out; so by all means send against them the brigade of camels, and be assured that even before the battle begins you will see the enemy in a ridiculous plight.” [23]

When Cyrus had completed his round of the troops, he passed on to the right wing. And Croesus, thinking that the centre, which he commanded in person, was already nearer to the enemy than the wings that were spreading out beyond, gave a signal to his wings not to go out any further but to halt and face about. And when they had halted, and stood facing Cyrus’s army, Croesus gave them the signal to advance against the foe. [24] And so the three phalanxes advanced upon the army of Cyrus, one from in front, the other two against his wings, one from the right, the other from the left; in consequence, great fear came upon all his army. For just like a little tile set inside a large one, Cyrus’s army was encompassed by the enemy on every side, except the rear, with horsemen and hoplites, with targeteers and bowmen and chariots. [25] Still, when Cyrus gave the command, they all turned and faced the enemy. And deep silence reigned on every hand because of their apprehension as to what was coming. Then, when it seemed to Cyrus to be just the right time, he began the paean and all the army joined in the chant. [26] After it was finished, together they raised the battle-shout to Enyalios, and in that instant Cyrus dashed forward; and at once he hurled his cavalry upon the

enemy's flank and in a moment he was engaged with them hand to hand. With a rapid movement the infantry followed him in good order and began to envelop the enemy on this side and on that, so that he had them at a great disadvantage; for he clashed with a phalanx against their flank; and as a result, the enemy soon were in headlong flight. [27]

As soon as Artagerses saw Cyrus in action, he delivered his attack on the enemy's left, putting forward the camels, as Cyrus had directed. But while the camels were still a great way off, the horses gave way before them; some took fright and ran away, others began to rear, while others plunged into one another; for such is the usual effect that camels produce upon horses. [28] And Artagerses, with his men in order, fell upon them in their confusion; and at the same moment the chariots also charged on both the right and the left. And many in their flight from the chariots were slain by the cavalry following up their attack upon the flank, and many also trying to escape from the cavalry were caught by the chariots. [29]

And Abradatas also lost no more time, but shouting, "Now, friends, follow me," he swept forward, showing no mercy to his horses but drawing blood from them in streams with every stroke of the lash. And the rest of the chariot-drivers also rushed forward with him. And the opposing chariots at once broke into flight before them; some, as they fled, took up their dismounted fighting men, others left theirs behind. [30]

But Abradatas plunged directly through them and hurled himself upon the Egyptian phalanx; and the nearest of those who were arrayed with him also joined in the charge. Now, it has been demonstrated on many other occasions that there is no stronger phalanx than that which is composed of comrades that are close friends; and it was shown to be true on this occasion. For it was only the personal friends and mess-mates of Abradatas who pressed home the charge with him, while the rest of the charioteers, when they saw that the Egyptians with their dense throng withstood them, turned aside after the fleeing chariots and pursued them. [31] But in the place where Abradatas and his companions charged, the Egyptians could not make an opening for them because the men on either side of them stood firm; consequently, those of the enemy who stood upright were

struck in the furious charge of the horses and overthrown, and those who fell were crushed to pieces by the horses and the wheels, they and their arms; and whatever was caught in the scythes — everything, arms and men, was horribly mangled. [32]

As in this indescribable confusion the wheels bounded over the heaps of every sort, Abradatas and others of those who went with him into the charge were thrown to the ground, and there, though they proved themselves men of valour, they were cut down and slain.

Then the Persians, following up the attack at the point where Abradatas and his men had made their charge, made havoc of the enemy in their confusion; but where the Egyptians were still unharmed — and there were many such — they advanced to oppose the Persians. [33] Here, then, was a dreadful conflict with spears and lances and swords. The Egyptians, however, had the advantage both in numbers and in weapons; for the spears that they use even unto this day are long and powerful, and their shields cover their bodies much more effectually than corselets and targets, and as they rest against the shoulder they are a help in shoving. So, locking their shields Together, they advanced and showed. [34] And because the Persians had to hold out their little shields clutched in their hands, they were unable to hold the line, but were forced back foot by foot, giving and taking blows, until they came up under cover of the moving towers. When they reached that point, the Egyptians in turn received a volley from the towers; and the forces in the extreme rear would not allow any retreat on the part of either archers or lancers, but with drawn swords they compelled them to shoot and hurl. [35] Then there was a dreadful carnage, an awful din of arms and missiles of every sort, and a great tumult of men, as they called to one another for aid, or exhorted one another, or invoked the gods. [36]

At this juncture Cyrus came up in pursuit of the part that had been opposed to him; and when he saw that the Persians had been forced from their position, he was grieved; but as he realized that he could in no way check the enemy's progress more quickly than by marching around behind them, he ordered his men to follow him and rode around to the rear. There he fell upon the enemy as they faced the other way and smote them and slew many of them. [37] And when the Egyptians became aware of their position they shouted out that

the enemy was in their rear, and amidst the blows they faced about. And then they fought promiscuously both foot and horse; and a certain man, who had fallen under Cyrus's horse and was under the animal's heels, struck the horse in the belly with his sword. And the horse thus wounded plunged convulsively and threw Cyrus off. [38] Then one might have realized how much it is worth to an officer to be loved by his men; for they all at once cried out and leaping forward they fought, shoved and were shoved, gave and received blows. And one of his aides-de-camp leaped down from his own horse and helped him mount upon it; [39] and when Cyrus had mounted he saw that the Egyptians were now assailed on every side; for Hystaspas also and Chrysantas had now come up with the Persian cavalry. But he did not permit them yet to charge into the Egyptian phalanx, but bade them shoot and hurl from a distance.

And when, as he rode round, he came to the engines, he decided to ascend one of the towers and take a view to see if anywhere any part of the enemy's forces were making a stand to fight. [40] And when he had ascended the tower, he looked down upon the field full of horses and men and chariots, some fleeing, some pursuing, some victorious, other vanquished; but nowhere could he discover any division that was still standing its ground, except that of the Egyptians; and they, inasmuch as they found themselves in a desperate condition, formed in a complete circle and crouched behind their shields, so that only their weapons were visible; but they were no longer accomplishing anything, but were suffering very heavy loss. [41]

And Cyrus, filled with admiration for their conduct and moved to pity for them that men as brave as they were should be slain, drew off all those who were fighting around the ring and allowed no one to fight any more. Then he sent a herald to them to ask whether they all wished to die for those who had treacherously deserted them or to save their lives and at the same time be accounted brave men.

"How could we save our lives," they answered, "and at the same time be accounted brave men?" [42]

"You can," Cyrus replied, "because we are witnesses that you are the only ones who stood your ground and were willing to fight."

"Well," answered the Egyptians, "granting that, what can we do

consistently with honour to save our lives?"

"You could surrender your arms," Cyrus answered again, "and become friends of those who choose to save you, when it is in their power to destroy you." [43]

"And if we become your friends," they asked on hearing that, "how will you see fit to deal with us?"

"I will do you favours and expect favours from you," answered Cyrus.

"What sort of favours?" asked the Egyptians in turn.

"As long as the war continues," Cyrus made answer to this, "I would give you larger pay than you were now receiving; and when peace is made, to those of you who care to stay with me I will give lands and cities and wives and servants." [44]

On hearing this, the Egyptians begged to be excused from taking part in any campaign against Croesus, for with him alone, they said, they were acquainted; all other stipulations they accepted, and gave and received pledges of good faith. [45]

And the Egyptians who then stayed in the country have continued loyal subjects to the king even unto this day; and Cyrus gave them cities, some in the interior, which even to this day are called Egyptian cities, and besides these Larissa and Cyllene near Cyme on the coast; and their descendants dwell there even unto this day.

When he had accomplished this, it was already dark; and Cyrus led back his forces and encamped in Thymbrara. [46]

The Egyptians were the only ones of all the enemy that distinguished themselves in the battle, while of those under Cyrus the Persian cavalry seemed to be the most efficient. And therefore the equipment which Cyrus had then provided for his cavalry continues in use even to our own times. [47]

The scythe-bearing chariots also won extraordinary distinction, so that this military device also has been retained even to our day by each successive king. [48]

The camels, however, did nothing more than frighten the horses; their riders could neither kill any one nor be killed by any of the enemy's cavalry, for not a horse would come near them. [49]

What they did do seemed useful enough; but be that as it may, no gentleman is willing to keep a camel for riding or to practise for

fighting in war upon one. And so they have again taken their proper position and do service among the pack-animals.

2. When Cyrus and his men had finished dinner and stationed guards, as was necessary, they went to rest. As for Croesus and his army, they fled straight towards Sardis, while the other contingents got away, each man as far as he could under cover of the night on his way toward home. [2]

When daylight came, Cyrus led his army straight on against Sardis. And as soon as he came up to the walls of the city, he set up his engines as if intending to assault it and made ready his scaling ladders. [3] But though he did this, in the course of the following night he sent some Chaldaeans and Persians to climb up by what was considered the most precipitous side of the Sardian citadel. The way was shown them by a Persian who had been the slave of one of the guards of the acropolis and had discovered a way down to the river and up again by the same route. [4]

When it became known that the citadel was taken, all the Lydians immediately fled from the walls to whatever part of the city they could. And Cyrus at daybreak entered the city and gave orders that not a man of his should stir from his post. [5] But Croesus shut himself up in his palace and called for Cyrus. Cyrus, however, left behind a guard to watch Croesus, while he himself drew off his army to the citadel now in his possession; for he saw that the Persians were holding guard over it, as it was their duty to do, but that the quarters of the Chaldaeans were deserted, for they had run down into the city to get plunder from the houses. He at once called their officers together and told them to leave his army with all speed. [6] “For,” said he, “I could not endure to see men who are guilty of insubordination better off than others. And let me tell you,” he added, “that I was getting ready to make you Chaldaeans who have been helping in my campaigns objects of envy in the eyes of all other Chaldaeans; but, as it is, you need not be surprised if some one who is your superior in strength should fall in with you, even as you go away.” [7]

When they heard this, the Chaldaeans were afraid; they besought him to lay aside his wrath and promised to give up their plunder. But he said he did not want it. “But,” said he, “if you wish me to forget my displeasure, surrender all that you have taken to those who have

not relaxed their guard of the citadel. For if the rest of the soldiers find out that those who have been obedient to orders are better off than the rest, everything will be as I wish.” [8]

The Chaldaeans, accordingly, did as Cyrus bade; and the obedient received a large amount of spoil of every description. And Cyrus encamped his men in that part of the city where he deemed it most convenient, ordering them to stay in their quarters and take luncheon there. [9]

When he had attended to this, he ordered Croesus to be brought before him. And when Croesus saw Cyrus, he said: “I salute you, my sovereign lord; for fortune grants that henceforth you should bear this title and I address you by it.” [10]

“And I you, Croesus; for we are both men. But, Croesus,” he added, “would you be willing to give me a bit of advice?”

“Aye, Cyrus,” said he; “I wish I could find something of practical value to say to you. For that, I think, would prove good for me as well.” [11]

“Listen, then, Croesus,” said he. “I observe that my soldiers have gone through many toils and dangers and now are thinking that they are in possession of the richest city in Asia, next to Babylon; and I think that they deserve some reward. For I know that if they do not reap some fruit of their labours, I shall not be able to keep them in obedience very long. Now, I do not wish to abandon the city to them to plunder; for I believe that then the city would be destroyed, and I am sure that in the pillaging the worst men would get the largest share.” [12]

“Well,” said Croesus on hearing these words, “permit me to say to any Lydians that I meet that I have secured from you the promise not to permit any pillaging nor to allow the women and children to be carried off, and that I, in return for that, have given you my solemn promise that you should get from the Lydians of their own free will everything there is of beauty or value in Sardis. [13] For when they hear this, I am sure that whatever fair possession man or woman has will to come to you; and next year you will again find the city just as full of wealth as it is now; whereas, if you pillage it completely, you will find even the industrial arts utterly ruined; and they say that these are the fountain of wealth. [14] But when you have seen what is

brought in, you will still have the privilege of deciding about plundering the city. And first of all,” he went on, “send to my treasuries and let your guards obtain from my guards what is there.”

All this, accordingly, Cyrus agreed to have done as Croesus suggested. [15]

“But pray tell me, Croesus,” he resumed, “what has come of your responses from the oracle at Delphi? For it is said that Apollo has received much service from you and that everything that you do is done in obedience to him.” [16]

“I would it were so, Cyrus,” he answered. “But as it is; I have from the very beginning behaved toward Apollo in a way contrary to all that he has advised.”

“How so?” asked Cyrus; “please explain; for your statement sounds very strange.” [17]

“At first,” he answered, “instead of asking the god for the particular favour I needed, I proceeded to put him to the test to see if he could tell the truth. And when even men, if they are gentlemen — to say nothing of a god — discover that they are mistrusted, they have no love for those who mistrust them. [18] However, as he knew even about the gross absurdities I was engaged in, far as I was from Delphi, I then sent to him to inquire if I should have male issue. [19] And at first he did not even answer me; but when I had at last propitiated him, as I thought, by sending many offerings of gold and many of silver and by sacrificing very many victims, then he did answer my question as to what I should do to have sons; and he said that I should have them. [20] And I had; for not even in this did he speak falsely; but those that were born to me have been no joy to me. For the one has continued dumb until now, and the other, the better of the two, was killed in the flower of his youth. Then, overwhelmed by the afflictions I suffered in connection with my sons, I sent again and inquired of the god what I should do to pass the rest of my life most happily; and he answered me:

‘Knowing thyself, O Croesus — thus shalt thou live and be happy.’ [21]

And when I heard this response, I was glad; for I thought that it was the easiest task in the world that he was laying upon me as the condition to happiness. For in the case of others, it is possible to

know some; and some, one cannot know; but I thought that everybody knows who and what he himself is. [22]

“For the succeeding years, as long as I lived at peace, I had no complaint to make of my fortunes after the death of my son. But when I was persuaded by the Assyrian king to take the field against you, I fell into every sort of danger. However, I was saved without having suffered any harm. Here again I have no fault to find with the god. For when I recognized that I was not your match in battle, with his help I got off in safety, both I and my men. [23]

“And lately again, spoiled by the wealth I had and by those who were begging me to become their leader, by the gifts they gave me and by the people who flattered me, saying that if I would consent to take command they would all obey me and I should be the greatest of men — puffed up by such words, when all the princes round about chose me to be their leader in the war, I accepted the command, deeming myself fit to be the greatest; but, as it seems, I did not know myself. [24] For I thought I was capable of carrying on war against you; but I was no match for you; for you are in the first place a scion of the gods and in the second place the descendant of an unbroken line of kings, and finally you have been practising virtue from your childhood on, while the first of my ancestors to wear a crown, I am told, was at the same time king and freedman. Therefore, as I was thus without knowledge, I have my just deserts. [25]

“But, Cyrus,” said he, “I know myself now. But do you think Apollo’s declaration still holds true, that if I know myself I shall be happy? I ask you this for the reason that under the present circumstances it seems to me you can judge best; for you are also in a position to fulfil it.” [26]

“You must give me time to consider this, Croesus,” Cyrus replied; “for when I think of your happiness hitherto, I am sorry for you, and I now restore to you your wife, whom you once had, your daughters (for I understand you have daughters), your friends, your servants, and the table that you and yours used to enjoy. But wars and battles I must forbid you.” [27]

“In the name of Zeus,” said Croesus, “pray do not trouble yourself further to answer me in regard to my happiness; for I assure you even now that if you do for me what you say you will, I, too, shall have

and enjoy that life which others have always considered most blissful; and I have agreed with them.” [28]

“And who is it,” asked Cyrus, “that enjoys such a life of bliss?”

“My wife, Cyrus,” said he. “For she always shared equally with me my wealth and the luxuries and all the good cheer that it brought, but she had no share in the anxieties of securing it nor in war or battle. So, then, you seem to be putting me in the same position as I did her whom I loved more than all the world, so that I feel that I shall owe Apollo new thank-offerings.” [29]

At hearing these words Cyrus wondered at his good spirits, and after that he always used to take Croesus with him wherever he went, whether, as may well have been, because he thought Croesus was of some service to him, or whether he considered that this was the safer course.

3. Such was their interview, and then they went to rest. And on the following day Cyrus summoned his friends and the general officers of his army. He appointed some of them to take charge of the treasures and others he ordered first to select from the valuables that Croesus delivered such a portion for the gods as the magi should designate; the rest they should then take into their own charge and put in chests, and these they should pack upon the wagons; they should then divide the wagons by lot and convey them whithersoever they themselves might go; then, when the time came, the treasure should be divided, and each man should receive his share according to his deserts. [2] The officers, accordingly, proceeded to follow his instructions.

And when he had called to him certain of his aides who were present, Cyrus said: “Tell me, has any one of you seen Abradatas? For I wonder why, in view of the fact that he used often to come to us, he is now nowhere to be seen.” [3]

“Sire,” answered one of the aides, “he is no longer alive, but he fell in the battle as he hurled his chariot against the ranks of the Egyptians, while the rest, they say, all but himself and his companions, turned aside when they saw the dense host of the Egyptians. [4] And even now his wife, I am told, has taken up his body for burial, placed it in the carriage in which she herself used to ride, and brought it to some place here by the River Pactolus. [5] And

his eunuchs and servants, so they say, are digging a grave upon a certain hill for his dead body. But his wife, they say, has decked her husband with what she possessed and now sits upon the ground, holding his head in her lap.” [6]

Upon hearing this, Cyrus smote his thigh, mounted his horse at once, and rode with a regiment of cavalry to the scene of sorrow. [7] He left orders for Gadatas and Gobryas to follow him with the most beautiful ornaments they could get for the man, who had fallen beloved and brave. And he ordered those who had in charge the herds that were taken with the army to bring both cattle and horses and many sheep besides to the place where they should hear that he was, that he might sacrifice them in honour of Abradatas. [8]

And when he saw the lady sitting upon the ground and the corpse lying there, he wept over his loss and said: “Alas, O brave and faithful soul, hast thou then gone and left us?” And with the words he clasped his hand, and the dead man’s hand came away in his grasp; for the wrist had been severed by a sabre in the hands of an Egyptian. [9] And Cyrus was still more deeply moved at seeing this; and the wife wept aloud; but taking the hand from Cyrus, she kissed it and fitted it on again as best she could and said: [10] “The rest of his limbs also you will find in the same condition, Cyrus; but why should you see it? And I am in no small degree to blame that he has suffered so, and you, Cyrus, perhaps not less than I. For it was I that, in my folly, urged him to do his best to show himself a worthy friend to you; and as for him, I know that he never had a thought of what might happen to him, but only of what he could do to please you. And so,” she said, “he has indeed died a blameless death, while I who urged him to it sit here alive!” [11]

For some time Cyrus wept in silence and then he said aloud: “Well, lady, he indeed has met the fairest of ends, for he has died in the very hour of victory; but do you accept these gifts from me” — for Gobryas and Gadatas had come with many beautiful ornaments — “and deck him with them. And then, let me assure you that in other ways also he shall not want for honours, but many hands shall rear to him a monument worthy of us, and sacrifice shall be made over it, such as will befit a man so valiant. [12]

“And you,” he continued, “shall not be left friendless, but on

account of your goodness and all your worth, I shall show you all honour; and besides, I will commend to you some one to escort you to the place where you yourself desire to go. Only let me know to whom you wish to be conducted.” [13]

“Ah, Cyrus,” Panthea answered, “do not fear; I shall never hide from you who it is to whom I wish to go.” [14]

When he had said this, Cyrus went away, his heart full of pity for the woman, as he thought what a husband she had lost, and for the man, that he must leave such a wife and never see her more. The lady then desired the eunuchs to retire, “until,” she said, “I have bewailed my husband here, as I desire.” But her nurse she told to stay with her, and she charged her to cover her and her husband, when she, too, was dead, with the same cloak. The nurse, however, pleaded earnestly with her not to do so; but when her prayers proved of no avail and she saw her mistress becoming angered, she sat down and burst into tears. Panthea then drew out a dagger, with which she had provided herself long before, and plunged it into her heart, and laying her head upon her husband’s bosom she breathed her last.

Then the nurse wailed aloud and covered them both, even as Panthea had directed. [15]

When Cyrus heard what the woman had done, he was filled with dismay and hastened to the place to see if he could bring any help. And when the eunuchs, three in number, beheld what had occurred, they also, standing in the spot where she had ordered them to stand, drew their daggers and drove them into their own breasts.

<And now even to this day, it is said, the monument of the eunuchs is still standing; and they say that the names of the husband and wife are inscribed in Assyrian letters upon the slab above; and below, it is said, are three slabs with the inscription the mace-bearers.> [16]

And when Cyrus drew near to the place of sorrow he marvelled at the woman; and having made lament over her, he went his way. He also took care that they should find all due honours, and the monument reared over them was, as they say, exceeding great.

4. Then the Carians fell into strife and civil war with one another; they were intrenched in strongholds, and both sides called upon Cyrus for assistance. So while Cyrus himself stayed in Sardis to

make siege-engines and battering rams to demolish the walls of such as should refuse to submit, he entrusted an army to Adusius, a Persian who was not lacking in judgment generally and not unskilled in war, and who was besides a very courteous gentleman, and sent him into Caria; and the Cilicians and Cyprians also joined most heartily in this expedition. [2] Because of their enthusiastic allegiance he never sent a Persian satrap to govern either the Cilicians or the Cyprians, but was always satisfied with their native princes. Tribute, however, he did receive from them, and whenever he needed forces he made a requisition upon them for troops. [3]

Adusius now set out for Caria at the head of his army; and there came to him representatives from both parties of the Carians, ready to receive him into their walls to the injury of the rival faction. But Adusius treated both sides alike: with whichever party he conferred, he said they were more in the right, but they must not let their opponents know that he and they had become friends, alleging that he would thus be more likely to fall upon those opponents unprepared. Moreover, he demanded from the Carians pledges of good faith and made them swear to receive him without treachery within their walls to the advantage of Cyrus and the Persians, and he himself consented to give his oath that he would without treachery enter their walls for the advantage of those who admitted him. [4] And when he had done this, he made appointments with both parties for the same night — each party without the other's knowledge — and on that night he marched inside the walls and took possession of the strongholds of both. At day-break he took his stand with his army between the two and summoned the leaders of the two factions. And when they saw one another they were indignant, for they both thought they had been duped. [5] Adusius, however, addressed them as follows:

“Gentlemen, I gave you my oath that I would without treachery enter your walls for the advantage of those who admitted me. If, therefore, I destroy either party of you, I think that I have come in to the injury of the Carians; whereas, if I can secure peace for you and security for all to till the fields, I think I am here for your advantage. Now, therefore, from this day you must live together like friends, till your lands without fear of one another, and intermarry your children

one party with the other; and if any one in defiance of these regulations attempts to make trouble, Cyrus, and we with him, will be that man's enemies." [6]

After that, the gates of the city were opened, the streets filled up with people passing to and fro, and the farms with labourers; they celebrated their festivals together, and peace and joy reigned everywhere. [7]

At this juncture messengers came to him from Cyrus to ask if he needed any more troops or engines; but Adusius answered that even the army he had with him was at the disposal of Cyrus to employ elsewhere. And with those words he started to lead back his army, leaving only garrisons upon the citadels. But the Carians pleaded with him to stay; and when he refused, they sent to Cyrus to petition him to send Adusius to be their satrap. [8]

Cyrus had meanwhile sent off Hystaspas in command of an expedition against the Phrygia that lies along the Hellespont. So when Adusius returned, he directed him to march on in the direction Hystaspas had taken, that they might submit to Hystaspas more readily when they heard that another army was on the way. [9]

Now the Greeks who dwelt by the sea gave many gifts and secured an agreement to the effect that while they should not receive the barbarians within their walls, they would yet pay tribute and serve under him in the field wherever Cyrus should direct. [10]

But the king of Phrygia made preparations to keep possession of his forts and not to submit, and he gave orders to that effect. When, however, his subordinate officers deserted and he was left alone, he finally surrendered to Hystaspas on condition that Cyrus should be his judge and arbiter. And Hystaspas, leaving strong garrisons of Persians upon the citadels, went back with his own army reinforced with many Phrygian horsemen and peltasts. [11]

Besides, Cyrus had given Adusius instructions to join Hystaspas and bring with them armed those Phrygians who had voluntarily taken their side, but to take their horses and arms away from those who had shown fight, and to make all such follow, armed with nothing but slings. [12] Accordingly, they were thus engaged in executing these orders.

But Cyrus, leaving behind a large garrison of foot-soldiers, started

from Sardis in company with Croesus; and he took with him many wagons loaded with valuables of every sort. And Croesus also had come with an accurate inventory of what was in each wagon; and as he handed the lists to Cyrus he said: "From this, Cyrus, you may know who renders to you in full that of which he has charge and who does not." [13]

"Aye, Croesus," answered Cyrus; "you do well to take this precaution. As far as I am concerned, however, those shall have charge of the valuables who also deserve to own them; so that if they embezzle anything, they will be embezzling from what is their own."

With these words, he gave the inventories to his friends and officers, that they might be able to tell who of the overseers delivered everything safe and who of them failed. [14]

He took with him also such of the Lydians as he saw taking a pride in the fine appearance of their arms and horses and chariots and trying to do everything that they thought would please him; these he permitted to retain their arms. But if he saw any following with bad grace, he turned their horses over to those Persians who had been the first to engage in his service; he had their arms burned, and these men, too, he required to follow with nothing but slings. [15] And of those who had been made subjects he required all who were unarmed to practise with the sling, for he considered this weapon to be the one most fitting for a slave. For in conjunction with other forces there are occasions when the presence of slingers is of very effective assistance, but by themselves alone not all the slingers in the world could stand against a very few men who came into a hand-to-hand encounter with them with weapons suited for close combat. [16]

On the way to Babylon he subdued Greater Phrygia and Cappadocia and reduced the Arabians to submission. From all these he secured armour for not less than forty thousand Persian horsemen, and many horses taken from the prisoners he distributed among all the divisions of his allies. And thus he arrived before Babylon with a great host of cavalry, and a great host of bowmen and spearmen, and a multitude of slingers that was beyond number.

5. When Cyrus appeared before Babylon he stationed his whole force about the city and then rode around it himself in company with his friends and the staff-officers of the allies; [2] but when he had

taken a survey of the walls, he prepared to draw off his army from the city. But a deserter came out and told him that they were going to attack him as soon as he began to draw his army off. “For,” the man went on, “your lines looked weak to those who observed them from the walls.” And it was no wonder that they appeared so; for, encompassing walls of such extent, the lines necessarily had but little depth. [3]

On hearing this, therefore, Cyrus took his place with his body-guard in the centre of his army and gave orders that the hoplites should fold back the phalanx from the extremity of either wing and move toward each other behind the main body, which had been halted, until each of the extreme wings should meet in a line with him, that is, in the centre. [4] By this manoeuvre the men that remained standing in their places were at once given more courage, for the depth of the line was thus doubled; and those who had fallen back were likewise rendered more courageous, for thus those troops which had been kept standing had now come to face the enemy, and not they. But when, as they marched in from both sides, the ends came together, they stood thus mutually strengthened — those who had shifted their position were supported by those in front of them, those in front by the men behind them. [5] And when the phalanx was thus folded back, the front ranks and the rear were of necessity composed of the most valiant men and the poorest were drawn up between them. And this arrangement of the lines seemed well adapted both for fighting and for keeping the men from flight; and the cavalry and the light-armed troops upon the wings were in each case brought as much nearer to the commander as the phalanx was shorter when doubled. [6] And when they had thus closed up, they retired backward as long as they were within range of the missiles from the wall; but when they were out of range, they would face about and go forward at first only a few steps and wheel to the left and stand facing the wall; and the further off they got, the less often did they thus wheel around; and when they seemed to be out of all danger, they marched off without stopping until they arrived at their tents. [7]

When they had encamped, Cyrus called together his staff-officers and said: “Friends and allies, we have viewed the city on every side.

But I am sure I cannot see how any one could take by storm walls so massive and so high; but the more men there are in the city, the sooner they can, I think, be brought by famine to capitulate, seeing that they will not come out and fight. Therefore, unless you have some other method to suggest, I propose that we use this method of laying siege to those gentlemen.” [8]

“But,” said Chrysantas, “does not this river flow through the midst of the city? And it is more than two stadia in width.”

“Aye, by Zeus,” said Gobryas, “and its depth is such that two men, one standing on the other’s shoulders, would not reach the surface of the water, so that the city is better defended by the river than by its walls.” [9]

“Chrysantas,” Cyrus answered, “let us not trouble ourselves with that which is beyond our powers; but we must apportion the work among ourselves as quickly as possible, to each contingent its proper share, and dig a ditch as wide and as deep as possible, so that we may require only as many men on guard as are absolutely indispensable.” [10]

Accordingly, he took measurements in a circle round about the city, leaving just enough room by the river for the erection of large towers, and began on either side of the city to dig an immense trench; and the earth from it they threw up on their own side of the ditch. [11] First of all, he began to build towers by the river, laying his foundations with the trunks of date-palms not less than a hundred feet long — and they grow even taller than that. And they were good material for this purpose, for it is a well known fact that date-palms, when under heavy pressure, bend upward like the backs of pack-asses. [12] These he used as “mud-sills,” in order that, even if the river should break into his trench above, it might not carry his towers away. And he erected many other towers besides upon the breast-works of earth, so that he might have as many watch-towers as possible. [13]

Thus, then, his men were employed, while the enemy upon the walls laughed his siege-works to scorn, in the belief that they had provisions enough for more than twenty years.

Upon hearing of this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts as if intending each part to be responsible for sentry duty during one

month of each year; [14] but the Babylonians, in their turn, when they heard of that, laughed much more scornfully still, at the thought of Phrygians and Lydians and Arabians and Cappadocians keeping guard against them, for they considered all these to be more friendly to them than to the Persians. [15]

At last the ditches were completed. Then, when he heard that a certain festival had come round in Babylon, during which all Babylon was accustomed to drink and revel all night long, Cyrus took a large number of men, just as soon as it was dark, and opened up the heads of the trenches at the river. [16] As soon as that was done, the water flowed down through the ditches in the night, and the bed of the river, where it traversed the city, became passable for men. [17]

When the problem of the river was thus solved, Cyrus gave orders to his Persian colonels, infantry and cavalry, to marshal their regiments two abreast and come to him, and the rest, the allies, to follow in their rear, drawn up as before. [18] They came, according to orders, and he bade his aides, both foot and horse, get into the dry channel of the river and see if it was possible to march in the bed of the river. [19] And when they brought back word that it was, he called together the generals of both infantry and cavalry and spoke as follows: [20]

“My friends,” said he, “the river has made” way for us and given us an entrance into the city. Let us, therefore, enter in with dauntless hearts, fearing nothing and remembering that those against whom we are now to march are the same men that we have repeatedly defeated, and that, too, when they were all drawn up in battle line with their allies at their side, and when they were all wide awake and sober and fully armed; [21] whereas now we are going to fall upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunk, and none of them in battle array. And when they find out that we are inside the walls, in their panic fright they will be much more helpless still than they are now. [22]

“But if any one is apprehensive of that which is said to be a source of terror to those invading a city — namely, that the people may go up” on the house-tops and hurl down missiles right and left, you need not be in the least afraid of that; for if any do go up upon their houses, we have a god on our side, Hephaestus. And their

porticoes are very inflammable, for the doors are made of palm-wood and covered with bituminous varnish which will burn like tinder; [23] while we, on our side, have plenty of pine-wood for torches, which will quickly produce a mighty conflagration; we have also plenty of pitch and tow, which will quickly spread the flames everywhere, so that those upon the house-tops must either quickly leave their posts or quickly be consumed. [24]

“But come, to arms! and with the help of the gods I will lead you on. And do you, Gadatas and Gobryas, show the streets, for you are familiar with them. And when we get inside the walls, lead us by the quickest route to the royal palace.” [25]

“Aye,” answered Gobryas and his staff, “in view of the revelry, it would not be at all surprising if the gates leading to the palace were open, for all the city is feasting this night. Still, we shall find a guard before the gates, for one is always posted there.”

“We must lose no time, then,” said Cyrus. “Forward, that we may catch the men as unprepared as we can.” [26]

When these words were spoken, they advanced. And of those they met on the way, some fell by their swords, some fled back into their houses, some shouted to them; and Gobryas and his men shouted back to them, as if they were fellow-revellers. They advanced as fast as they could and were soon at the palace. [27] And Gobryas and Gadatas and their troops found the gates leading to the palace locked, and those who had been appointed to attack the guard fell upon them as they were drinking by a blazing fire, and without waiting they dealt with them as with foes. [28] But, as a noise and tumult ensued, those within heard the uproar, and at the king’s command to see what the matter was, some of them opened the gates and ran out. [29] And when Gadatas and his men saw the gates open they dashed in in pursuit of the others as they fled back into the palace, and dealing blows right and left they came into the presence of the king; and they found him already risen with his dagger in his hand. [30] And Gadatas and Gobryas and their followers overpowered him; and those about the king perished also, one where he had sought some shelter, another while running away, another while actually trying to defend himself with whatever he could. [31]

Cyrus then sent the companies of cavalry around through the

streets and gave them orders to cut down all whom they found out of doors, while he directed those who understood Assyrian to proclaim to those in their houses that they should stay there, for if any one should be caught outside, he would be put to death. [32]

While they were thus occupied, Gadatas and Gobryas came up; and first of all they did homage to the gods, seeing that they had avenged themselves upon the wicked king, and then they kissed Cyrus's hands and his feet with many tears of joy. [33]

And when day dawned and those in possession of the citadels discovered that the city was taken and the king slain, they surrendered the citadels, too. [34] And Cyrus at once took possession of the citadels and sent up to them guards and officers of the guards. As for the dead, he gave their relatives permission to bury them. He furthermore ordered the heralds to make proclamation that all Babylonians deliver up their arms; and he ordered that wherever arms should be found in any house, all the occupants should be put to the sword. So they delivered up their arms and Cyrus stored them in the citadels, so that they might be ready if he ever needed them for use. [35]

When all this was finished, he first called the magi and requested them, inasmuch as the city had been taken by the sword, to select sanctuaries and the first fruits of the booty for the gods. Next he distributed the private houses and official residences among those whom he considered to have had a share in what had been achieved; and he made the division in the way that had been decided upon — the best to the most meritorious. And if any one thought he had less than he should, he bade him come and explain his reasons for thinking so. [36]

He ordered the Babylonians, moreover, to go on tilling their lands, to pay their tribute, and to serve those to whom they had severally been assigned; and he directed the Persians who had shared in the expedition and as many of the allies as chose to remain with him to address those who had fallen to their share as a master would his servants. [37]

After this, Cyrus conceived a desire to establish himself as he thought became a king, but he decided to do it with the approval of his friends, in such a way that his public appearances should be rare

and solemn and yet excite as little jealousy as possible. So he adopted the following plan: at day-break he would take his station in a place that seemed to him to be adapted to the purpose and there receive all who had any matter to bring before him, give them an answer, and send them away. [38] But when people learned that he was holding audience, they came in an unmanageable throng, and as they crowded up to get in there was no end of trickery and contention. [39] And his attendants would admit them, making the best discrimination they could.

But whenever any of his personal friends managed to push their way through the throng and catch his eye, Cyrus would stretch out his hand, draw them up to him, and say: "Just wait, friends, until we get rid of the crowd, and then we will enjoy each other's company quietly." So his friends would wait, but the throng would stream in greater and greater, so that evening would set in before he had leisure to share his friends' company. [40] So Cyrus would say: "Gentlemen, it is now time to separate; come tomorrow morning; for I, too, have something to talk over with you."

Upon hearing this, his friends gladly departed, running from his presence, for they had paid the penalty for ignoring all the wants of nature. Thus then they went to rest. [41]

On the following day, Cyrus went to the same place and long before his friends came, there was a much greater crowd of people standing there desiring audience with him. So Cyrus stationed a large circle of Persian lancers about him and gave orders that no one should be admitted except his friends and the officers of the Persians and the allies. [42] And when they had come together, Cyrus addressed them as follows: "Friends and allies, we cannot possibly find any fault with the gods that all that we wished for so far has not been fulfilled. However, if great success is to have such consequences that a man is not to be able to have some leisure for himself nor time to enjoy himself with his friends, I am ready to bid farewell to that sort of happiness. [43] For yesterday, too, you saw, of course, that although we began at dawn to give audience to those who came to see us, we did not get through before evening; and now you see that these others, who are here in greater numbers than came yesterday, will give us even more trouble. [44] If, therefore, one is to sacrifice oneself

to such affairs, I reckon that you will have but a small part in my society or I in yours; while in myself I know that I shall certainly have no part at all. [45]

“I see also,” he went on, “still another absurd feature in all this: while my affection for you is, as you know, what it naturally ought to be, of these who stand about here I know few or none; and yet all these have made up their minds that if they can get ahead of you in crowding in, they will obtain what they wish from me before you can. Now what I expected all such to do, if any one wanted anything from me, was to get into favour with you as my friends and ask you for an introduction. [46]

“Perhaps some one may ask why I did not adopt this arrangement in the beginning instead of making myself accessible to all. It was, I answer, because I realized that the demands of war made it necessary for a commander not to be behind others in finding out what he ought to know nor in doing what it is expedient that he should do. And I thought generals who were seldom to be seen often neglected much that needed to be done. [47]

“But now that this most toilsome war is really over, it seems to me that I, too, am entitled to find some relaxation of spirit. So, while I am in doubt as to what I could do to harmonize our interests and those of the others for whom we must care, let any one who sees what is to the best advantage give me a word of counsel.” [48]

Thus Cyrus spoke. After him Artabazus arose — the man who had once claimed to be his kinsman — and said: “I am very glad, Cyrus, that you have opened this discussion. For when you were still a lad, I was very anxious even from the first to be a friend of yours; but when I saw that I could be of no use to you, I shrank from approaching you. [49] But when you once happened to need even my services to publish among the Medes the concession obtained from Cyaxares, I reasoned that, if I gave you my earnest support in this, I then might be your intimate friend and talk with you as much as I pleased. Now that particular commission was executed in such a way as to call for your approval. [50]

“After that, the Hyrcanians were the first to become our friends, and at a time, too, when we were very hungry for allies, so that in our affection for them we all but carried them around in our arms. And

after that, when the enemy's camp was taken, you did not have any time to concern yourself about me, I suppose, and I did not blame you. [51] Next, Gobryas became our friend, and I was glad; and then Gadatas; and then it was hard work to get any share of your attention. When, however, both the Sacians and the Cadusians had become our allies, you must needs show them proper attention, for they also were attentive to you. [52]

“When we came back to the place from which we had started, I saw you busy with horses and chariots and engines, but I thought that as soon as you had leisure from these distractions you would have some time to think of me. Still, when the terrible news came that the whole world was assembling against us, I realized that that was a matter of paramount importance; but if it should turn out successfully, then at last I thought I might be sure that the intercourse between me and you would be unstinted. [53]

“And now we have won the great battle and have Sardis and Croesus in subjection; we have taken Babylon and subjugated everything; and yet yesterday, by Mithras, if I had not fought my way through the crowd with my fists, I vow I could not have got near you. However, when you took me by the hand and bade me stay by you, I was the object of all envious eyes, for having spent a whole day with you — without a thing to eat or drink. [54] If, therefore, it can now be so arranged that we, who have proved ourselves most deserving, shall have the largest share of your company, well and good; if not, I am ready once again to make a proclamation in your name to the effect that all shall keep away from you, except us who have been your friends from the beginning.” [55]

At this Cyrus laughed as did many others. Then Chrysantas, the Persian, rose and spoke as follows: “Well, Cyrus, it was hitherto quite proper for you to make yourself approachable, for the reasons you have yourself assigned and also because we were not the ones whose favour you most needed to win; for we were with you for our own sakes. But it was imperative for you in every way to win the affections of the multitude, so that they might consent to toil and risk their lives with us as gladly as possible. [56] But now, seeing that you do not hold your power by this method alone but are in a position in still other ways to win the hearts of those whom it is of advantage for

you to win, it is meet that you should now have a home. Else what enjoyment would you have of your power, if you alone were to have no hearth and home of your own? For there is no spot on earth more sacred, more sweet, or more dear than that. And finally," he said, "do you not think that we also should be ashamed to see you living in discomfort, out of doors, while we ourselves lived in houses and seemed to be better off than you?" [57]

When Chrysantas had finished his speech, many supported him in the same tenor. After that, Cyrus moved into the royal palace, and those who had charge of the treasures brought from Sardis delivered them there. And after he took possession, Cyrus sacrificed first to Hestia, then to sovereign Zeus, and then to any other god that the magi suggested. [58]

This done, he began at once to organize the rest of his court. And as he considered his own situation, that he was undertaking to hold sway over many people, and preparing to dwell in the greatest of all famous cities, and that that city was as hostile to him as a city could be to any man — as he reflected on this, he decided that he needed a body-guard. [59]

And as he realized that men are nowhere an easier prey to violence than when at meals or at wine, in the bath, or in bed and asleep, he looked around to see who were the most faithful men that he could have around him at such times; and he held that no man was ever faithful who loved any one else better than the one who needed his protection. [60] Those, therefore, who had children or congenial wives or sweethearts, such he believed were by nature constrained to love them best. But as he observed that eunuchs were not susceptible to any such affections, he thought that they would esteem most highly those who were in the best position to make them rich and to stand by them, if ever they were wronged, and to place them in offices of honour; and no one, he thought, could surpass him in bestowing favours of that kind. [61] Besides, inasmuch as eunuchs are objects of contempt to the rest of mankind, for this reason, if for no other, they need a master who will be their patron; for there is no man who would not think that he had a right to take advantage of a eunuch at every opportunity unless there were some higher power to prevent his doing so; but there is no reason why even a eunuch

should not be superior to all others in fidelity to his master. [62] But he did not admit what many might very easily be inclined to suppose, that eunuchs are weaklings; and he drew this conclusion also from the case of other animals: for instance, vicious horses, when gelded, stop biting and prancing about, to be sure, but are none the less fit for service in war; and bulls, when castrated, lose somewhat of their high spirit and unruliness but are not deprived of their strength or capacity for work. And in the same way dogs, when castrated, stop running away from their masters, but are no less useful for watching or hunting. [63] And men, too, in the same way, become gentler when deprived of this desire, but not less careful of that which is entrusted to them; they are not made any less efficient horsemen, or any less skilful lancers, or less ambitious men. [64] On the contrary, they showed both in times of war and in hunting that they still preserved in their souls a spirit of rivalry; and of their fidelity they gave the best proof upon the fall of their masters, for no one ever performed acts of greater fidelity in his master's misfortunes than eunuchs do. [65] And if it is thought with some justice that they are inferior in bodily strength, yet on the field of battle steel makes the weak equal to the strong. Recognizing these facts, he selected eunuchs for every post of personal service to him, from the door-keepers up. [66]

But, as he deemed this guard insufficient in view of the multitude of those who bore him ill-will, he looked around to see whom he could find among the rest who would be the most trustworthy guards about the palace. [67] Now he knew that the Persians on account of their poverty lived in the greatest privation at home and were accustomed to a life of the hardest toil, because their country was rugged and they had to work with their own hands; so he believed that they would especially welcome life with him. [68] Accordingly, he took from among them ten thousand spearmen, who kept guard about the palace day and night, whenever he was in residence; but whenever he went away anywhere, they went along drawn up in order on either side of him. [69]

And since he considered that all Babylon, too, stood in need of adequate protection, whether he himself happened to be at home or abroad, he stationed there also an adequate garrison, and he arranged that the Babylonians should furnish the money for their wages, for it

was his aim that this people should be as destitute of resources as possible, so that they might be as submissive and as easily restrained as possible. [70]

This guard that he then established about himself and in the city of Babylon is maintained on the same footing even to this day. And as he studied how his whole empire might be held together and at the same time enlarged, he reflected that these mercenaries were not so much better men than those he had made subject as they were inferior in number; and he realized that the brave men, who with the aid of the gods had brought him victory, must be kept together and that care must be exercised that they should not abandon their practice of virtue. [71] But in order that he might not seem to be issuing orders to them, but that they also might of themselves recognize that this was the best course for them and so abide in virtue and cultivate it, he collected the peers and all who were men of influence, together with such as seemed to him most worthy sharers of his toil and its rewards; [72] and when they had come together he addressed them as follows:

“Friends and allies, thanks be above all to the gods that they have vouchsafed to us to obtain all that we thought we deserved. For now we are in possession of broad and fertile lands and of subjects to support us by tilling them; we have houses also and furniture in them. [73] And let not one of you think that in having these things he has what does not belong to him; for it is a law established for all time among all men that when a city is taken in war, the persons and the property of the inhabitants thereof belong to the captors. It will, therefore, be no injustice for you to keep what you have, but if you let them keep anything, it will be only out of generosity that you do not take it away. [74]

“As for the future, however, it is my judgment that if we turn to idleness and the luxurious self-indulgence of men of coarse natures, who count toil misery and living without toil happiness, we shall soon be of little account in our own eyes and shall soon lose all the blessings that we have. [75] For, to have quitted yourselves once like valiant men does not, we know, assure the perpetuity of valour, unless you devote yourselves to it to the end; but, just as skill in other arts retrogrades if neglected, and as bodies, too, that were once

in good condition change and deteriorate as soon as the owners relax into idleness, so also self-control and temperance and strength will take a backward turn to vice as soon as one ceases to cultivate them. [76] Therefore, we dare not become careless nor give ourselves up to the enjoyment of the present moment; for, while I think it is a great thing to have won an empire, it is a still greater thing to preserve it after it has been won. For to win falls often to the lot of one who has shown nothing but daring; but to win and hold — that is no longer a possibility without the exercise of self-control, temperance, and unflagging care. [77]

“Recognizing all this, we ought to practise virtue even more than we did before we secured these advantages, for we may be sure that the more a man has, the more people will envy him and plot against him and become his enemies, particularly if, as in our case, he draws his wealth and service from unwilling hands.

“We must, therefore, believe that the gods will be on our side; for we have not come unjustly into our possessions through plotting against others, but plotted against we have avenged ourselves. [78] But that which is next in importance after the favour of the gods we must get for ourselves — namely, we must claim the right to rule over our subjects only on the ground that we are their betters. Now the conditions of heat and cold, food and drink, toil and rest, we must share even with our slaves. But though we share with them, we must above all try to show ourselves their betters in such matters; [79] but the science and practice of war we need not share at all with those whom we wish to put in the position of workmen or tributaries to us, but we must maintain our superiority in these accomplishments, as we recognize in these the means to liberty and happiness that the gods have given to men. And just as we have taken their arms away from them, so surely must we never be without our own, for we know that the nearer to their arms men constantly are, the more completely at their command is their every wish. [80]

“But if any one is revolving in his mind any such questions as this — ‘of what earthly use it is to us to have attained to the goal of our ambitions if we still have to endure hunger and thirst, toil and care’ — he must take this lesson to heart: that good things bring the greater pleasure, in proportion to the toil one undergoes beforehand to attain

them; for toil gives a relish to good things; and nothing, however sumptuously prepared, could give pleasure unless a man get it when he needs it. [81]

“Now if God has helped us to obtain that which men most desire, and if any one will so order these results for himself that they shall give as great pleasure as possible, such a man will have this advantage over those who are not so well supplied with the means of living: when hungry he will enjoy the most dainty food, and when thirsty he will enjoy the finest drinks, and when in need of rest he will find it most refreshing. [82]

“Wherefore I maintain that we should now strain every nerve after manliness, so that we may enjoy our success in the best and most delightful manner and have no experience in that which is hardest of all. For failure to obtain good things is not so hard as the loss of them, when once obtained, is painful. [83]

“And think of this also: what excuse should we offer for allowing ourselves to become less deserving than before? That we are rulers? But, you know, it is not proper for the ruler to be worse than his subjects. Or that we seem to be more fortunate than before? Will any one then maintain that vice is the proper ornament for good fortune? Or shall we plead that since we have slaves, we will punish them, if they are bad? [84] Why, what propriety is there in any one’s punishing others for viciousness or indolence, when he himself is bad?

“And think also on this: we have made arrangements to keep many men to guard our homes and our lives; and how would it be otherwise than base in us to think that we have a right to enjoy security protected by other men’s spears, while we ourselves do not take up the spear for our own defence? And yet we must be fully aware that there is no such safeguard as for a man to be good and brave himself; this guard must be ever at our side. But if a man lack virtue, neither is it fitting that aught else be well with him. [85]

“What, then, do I propose that we should do, wherein practise virtue, and where apply the practice? I have nothing new to tell you, my men; but just as in Persia the peers spend their time at the government buildings, so here also we peers must practise the same things as we did there; you must be in your places and watch me to see if I continue to do what I ought, and I will watch to see the same

in you, and whomsoever I see pursuing what is good and honourable, him will I honour. [86] And as for our boys, as many as shall be born to us, let us educate them here. For we ourselves shall be better, if we aim to set before the boys as good examples as we can in ourselves; and the boys could not easily turn out bad, even if they should wish to, if they neither see nor hear anything vicious but spend their days in good and noble pursuits.”

BOOK VIII.

1. Such was Cyrus's address; and after him Chrysantas rose and spoke as follows: "Well, gentlemen, I have noticed often enough before now that a good ruler is not at all different from a good father. For as fathers provide for their children so that they may never be in want of the good things of life, so Cyrus seems to me now to be giving us counsel how we may best continue in prosperity. But there is one thing that he has not stated so clearly, it seems to me, as he should have done, and that I will try to present to any who do not know about it. [2] Bethink you, then, of this: what city that is hostile could be taken or what city that is friendly could be preserved by soldiers who are insubordinate? What army of disobedient men could gain a victory? How could men be more easily defeated in battle than when they begin to think each of his own individual safety? And what possible success could be achieved by such as do not obey their superiors? What state could be administered according to its laws, or what private establishments could be maintained, and how could ships arrive at their destination? [3]

"And as for us, how have we secured the good things we now have, except by obedience to our commander? For by that course we always quickly reached our required destination, whether by day or by night, and following our commander in close array we were invincible, and we left half done none of the tasks committed to us. If, therefore, obedience to one's commander is, as it seems, the first essential to achieving success, then you may be sure that this same course is the first essential to ensuring its permanence. [4]

"Heretofore, you know, many of us had no command but were under command; but now all of you here are so situated that you have command, some of larger, some of smaller divisions. Therefore, as you yourselves will expect to exercise authority over those under your command, so let us also give our obedience to those whom it is our duty to obey. And we must distinguish ourselves from slaves in this way, that, whereas slaves serve their masters against their wills, we, if indeed we claim to be free, must do of our own free will all that seems to be of the first importance. And you will find that

among states, even when the government is not a monarchy, that state which most readily obeys its officers is least likely to be compelled to submit to its enemies. [5]

“Let us, therefore, present ourselves before our ruler’s headquarters yonder, as Cyrus bids; let us devote ourselves to those pursuits by which we shall best be able to hold fast to that which we ought, and let us offer ourselves for whatever service Cyrus may need us for. And this trust will not be abused, for we may be sure that Cyrus will never be able to find anything in which he can employ us for his own advantage and not equally for ours; for we have common interests and we have common enemies.” [6]

When Chrysantas had finished this address, many others also both of the Persians and the allies rose to support him. They passed a resolution that the nobles should always be in attendance at court and be in readiness for whatever service Cyrus wished until he should dismiss them. And as they then resolved, so even unto this day those who are the subjects of the great king in Asia continue to do — they are constantly in attendance at the court of their princes. [7] And the institutions which Cyrus inaugurated as a means of securing the kingdom permanently to himself and the Persians, as has been set forth in the foregoing narrative, these the succeeding kings have preserved unchanged even to this day. [8] And it is the same with these as with everything else: whenever the officer in charge is better, the administration of the institution is purer; but when he is worse, the administration is more corrupt. Accordingly, the nobles came to Cyrus’s court with their horses and their spears, for so it had been decreed by the best of those who with him had made the conquest of the kingdom. [9]

Cyrus next appointed officers to have charge of the various departments; for example, tax-collectors, paymasters, boards of public works, keepers of his estates, and stewards of his commissary department. He appointed also as superintendents of his horses and hounds those who he thought would keep these creatures in a condition most efficient for his use. [10]

But he did not in the same way leave to others the precaution of seeing that those whom he thought he ought to have as his associates in establishing the permanence of his success should be the ablest

men available, but he considered that this responsibility was his own. For he knew that if ever there should be occasion for fighting, he would then have to select from their number men to stand beside and behind him, men in whose company also he would have to meet the greatest dangers; from their number likewise he knew that he would have to appoint his captains both of foot and of horse. [11]

Besides, if generals should be needed where he himself could not be, he knew that they would have to be commissioned from among that same number. And he knew that he must employ some of these to be governors and satraps of cities or of whole nations, and that he must send others on embassies — an office which he considered of the very first importance for obtaining without war whatever he might want. [12]

If, therefore, those by whom the most numerous and most important affairs of state were to be transacted were not what they ought to be, he thought that his government would be a failure. But if they were all that they ought to be, he believed that everything would succeed. In this conviction, therefore, he took upon himself this charge; and he determined that the same practice of virtue should be his as well. For he thought that it was not possible for him to incite others to good and noble deeds, if he were not himself such as he ought to be. [13]

When he had arrived at this conclusion, he thought, first of all, that he needed leisure if he were to be able to confine his attention to affairs of paramount importance. He decided, then, that it was out of the question for him to neglect the revenues, for he foresaw that there would necessarily be enormous expenses connected with a vast empire; and on the other hand, he knew that for him to be constantly engaged in giving his personal attention to his manifold possessions would leave him with no time to care for the welfare of the whole realm. [14]

As he thus pondered how the business of administration might be successfully conducted and how he still might have the desired leisure, he somehow happened to think of his military organization: in general, the sergeants care for the ten men under them, the lieutenants for the sergeants, the colonels for the lieutenants, the generals for the colonels, and thus no one is uncared for, even though

there be many brigades; and when the commander-in-chief wishes to do anything with his army, it is sufficient for him to issue his commands only to his brigadier-generals. [15] On this same model, then, Cyrus centralized the administrative functions also. And so it was possible for him, by communicating with only a few officers, to have no part of his administration uncared for. In this way he now enjoyed more leisure than one who has care of a single household or a single ship.

When he had thus organized his own functions in the government, he instructed those about him to follow the same plan of organization. [16]

In this way, then, he secured leisure for himself and for his ministers; and then he began to take measures that his associates in power should be such as they ought to be. In the first place, if any of those who were able to live by the labours of others failed to attend at court, he made inquiry after them; for he thought that those who came would not be willing to do anything dishonourable or immoral, partly because they were in the presence of their sovereign and partly also because they knew that, whatever they did, they would be under the eyes of the best men there; whereas, in the case of those who did not, come he believed that they absented themselves because they were guilty of some form of intemperance or injustice or neglect of duty. [17]

We will describe first, therefore, the manner in which he obliged all such to come; he would direct some one of the best friends he had at court to seize some of the property of the man who did not present himself and to declare that he was taking only what was his own. So, whenever this happened, those who lost their effects would come to him to complain that they had been wronged. [18] Cyrus, however, would not be at leisure for a long time to give such men a hearing, and when he did give them a hearing he would postpone the trial for a long time. By so doing he thought he would accustom them to pay their court and that he would thus excite less ill-feeling than he would if he compelled them to come by imposing penalties. [19]

That was one of his methods of training them to attend. Another was to give those who did attend the easiest and the most profitable employment; and another was never to distribute any favours among

those who failed to attend. [20] But the surest way of compulsion was this: if a man paid no attention to any of these three methods, he would take away all that he had and give it to some one else who he thought would present himself when he was wanted; and thus he would get a useful friend in exchange for a useless one. And the king to-day likewise makes inquiries if any one absents himself whose duty it is to be present. [21]

Thus, then, he dealt with those who failed to attend at court. But in those who did present themselves he believed that he could in no way more effectively inspire a desire for the beautiful and the good than by endeavouring, as their sovereign, to set before his subjects a perfect model of virtue in his own person. [22] For he thought he perceived that men are made better through even the written law, while the good ruler he regarded as a law with eyes for men, because he is able not only to give commandments but also to see the transgressor and punish him. [23]

In this conviction, he showed himself in the first place more devout in his worship of the gods, now that he was more fortunate; and then for the first time the college of magi was instituted... and he never failed to sing hymns to the gods at daybreak and to sacrifice daily to whatsoever deities the magi directed. [24] Thus the institutions established by him at that time have continued in force with each successive king even to this day. In this respect, therefore, the rest of the Persians also imitated him from the first; for they believed that they would be more sure of good fortune if they revered the gods just as he did who was their sovereign and the most fortunate of all; and they thought also that in doing this they would please Cyrus. [25] And Cyrus considered that the piety of his friends was a good thing for him, too; for he reasoned as they do who prefer, when embarking on a voyage, to set sail with pious companions rather than with those who are believed to have committed some impiety. And besides, he reasoned that if all his associates were god-fearing men, they would be less inclined to commit crime against one another or against himself, for he considered himself their benefactor; [26] and if he made it plain how important he held it to be to wrong no one of his friends or allies, and if he always paid scrupulous regard to what was upright, others also, he thought, would be more likely to abstain from

improper gains and to endeavour to make their way by upright methods. [27] And he thought that he should be more likely to inspire in all respect for others, if he himself were seen to show such respect for all as not to say or do anything improper. [28] And that this would be the result he concluded from the following observation: people have more respect for those who have such respect for others than they have for those who have not; they show it toward even those whom they do not fear — to say nothing of what they would show toward their kings; and women also whom they see showing respect for others they are more inclined to look upon in turn with respect. [29]

And again, obedience he thought would be most deeply impressed upon his attendants, if he showed that he honoured those who unhesitatingly obeyed more than those who thought they exhibited the greatest and most elaborate virtues. And thus he continued throughout to judge and to act. [30]

And by making his own self-control an example, he disposed all to practise that virtue more diligently. For when the weaker members of society see that one who is in a position where he may indulge himself to excess is still under self-control, they naturally strive all the more not to be found guilty of any excessive indulgence. [31] <Moreover, he distinguished between considerateness and self-control in this way: the considerate are those who avoid what is offensive when seen; the self-controlled avoid that which is offensive, even when unseen.> [32] And he thought that temperance could be best inculcated, if he showed that he himself was never carried away from the pursuit of the good by any pleasures of the moment, but that he was willing to labour first for the attainment of refined pleasures. [33]

To sum up, then, by setting such an example Cyrus secured at court great correctness of conduct on the part of his subordinates, who gave precedence to their superiors; and thus he also secured from them a great degree of respect and politeness toward one another. And among them you would never have detected any one raising his voice in anger or giving vent to his delight in boisterous laughter; but on seeing them you would have judged that they were in truth making a noble life their aim. [34]

Such was what they did and such what they witnessed day by day at court. With a view to training in the arts of war, Cyrus used to take out hunting those who he thought ought to have such practice, for he held that this was altogether the best training in military science and also the truest in horsemanship. [35] For it is the exercise best adapted to give riders a firm seat in all sorts of places, because they have to pursue the animals wherever they may run; and it is also the best exercise to make them active on horseback because of their rivalry and eagerness to get the game. [36] By this same exercise, too, he was best able to accustom his associates to temperance and the endurance of hardship, to heat and cold, to hunger and thirst. And even to this day the king and the rest that make up his retinue continue to engage in the same sport. [37]

From all that has been said, therefore, it is evident that he believed that no one had any right to rule who was not better than his subjects; and it is evident, too, that in thus drilling those about him he himself got his own best training both in temperance and in the arts and pursuits of war. [38] For he not only used to take the others out hunting, whenever there was no need of his staying at home, but even when there was some need of his staying at home, he would himself hunt the animals that were kept in the parks. And he never dined without first having got himself into a sweat, nor would he have any food given to his horses without their having first been duly exercised; and to these hunts he would invite also the mace-bearers in attendance upon him. [39] The result of all this constant training was that he and his associates greatly excelled in all manly exercises. Such an example did he furnish by his own personal conduct.

And besides this, he used to reward with gifts and positions of authority and seats of honour and all sorts of preferment others whom he saw devoting themselves most eagerly to the attainment of excellence; and thus he inspired in all an earnest ambition, each striving to appear as deserving as he could in the eyes of Cyrus. [40]

We think, furthermore, that we have observed in Cyrus that he held the opinion that a ruler ought to excel his subjects not only in point of being actually better than they, but that he ought also to cast a sort of spell upon them. At any rate, he chose to wear the Median dress himself and persuaded his associates also to adopt it; for he

thought that if any one had any personal defect, that dress would help to conceal it, and that it made the wearer look very tall and very handsome. [41] For they have shoes of such a form that without being detected the wearer can easily put something into the soles so as to make him look taller than he is. He encouraged also the fashion of pencilling the eyes, that they might seem more lustrous than they are, and of using cosmetics to make the complexion look better than nature made it. [42]

He trained his associates also not to spit or to wipe the nose in public, and not to turn round to look at anything, as being men who wondered at nothing. All this he thought contributed, in some measure, to their appearing to their subjects men who could not lightly be despised. [43]

Those, therefore, who he thought ought to be in authority he thus prepared in his own school by careful training as well as by the respect which he commanded as their leader; those, on the other hand, whom he was training to be servants he did not encourage to practise any of the exercises of freemen; neither did he allow them to own weapons; but he took care that they should not suffer any deprivation in food or drink on account of the exercises in which they served the freemen. [44] And he managed it in this way: whenever they were to drive the animals down into the plains for the horsemen, he allowed those of the lower classes, but none of the freemen, to take food with them on the hunt; and whenever there was an expedition to make, he would lead the serving men to water, just as he did the beasts of burden. And again, when it was time for luncheon, he would wait for them until they could get something to eat, so that they should not get so ravenously hungry. And so this class also called him “father,” just as the nobles did, for he provided for them well <so that they might spend all their lives as slaves, without a protest>. [45]

Thus he secured for the whole Persian empire the necessary stability; and as for himself, he was perfectly confident that there was no danger of his suffering aught at the hands of those whom he had subdued. And the ground of his confidence was this — that he believed them to be powerless and he saw that they were unorganized; and besides that, not one of them came near him either

by night or by day. [46] But there were some whom he considered very powerful and whom he saw well armed and well organized; and some of them, he knew, had cavalry under their command, others infantry; and he was aware that many of them had the assurance to think that they were competent to rule; and these not only came in very close touch with his guards but many of them came frequently in contact with Cyrus himself, and this was unavoidable if he was to make any use of them — this, then, was the quarter from which there was the greatest danger that something might happen to him in any one of many ways. [47]

So, as he cast about in his mind how to remove any danger that might arise from them also, he rejected the thought of disarming them and making them incapable of war; for he decided that that would be unjust, and besides he thought that this would be destruction to his empire. On the other hand, he believed that to refuse to admit them to his presence or to show that he mistrusted them would lead at once to hostilities. [48] But better than any of these ways, he recognized that there was one course that would be at once the most honourable and the most conducive to his own personal security, and that was, if possible, to make those powerful nobles better friends to himself than to one another. We shall, therefore, attempt to explain the method that he seems to have taken to gain their friendship.

2. In the first place, then, he showed at all times as great kindness of heart as he could; for he believed that just as it is not easy to love those who seem to hate us, or to cherish good-will toward those who bear us ill-will, in the same way those who are known to love and to cherish good-will could not be hated by those who believe themselves loved. [2]

During the time, therefore, when he was not yet quite able to do favours through gifts of money, he tried to win the love of those about him by taking forethought for them and labouring for them and showing that he rejoiced with them in their good fortune and sympathized with them in their mishaps; and after he found himself in a position to do favours with money, he seems to us to have recognized from the start that there is no kindness which men can show one another, with the same amount of expenditure, more

acceptable than sharing meat and drink with them. [3] In this belief, he first of all arranged that there should be placed upon his own table a quantity of food, like that of which he himself regularly partook, sufficient for a very large number of people; and all of that which was served to him, except what he and his companions at table consumed, he distributed among those of his friends to whom he wished to send remembrances or good wishes. And he used to send such presents around to those also whose services on garrison duty or in attendance upon him or in any other way met with his approval; in this way he let them see that he did not fail to observe their wish to please him. [4]

He used also to honour with presents from his table any one of his servants whom he took occasion to commend; and he had all of his servants' food served from his own table, for he thought that this would implant in them a certain amount of good-will, just as it does in dogs. And if he wished to have any one of his friends courted by the multitude, to such a one he would send presents from his table. And that device proved effective; for even to this day everybody pays more diligent court to those to whom they see things sent from the royal table; for they think that such persons must be in high favour and in a position to secure for them anything they may want. Moreover, it is not for these reasons only that that which is sent by the king gives delight, but the food that is sent from the king's board really is much superior in the gratification also that it gives. [5] That this, however, should be so is no marvel. For just as all other arts are developed to superior excellence in large cities, in that same way the food at the king's palace is also elaborately prepared with superior excellence. For in small towns the same workman makes chairs and doors and plows and tables, and often this same artisan builds houses, and even so he is thankful if he can only find employment enough to support him. And it is, of course, impossible for a man of many trades to be proficient in all of them. In large cities, on the other hand, inasmuch as many people have demands to make upon each branch of industry, one trade alone, and very often even less than a whole trade, is enough to support a man: one man, for instance, makes shoes for men, and another for women; and there are places even where one man earns a living by only stitching shoes,

another by cutting them out, another by sewing the uppers together, while there is another who performs none of these operations but only assembles the parts. It follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that he who devotes himself to a very highly specialized line of work is bound to do it in the best possible manner. [6]

Exactly the same thing holds true also in reference to the kitchen: in any establishment where one and the same man arranges the dining couches, lays the table, bakes the bread, prepares now one sort of dish and now another, he must necessarily have things go as they may; but where it is all one man can do to stew meats and another to roast them, for one man to boil fish and another to bake them, for another to make bread and not every sort at that, but where it suffices if he makes one kind that has a high reputation — everything that is prepared in such a kitchen will, I think, necessarily be worked out with superior excellence. [7]

Accordingly, Cyrus far surpassed all others in the art of making much of his friends by gifts of food. And how he far surpassed in every other way of courting favour, I will now explain. Though he far exceeded all other men in the amount of the revenues he received, yet he excelled still more in the quantity of presents he made. It was Cyrus, therefore, who began the practice of lavish giving, and among the kings it continues even to this day. [8] For who has richer friends to show than the Persian king? Who is there that is known to adorn his friends with more beautiful robes than does the king? Whose gifts are so readily recognized as some of those which the king gives, such as bracelets, necklaces, and horses with gold-studded bridles? For, as everybody knows, no one over there is allowed to have such things except those to whom the king has given them. [9] And of whom else is it said that by the munificence of his gifts he makes himself preferred above even brothers and parents and children? Who else was ever in a position like the Persian king to punish enemies who were distant a journey of many months? And who, besides Cyrus, ever gained an empire by conquest and even to his death was called “father” by the people he had subdued? For that name obviously belongs to a benefactor rather than to a despoiler. [10] Moreover, we have discovered that he acquired the so-called “king’s eyes” and “king’s ears” in no other way than by bestowing presents and

honours; for by rewarding liberally those who reported to him whatever it was to his interest to hear, he prompted many men to make it their business to use their eyes and ears to spy out what they could report to the king to his advantage. [11] As a natural result of this, many “eyes” and many “ears” were ascribed to the king. But if any one thinks that the king selected one man to be his “eye,” he is wrong; for one only would see and one would hear but little; and it would have amounted to ordering all the rest to pay no attention, if one only had been appointed to see and hear. Besides, if people knew that a certain man was the “eye,” they would know that they must beware of him. But such is not the case; for the king listens to anybody who may claim to have heard or seen anything worthy of attention. [12] And thus the saying comes about, “The king has many ears and many eyes”; and people are everywhere afraid to say anything to the discredit of the king, just as if he himself were listening; or to do anything to harm him, just as if he were present. Not only, therefore, would no one have ventured to say anything derogatory of Cyrus to any one else, but every one conducted himself at all times just as if those who were within hearing were so many eyes and ears of the king. I do not know what better reason any one could assign for this attitude toward him on the part of people generally than that it was his policy to do large favours in return for small ones. [13]

That he, the richest man of all, should excel in the munificence of his presents is not surprising; but for him, the king, to exceed all others in thoughtful attention to his friends and in care for them, that is more remarkable; and it is said to have been no secret that there was nothing wherein he would have been so much ashamed of being outdone as in attention to his friends. [14] People quote a remark of his to the effect that the duties of a good shepherd and of a good king were very much alike; a good shepherd ought, while deriving benefit from his flocks, to make them happy (so far as sheep can be said to have happiness), and in the same way a king ought to make his people and his cities happy, if he would derive benefits from them. Seeing that he held this theory, it is not at all surprising that he was ambitious to surpass all other men in attention to his friends. [15] And, among other proofs, Cyrus is said to have given Croesus one

splendid practical demonstration of the correctness of this theory, when the latter warned him that by giving so much away he would make himself poor, whereas he was in a position to lay up in his house more treasures of gold than any other man.

“And how much gold, pray,” Cyrus is said to have asked, “do you think I should have by this time, if I had been amassing it, as you propose, ever since I have been in power?” [16]

Croesus named some large sum.

“Well, then, Croesus,” said Cyrus in reply, “send along with Hystaspas here a man in whom you have most confidence. And you, Hystaspas,” said he to him, “go the round of my friends and tell them that I need money for a certain enterprise; for, in truth, I do need more. And bid them write down the amount they could each let me have, and affix their seals to each subscription, and give it to Croesus’s messenger to deliver here.” [17]

And when he had written down what he had said, he sealed the letter and gave it to Hystaspas to carry to his friends. And he included in it also a request that they all receive Hystaspas as his friend.

And when he had made the round and Croesus’s messenger had brought in the subscriptions, Hystaspas said: “King Cyrus, you should treat me also henceforth as a rich man; for, thanks to your letter, I have come back with a great number of presents.” [18]

“Even in this man, Croesus,” said Cyrus, “we have one treasure-house already. But as for the rest of my friends, look over the list, and add up the amounts, and see how much money is ready for me, if I need any for my use.”

Then Croesus is said to have added it up and to have found that there was many times as much subscribed as he had told Cyrus he should have in his treasury by this time, if he had been amassing it. [19] And when this became apparent, Cyrus is said to have remarked: “Do you observe, Croesus, that I, too, have my treasures? But you are proposing to me to get them together and hoard them in my palace, to put hired watchmen in charge of everything and to trust to them, and on account of those hoards to be envied and hated. I, on the other hand, believe that if I make my friends rich I shall have treasures in them and at the same time more trusty watchers both of

my person and of our common fortunes than any hired guards I could put in charge. [20] And one more thing I must tell you: even I cannot eradicate from myself that passion for wealth which the gods have put into the human soul and by which they have made us all poor alike, but I, too, am as insatiate of wealth as other people are. [21] However, I think I am different from most people, in that others, when they have acquired more than a sufficiency, bury some of their treasure and allow some to decay, and some they weary themselves with counting, measuring, weighing, airing, and watching; and though they have so much at home, they never eat more than they can hold, for they would burst if they did, and they never wear more than they can carry, for they would be suffocated if they did; they only find their superfluous treasure a burden. [22] But I follow the leading of the gods and am always grasping after more. But when I have obtained what I see is more than enough for my needs, I use it to satisfy the wants of my friends; and by enriching men and doing them kindnesses I win with my superfluous wealth their friendship and loyalty, and from that I reap as my reward security and good fame — possessions that never decay or do injury from overloading the recipient; but the more one has of good fame, the greater and more attractive and lighter to bear it becomes, and often, too, it makes those who bear it lighter of heart. [23]

“And let me tell you, Croesus,” he continued, “I do not consider those the happiest who have the most and keep guard of the most; for if that were so, those would be the happiest who keep guard on the city walls, for they keep guard of everything in the city. But the one who can honestly acquire the most and use the most to noble ends, him I count most happy.”

And it was evident that he practised what he preached. [24]

Besides this, he had observed that most people in days of health and strength make preparations that they may have the necessities of life, and they lay up for themselves what will serve to supply the wants of healthy people; but he saw that they made no provision at all for such things as would be serviceable in case of sickness. He resolved, therefore, to work out these problems, and to that end he spared no expense to collect about him the very best physicians and surgeons and all the instruments and drugs and articles of food and

drink that any one of them said would be useful — there were none of these things that he did not procure and keep in store at his palace. [25] And whenever any one fell sick in whose recovery he was interested, he would visit him and provide for him whatever was needed. And he was grateful to the physicians also, whenever any of them took any of his medical stores and with them effected a cure. [26]

These and many other such arts he employed in order to hold the first place in the affections of those by whom he wished to be beloved.

And the games, in which Cyrus used to announce contests and to offer prizes from a desire to inspire in his people a spirit of emulation in what was beautiful and good — these games also brought him praise, because his aim was to secure practice in excellence. But these contests also stirred up contentions and jealousies among the nobles. [27]

Besides this, Cyrus had made a regulation that was practically a law, that, in any matter that required adjudication, whether it was a civil action or a contest for a prize, those who asked for such adjudication must concur in the choice of judges. It was, therefore, a matter of course that each of the contestants aimed to secure the most influential men as judges and such as were most friendly to himself. The one who did not win was always jealous of those who did, and disliked those of the judges who did not vote in his favour; on the other hand, the one who did win claimed that he had won by virtue of the justice of his cause, and so he thought he owed no thanks to anybody. [28]

And those also who wished to hold the first place in the affections of Cyrus were jealous of one another, just like other people (even in republics), so that in most cases the one would have wished to get the other out of the way sooner than to join with him in any work to their mutual interest.

Thus it has been shown how he contrived that the most influential citizens should love him more than they did each other.

3. Next we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth in state from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect.

Accordingly, before he started out, he called to him those of the Persians and of the allies who held office, and distributed Median robes among them (and this was the first time that the Persians put on the Median robe); and as he distributed them he said that he wished to proceed in state to the sanctuaries that had been selected for the gods, and to offer sacrifice there with his friends. [2] “Come, therefore, to court before sunrise, dressed in these robes,” said he, “and form in line as Pheraulas, the Persian, shall direct in my name; and when I lead the way, follow me in the order assigned to you. But if any one of you thinks that some other way would be better than that in which we shall now proceed, let him inform me as soon as we return, for everything must be arranged as you think best and most becoming.” [3]

And when he had distributed among the noblest the most beautiful garments, he brought out other Median robes, for he had had a great many made, with no stint of purple or sable or red or scarlet or crimson cloaks. He apportioned to each one of his officers his proper share of them, and he bade them adorn their friends with them, “just as I,” said he, “have been adorning you.” [4]

“And you, Cyrus,” asked one of those present, “when will you adorn yourself?”

“Why, do I not seem to you to be adorned myself when I adorn you?” he answered. “Be sure that if I can treat you, my friends, properly, I shall look well, no matter what sort of dress I happen to have on.” [5]

So they went away, sent for their friends, and adorned them with the robes.

Now Cyrus believed Pheraulas, that man of the common people, to be intelligent, to have an eye for beauty and order, and to be not indisposed to please him; (this was the same Pheraulas who had once supported his proposal that each man should be honoured in accordance with his merit;) so he called him in and with him planned how to arrange the procession in a manner that should prove most splendid in the eyes of his loyal friends and most intimidating to those who were disaffected. [6] And when after careful study they agreed on the arrangement, he bade Pheraulas see that the procession take place on the morrow exactly as they had decided was best. “And

I have issued orders,” said he, “that everybody shall obey you in regard to the ordering of the procession; but, in order that they may the more readily follow your directions, take these tunics here and give them to the officers of the lancers, and these cavalry mantles here to the commanders of the horse; and give the officers of the chariot forces also these other tunics.”

So he took them and carried them away. [7] And when the officers one after another saw him, they would say: “You must be a great man, Pheraulas, seeing that you are to command even us what we must do.”

“No, by Zeus,” Pheraulas would answer; “not only not that, so it seems, but I am even to be one of the porters; at any rate, I am now carrying these two mantles here, the one for you, the other for some one else. You, however, shall have your choice.” [8]

With that, of course, the man who was receiving the mantle would at once forget about his jealousy and presently be asking his advice which one to choose. And he would give his advice as to which one was better and say: “If you betray that I have given you your choice, you will find me a different sort of servant the next time I come to serve.” And when Pheraulas had distributed everything as he had been instructed to do, he at once began to arrange for the procession that it might be as splendid as possible in every detail. [9]

When the next day dawned, everything was in order before sunrise; rows of soldiers stood on this side of the street and on that, just as even to this day the Persians stand, where the king is to pass; and within these lines no one may enter except those who hold positions of honour. And policemen with whips in their hands were stationed there, who struck any one who tried to crowd in.

First in order, in front of the gates stood about four thousand lancers, four deep, and two thousand on either side the gates. [10] And all the cavalry-men had alighted and stood there beside their horses, and they all had their hands thrust through the sleeves of their doublets, just as they do even to this day when the king sees them. The Persians stood on the right side of the street, the others, the allies, on the left, and the chariots were arranged in the same way, half on either side. [11]

Then, when the palace gates were thrown open, there were led out

at the head of the procession four abreast some exceptionally handsome bulls for Zeus and for the other gods as the magi directed; for the Persians think that they ought much more scrupulously to be guided by those whose profession is with things divine than they are by those in other professions. [12] Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses and with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, for the Sun, a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying fire on a great altar. [13]

Next after these Cyrus himself upon a chariot appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same mark of distinction, and they retain it even now. [14] His hands he kept outside his sleeves. With him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller.

And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before. [15]

Then, when Cyrus's chariot had come forth, the four thousand lancers took the lead, and the two thousand fell in line on either side of his chariot; and his mace-bearers, about three hundred in number, followed next in gala attire, mounted, and equipped with their customary javelins. [16] Next came Cyrus's private stud of horses, about two hundred in all, led along with gold-mounted bridles and covered over with embroidered housings. Behind these came two thousand spearmen, and after them the original ten thousand Persian cavalry, drawn up in a square with a hundred on each side; and Chrysantas was in command of them. [17] Behind them came ten thousand other Persian horsemen arranged in the same way with Hystaspas in command, and after them ten thousand more in the

same formation with Datamas as their commander; following them, as many more with Gadatas in command. [18] And then followed in succession the cavalry of the Medes, Armenians, Hyrcanians, Cadusians, and Sacians; and behind the cavalry came the chariots ranged four abreast, and Artabatas, a Persian, had command of them. [19]

And as he proceeded, a great throng of people followed outside the lines with petitions to present to Cyrus, one about one matter, another about another. So he sent to them some of his mace-bearers, who followed, three on either side of his chariot, for the express purpose of carrying messages for him; and he bade them say that if any one wanted anything of him, he should make his wish known to some one of his cavalry officers and they, he said, would inform him. So the people at once fell back and made their way along the lines of cavalry, each considering what officer he should approach. [20]

From time to time Cyrus would send some one to call to him one by one those of his friends whom he wished to have most courted by the people, and would say to them: "If any one of the people following the procession tries to bring anything to your attention, if you do not think he has anything worth while to say, pay no attention to him; but if any one seems to you to ask what is fair, come and tell me, so that we may consult together and grant the petition." [21]

And whenever he sent such summons, the men would ride up at full speed to answer it, thereby magnifying the majesty of Cyrus's authority and at the same time showing their eagerness to obey. There was but one exception: a certain Dai+phernes, a fellow rather boorish in his manners, though that he would show more independence if he did not obey at once. [22] Cyrus noticed this; and so, before Dai+phernes came and talked with him, he sent one of his mace-bearers privately to say that he had no more need of him; and he did not send for him again. [23] But when a man who was summoned later than Dai+phernes rode up to him sooner than he, Cyrus gave him one of the horses that were being led in the procession and gave orders to one of the macebearers to have it led away for him wherever he should direct. And to those who saw it it seemed to be a mark of great honour, and as a consequence of that event many more people paid court to that man. [24]

So, when they came to the sanctuaries, they performed the sacrifice to Zeus and made a holocaust of the bulls; then they gave the horses to the flames in honour of the Sun; next they did sacrifice to the Earth, as the magi directed, and lastly to the tutelary heroes of Syria. [25] And after that, as the locality seemed adapted to the purpose, he pointed out a goal about five stadia distant and commanded the riders, nation by nation, to put their horses at full speed toward it. Accordingly, he himself rode with the Persians and came in far ahead of the rest, for he had given especial attention to horsemanship. Among the Medes, Artabazus won the race, for the horse he had was a gift from Cyrus; among the Assyrians who had revolted to him, Gadatas secured the first place; among the Armenians, Tigranes; and among the Hyrcanians, the son of the master of the horse; but among the Sacians a certain private soldier with his horse actually outdistanced the rest by nearly half the course. [26] Thereupon Cyrus is said to have asked the young man if he would take a kingdom for his horse.

“No,” answered he; “I would not take a kingdom for him, but I would take the chance of laying up a store of gratitude with a brave man.” [27]

“Aye,” said Cyrus, “and I will show you where you could not fail to hit a brave man, even if you throw with your eyes shut.”

“All right, then,” said the Sacian; “show me; and I will throw this clod here.” And with that he picked one up. [28]

And Cyrus pointed out to him the place where most of his friends were. And the other, shutting his eyes, let fly with the clod and hit Pheraulas as he was riding by; for Pheraulas happened to be carrying some message under orders from Cyrus. But though he was hit, he did not so much as turn around but went on to attend to his commission. [29]

The Sacian opened his eyes and asked whom he had hit.

“None of those here, by Zeus,” said Cyrus.

“Well, surely it was not one of those who are not here,” said the youth.

“Yes, by Zeus,” said Cyrus, “it was; you hit that man who is riding so fast along the line of chariots yonder.”

“And why does he not even turn around?” said the youth. [30]

“Because he is crazy, I should think,” answered Cyrus.

On hearing this, the young man went to find out who it was. And he found Pheraulas with his chin covered with dirt and blood, for the blood had flowed from his nose where he had been struck; and when he came up to him he asked him if he had been hit. [31]

“As you see,” he answered.

“Well then,” said the other, “I will make you a present of this horse.”

“What for?” asked Pheraulas.

Then the Sacian related the circumstances and finally said: “And in my opinion, at least, I have not failed to hit a brave man.” [32]

“But you would give him to a richer man than I, if you were wise,” answered Pheraulas. “Still, even as it is, I will accept him. And I pray the gods, who have caused me to receive your blow, to grant me to see that you never regret your gift to me. And now,” said he, “mount my horse and ride away; I will join you presently.”

Thus they made the exchange.

Of the Cadusians, Rhathines was the winner. [33]

The chariots also he allowed to race by divisions; to all the winners he gave cups and cattle, so that they might sacrifice and have a banquet. He himself, then, took the ox as his prize, but his share of the cups he gave to Pheraulas because he thought that that officer, as grand marshal, had managed the procession from the palace admirably. [34]

The procession of the king, therefore, as thus instituted by Cyrus, continues even so unto this day, except that the victims are omitted when the king does not offer sacrifice.

When it was all over, they went back to the city to their lodgings — those to whom houses had been given, to their homes; those who had none, to their company’s quarters. [35]

Pheraulas invited to his house the Sacian also, who had given him his horse, and entertained his new friend there and made bountiful provision for him in every way; and when they had dined, he filled up the cups that he had received from Cyrus, drank to his health, and then gave him the cups. [36]

And when the Sacian saw the many beautiful coverlets, the many beautiful pieces of furniture, and the large number of servants, he

said: "Pray tell me, Pheraulas, were you a rich man at home, too?" [37]

"Rich, indeed!" answered Pheraulas; "nay rather, as everybody knows, one of those who lived by the labour of their hands. To be sure, my father, who supported us by hard labour and close economy on his own part, managed to give me the education of the boys; but when I became a young man, he could not support me in idleness, and so he took me off to the farm and put me to work. [38] And there, as long as he lived, I, in turn, supported him by digging and planting a very little plot of ground. It was really not such a very bad plot of ground, but, on the contrary, the most honest; for all the seed that it received it returned fairly and honestly, and yet with no very great amount of interest. And sometimes, in a fit of generosity, it would even return to me twice as much as it received. Thus, then, I used to live at home; but now everything that you see has been given to me by Cyrus." [39]

"What a happy fellow you must be," said the Sacian, "for every reason, but particularly because from being poor you have become rich. For you must enjoy your riches much more, I think, for the very reason that it was only after being hungry for wealth that you became rich." [40]

"Why, do you actually suppose, my Sacian friend," answered Pheraulas, "that the more I own, the more happily I live? You are not aware," he went on, "that it gives me not one whit more pleasure to eat and drink and sleep now than it did when I was poor. My only gain from having so much is that I am obliged to take care of more, distribute more to others, and have the trouble of looking after more than I used to have. [41] For now many domestics look to me for food, many for drink, and many for clothes, while some need doctors; and one comes to me with a tale about sheep attacked by wolves, or of oxen killed by falling over a precipice, or to say that some disease has broken out among the cattle. And so it looks to me," said Pheraulas, "as if I had more trouble now through possessing much than I used to have from possessing little." [42]

"But still, by Zeus," said the Sacian, "when everything is going well, you must at the sight of so many blessings be many times as happy as I."

“The pleasure that the possession of wealth gives, my good Sacian,” said Pheraulas, “is not nearly so great as the pain that is caused by its loss. And you shall be convinced that what I say is true: for not one of those who are rich is made sleepless for joy, but of those who lose anything you will not see one who is able to sleep for grief.” [43]

“Not so, by Zeus,” said the Sacian; “but of those who get anything not one could you see who gets a wink of sleep for very joy.” [44]

“True,” said the other; “for, you see, if having were as pleasant as getting, the rich would be incomparably happier than the poor. But, you see, my good Sacian, it is also a matter of course that he who has much should also spend much both in the service of the gods and for his friends and for the strangers within his gates. Let me assure you, therefore, that any one who takes inordinate pleasure in the possession of money is also inordinately distressed at having to part with it.” [45]

“Aye, by Zeus,” answered the Sacian; “but I am not one of that sort; my idea of happiness is both to have much and also to spend much.” [46]

“In the name of the gods, then,” said Pheraulas, “please make yourself happy at once and make me happy, too! Take all this and own it and use it as you wish. And as for me, you need do no more than keep me as a guest — aye, even more sparingly than a guest, for I shall be content to share whatever you have.” [47]

“You are joking,” said the Sacian.

But Pheraulas assured him with an oath that he was really in earnest in what he proposed. “And I will get you other favours besides from Cyrus, my Sacian — exemption from attending at court and from serving in the field; you may just stay at home with your wealth. I will attend to those other duties for you as well as for myself; and if I secure anything more of value either through my attendance upon Cyrus or from some campaign, I will bring it to you, so that you may have still more wealth at your command. Only deliver me from this care. For if you will relieve me of its burden, I think you will do a great service also to Cyrus as well as to myself.” [48]

When they had thus talked things over together, they came to an

agreement according to this last suggestion and proceeded to act upon it. And the one thought that he had been made a happy man because he had command of great riches, while the other considered himself most blessed because he was to have a steward who would give him leisure to do only whatever was pleasant to him. [49]

Now, Pheraulas was naturally a “good fellow,” and nothing seemed to him so pleasant or so useful as to serve other people. For he held man to be the best and most grateful of all creatures, since he saw that when people are praised by any one they are very glad to praise him in turn; and when any one does them a favour, they try to do him one in return; when they recognize that any one is kindly disposed toward them they return his good-will; and when they know that any one loves them they cannot dislike him; and he noticed especially that they strive more earnestly than any other creature to return the loving care of parents both during their parents’ lifetime and after their death; whereas all other creatures, he knew, were both more thankless and more unfeeling than man. [50]

And so Pheraulas was greatly delighted to think that he could be rid of the care of all his worldly goods and devote himself to his friends; and the Sacian, on his part, was delighted to think that he was to have much and enjoy much. And the Sacian loved Pheraulas because he was always bringing him something more; and Pheraulas loved the Sacian because he was willing to take charge of everything; and though the Sacian had continually more in his charge, none the more did he trouble Pheraulas about it.

Thus these two continued to live.

4. When Cyrus had sacrificed and was celebrating his victory with a banquet, he invited in those of his friends who showed that they were most desirous of magnifying his rule and of honouring him most loyally. He invited with them Artabazus the Mede, Tigranes the Armenian, Gobryas, and the commander of the Hyrcanian horse. [2]

Now Gadatas was the chief of the mace-bearers, and the whole household was managed as he directed. Whenever guests dined with Cyrus, Gadatas did not even take his seat, but attended upon them. But when they were by themselves, he would dine with Cyrus, for Cyrus enjoyed his company. And in return for his services he received many valuable presents from Cyrus himself and, through

Cyrus's influence, from others also. [3]

So when invited guests came to dinner, he did not assign them their seats at random, but he seated on Cyrus's left the one for whom he had the highest regard, for the left side was more readily exposed to treacherous designs than the right; and the one who was second in esteem he seated on his right, the third again on the left, the fourth on the right, and so on, if there were more. [4]

For he thought it a good plan to show publicly how much regard he had for each one, because where people feel that the one who merits most will neither have his praise proclaimed nor receive a prize, there is no emulation among them; but where the most deserving is seen to receive the most preferment, there all are seen to contend most eagerly for the first place. [5]

Accordingly, Cyrus thus made public recognition of those who stood first in his esteem, beginning even with the places they took when sitting or standing in his company. He did not, however, assign the appointed place permanently, but he made it a rule that by noble deeds any one might advance to a more honoured seat, and that if any one should conduct himself ill he should go back to one less honoured. And Cyrus felt it a discredit to himself, if the one who sat in the seat of highest honour was not also seen to receive the greatest number of good things at his hands. And we observe, furthermore, that this custom introduced in the time of Cyrus continues in force even to our own times. [6]

Now, when they were at dinner, it struck Gobryas as not at all surprising that there was a great abundance of everything upon the table of a man who ruled over wide domains; but what did excite his wonder was that Cyrus, who enjoyed so great good fortune, should never consume by himself any delicacy that he might receive, but took pains to ask his guests to share it, and that he often saw him send even to some of his friends who were not there something that he happened to like very much himself. [7] And so when the dinner was over and Cyrus had sent around to others all that was left from the meal — and there was a great deal left — Gobryas could not help remarking: "Well, Cyrus, I used to think that you surpassed all other men in that you were the greatest general; and now, I swear by the gods, you seem actually to excel even more in kindness than in

generalship.” [8]

“Aye, by Zeus,” answered Cyrus; “and what is more, I assure you that I take much more pleasure in showing forth my deeds of kindness than ever I did in my deeds of generalship.”

“How so?” asked Gobryas.

“Because,” said he, “in the one field, one must necessarily do harm to men; in the other, only good.” [9]

Later, when they were drinking after their meal, Hystaspas asked: “Pray, Cyrus, would you be displeased with me, if I were to ask you something that I wish to know from you?”

“Why, no; by the gods, no,” he answered; “on the contrary, I should be displeased with you if I found that you refrained from asking something that you wished to ask.”

“Tell me, then,” said the other, “did I ever fail to come when you sent for me?”

“Hush!” said Cyrus.

“Or, obeying, did I ever obey reluctantly?”

“No; nor that.”

“Or did I ever fail to do your bidding in anything?”

“I make no such accusation,” answered Cyrus.

“And is there anything I did that you found me doing otherwise than eagerly or cheerfully?”

“That, least of all,” answered Cyrus. [10]

“Then why, in heaven’s name, Cyrus,” he said, “did you put Chrysantas down for a more honourable place than mine?”

“Am I really to tell you?” asked Cyrus.

“By all means,” answered Hystaspas.

“And you, on your part, will not be angry with me when you hear the truth?” [11]

“Nay rather,” said he, “I shall be more than glad, if I find that I am not being slighted.”

“Well then,” said Cyrus, “in the first place, Chrysantas here did not wait to be sent for, but presented himself for our service even before he was called; and in the second place, he has always done not only what was ordered but all that he himself saw was better for us to have done. Again, whenever it was necessary to send some communication to the allies, he would give me advice as to what he

thought proper for me to say; and whenever he saw that I wished the allies to know about something, but that I felt some hesitation in saying anything about myself, he would always make it known to them, giving it as his own opinion. And so, in these matters at least, what reason is there why he should not be of more use to me even than I am myself? And finally, he always insists that what he has is enough for him, while he is manifestly always on the lookout for some new acquisition that would be of advantage to me, and takes much more pleasure and joy in my good fortune than I do myself.”

[12]

“By Hera,” said Hystaspas in reply, “I am glad at any rate that I asked you this question, Cyrus.”

“Why so, pray?” asked Cyrus.

“Because I too shall try to do as he does,” said he. “Only I am not sure about one thing — I do not know how I could show that I rejoice at your good fortune. Am I to clap my hands or laugh or what must I do?”

“You must dance the Persian dance,” suggested Artabazus.

At this, of course, there was a laugh. [13] But, as the banquet proceeded, Cyrus put this question to Gobryas: “Tell me, Gobryas,” said he, “would you be more ready to consent now to give your daughter to one of my friends here than you were when first you joined us?”

“Well,” answered Gobryas, “shall I also tell the truth?”

“Aye, by Zeus,” answered Cyrus; “surely no question calls for a falsehood.”

“Well, then,” he replied, “I should consent much more readily now, I assure you.”

“And would you mind telling us why?” asked Cyrus.

“Certainly not.”

“Tell us, then,” [14]

“Because, while at that time I saw them bear toils and dangers with cheerfulness, now I see them bear their good fortune with self-control. And to me, Cyrus, it seems harder to find a man who can bear good fortune well than one who can bear misfortune well; for it is the former that engenders arrogance in most men; it is the latter that inspires in all men self-control.” [15]

“Hystaspas, did you hear that saying of Gobryas?” asked Cyrus.

“Yes, by Zeus,” he answered; “and if he has many such things to say, he will find me a suitor for his daughter’s hand much sooner than he would if he should exhibit to me a great number of goblets.”
[16]

“I promise you,” said Gobryas, “that I have a great number of such saws written down, and I will not begrudge them to you, if you get my daughter to be your wife. But as to the goblets,” said he, “inasmuch as you do not seem to appreciate them, I rather think I shall give them to Chrysantas here, since he also has usurped your place at table.” [17]

“And what is more, Hystaspas — yes, and you others here,” said Cyrus, “if you will let me know whenever any one of you is proposing to marry, you will discover what manner of assistant I, too, shall be to you.” [18]

“And if any one has a daughter to give in marriage,” said Gobryas, “to whom is he to apply?”

“To me,” said Cyrus; “for I am exceedingly skilled in that art.”

“What art?” asked Chrysantas. [19]

“In knowing what sort of match would suit each one of you.”

“Tell me, then, for heaven’s sake,” said Chrysantas, “what sort of wife you think would suit me best.” [20]

“In the first place,” said he, “she must be small; for you are small yourself; and if you marry a tall woman and wish to kiss her when she is standing up straight, you will have to jump for it, like a puppy.”

“You are quite right in that provision for me,” said he; “and I should never get my kiss, for I am no jumper at all.” [21]

“And in the next place,” Cyrus went on, “a snub-nosed woman would suit you admirably.”

“Why so?”

“Because,” was the answer, “your own nose is so hooked; and hookedness, I assure you, would be the very proper mate for snubbiness.”

“Do you mean to say also,” said the other, “that a supperless wife would suit one who has had a good dinner, like me now?”

“Aye, by Zeus,” answered Cyrus; “for the stomach of one who has

eaten heartily bows out, but that of one who has not eaten bows in.”
[22]

“Then, in heaven’s name,” said Chrysantas, “could you tell us what sort of wife would suit a frigid king?”

At this, of course, Cyrus burst out laughing, as did also all the rest. [23]

“I envy you for that, Cyrus,” said Hystaspas while they were still laughing, “more than for anything else in your kingdom.”

“Envy me for what?” asked Cyrus.

“Why, that, frigid as you are, you can still make us laugh.”

“Well,” said Cyrus, “and would you not give a great deal to have made these jokes and to have them reported to the lady with whom you wish to have the reputation of being a witty fellow?”

Thus, then, these pleasantries were exchanged. [24]

After this he brought out some articles of feminine adornment for Tigranes and bade him give them to his wife, because she had so bravely accompanied her husband throughout the campaigns; to Artabazus he gave a golden goblet and to the Hyrcanian a horse and many other beautiful presents. “And you, Gobryas,” he said, “I will present with a husband for your daughter.” [25]

“You will please present him with me, then, will you not,” said Hystaspas, “that so I may get the collection of proverbs?”

“Ah, but have you property enough to match the girl’s fortune?” asked Cyrus.

“Yes, by Zeus,” he answered, “and several times over.”

“And where is this property of yours?” asked Cyrus.

“Right there,” said he, “in your chair; for you are a friend of mine.”

“I am satisfied,” said Gobryas; and at once stretching out his right hand he added: “Give him to me, Cyrus; I will accept him.” [26]

And Cyrus took Hystaspas by the right hand and placed it in the hand of Gobryas, and he received it. And then Cyrus gave Hystaspas many splendid gifts to send to the young lady. But Chrysantas he drew to himself and kissed him. [27]

“By Zeus, Cyrus,” cried Artabazus, “the cup which you have given me is not of the same gold as the present you have given Chrysantas!”

“Well,” said he, “I will give you the same gift.”

“When?” asked the other.

“Thirty years from now,” was the answer.

“I shall wait for it, then,” said he, “and not die before I get it; so be getting ready.”

And thus that banquet came to an end. And as they rose to depart, Cyrus also rose and escorted them to the doors. [28]

On the following day he dismissed to their several homes all those who had volunteered to be his allies, except such as wished to settle near him. To those who stayed he gave houses and lands which even to this day are in the possession of their descendants; these, moreover, were mostly Medes and Hyrcanians. And to those who went home he gave many presents and sent both officers and privates well contented on their way. [29]

Next he divided also among his own soldiers the spoil that he had obtained at Sardis. To the generals and to his own aides-de-camp he gave the choicest portions — to each, according to his merit — and then distributed the rest; and in assigning to the generals their proper portions he left it to their discretion to distribute it as he had distributed to them. [30] And they apportioned all the rest, each officer examining into the merits of his subordinate officers; and what was left to the last, the corporals, inquiring into the merits of the private soldiers under their command, gave to each according to his deserts. And so all were in receipt of their fair share. [31]

And when they had received what was then given them, some spoke concerning Cyrus in this vein: “He must be keeping an abundance himself, one would think, seeing that he has given so much to each one of us.”

“Abundance, indeed!” some others would say; “Cyrus is not of the sort to make money for himself; he takes more pleasure in giving than in keeping.” [32]

And when Cyrus heard of these remarks and opinions about himself, he called together his friends and all his staff-officers and addressed them as follows: “My friends, I have in my time seen fellows who wished to have the reputation of possessing more than they had, for they supposed that they would thus be thought fine gentlemen; but to me,” said he, “it seems that such persons bring

upon themselves the very reverse of what they wish. For if any man enjoy the reputation of having great wealth and do not appear to help his friends in a manner worthy of his abundance — that, it seems to me at least, fixes upon him the stigma of being a mean sort. [33]

“On the other hand,” he continued, “there are some who wish to keep it a secret how much they do possess. It seems to me, then, that these also are mean toward their friends. For oftentimes their friends are in need and, because they are ignorant of the truth, they say nothing to their comrades about their difficulties, and really suffer want. [34]

“To me, however,” he went on, “it seems the most straightforward way for a man to let the extent of his means be known and to strive in proportion to them to show himself a gentleman. And so I wish to show you all that I have, as far as it is possible for you to see, and to give you an account of it, in so far as it is impossible for you to see it.” [35]

With these words, he showed them many splendid possessions and gave them an account of those that were so stored away as not to be easily viewed. And in conclusion he said: [36] “All this, my friends, you must consider mine no more than your own; for I have been collecting it, not that I might spend it all myself or use it up all alone (for I could not), but that I might on every occasion be able to reward any one of you who does something meritorious, and also that, if any one of you thinks he needs something, he might come to me and get whatever he happens to want.”

Such was his speech.

5. When it seemed to him that affairs in Babylon were sufficiently well organized for him to absent himself from the city, he began to make preparations for his journey to Persia and issued instructions to the others accordingly. And as soon as he had got together in sufficient quantity, as he believed, everything that he thought he should need, he started at once. [2]

We will relate here in how orderly a manner his train packed up, large though it was, and how quickly they reached the place where they were due. For wherever the great king encamps, all his retinue follow him to the field with their tents, whether in summer or in winter. [3]

At the very beginning Cyrus made this rule, that his tent should be pitched facing the east; and then he determined, first, how far from the royal pavilion the spearmen of his guard should have their tent; next he assigned a place on the right for the bakers, on the left for the cooks, on the right for the horses, and on the left for the rest of the pack-animals And everything else was so organized that every one knew his own place in camp — both its size and its location. [4]

And when they come to pack up again, every one gets together the things that it is his business to use and others in turn pack them upon the animals, so that the baggage-men all come at the same time to the things they were appointed to transport, and all at the same time pack the things upon their several animals. Thus the amount of time needed for striking a single tent suffices for all. [5]

The unpacking also is managed in this same manner; and in order to have all the necessities ready at the right time, each one has assigned to him likewise the part that he is to do. In this way the time required for doing any one part is sufficient for getting all the provisions ready. [6]

And just as the servants in charge of the provisions had each his proper place, so also his soldiers had when they encamped the places suitable to each sort of troops; they knew their places, too, and so all found them without the slightest friction. [7]

For Cyrus considered orderliness to be a good thing to practise in the management of a household also; for whenever any one wants a thing, he then knows where he must go to find it; but he believed that orderliness in all the departments of an army was a much better thing, inasmuch as the chances of a successful stroke in war come and go more quickly and the losses occasioned by those who are behindhand in military matters are more serious. He also saw that the advantages gained in war by prompt attention to duty were most important. It was for this reason, therefore, that he took especial pains to secure this sort of orderliness. [8]

Accordingly, he himself first took up his position in the middle of the camp in the belief that this situation was the most secure. Then came his most trusty followers, just as he was accustomed to have them about him at home, and next to them in a circle he had his horsemen and charioteers; [9] for those troops also, he thought, need a

secure position, because when they are in camp they do not have ready at hand any of the arms with which they fight, but need considerable time to arm, if they are to render effective service. [10]

To the right and left from him and the cavalry was the place for the targeteers; before and behind him and the cavalry, the place for the bowmen. [11] The hoplites and those armed with the large shields he arranged around all the rest like a wall, so that those who could best hold their ground might, by being in front of them, make it possible for the cavalry to arm in safety, if it should be necessary. [12]

Moreover, he had the peltasts and the bowmen sleep on their arms, like the hoplites, in order that, if there should be occasion to go into action even at night, they might be ready for it. And just as the hoplites were prepared to do battle if any one came within arm's reach of them, so these troops also were to be ready to let fly their lances and arrows over the heads of the hoplites, if any one attacked. [13]

And all the officers had banners over their tents; and just as in the cities well-informed officials know the residences of most of the inhabitants and especially those of the most prominent citizens, so also in camp the aides under Cyrus were acquainted with the location of the various officers and were familiar with the banner of each one; and so if Cyrus wanted one of his officers, they did not have to search for him but would run to him by the shortest way. [14] And as every division was so well distinguished, it was much more easy to see where good order prevailed and where commands were not being executed. Therefore, as things were arranged, he believed that if any enemy were to attack him either by night or by day, the attacking party would fall into his camp as into an ambushade. [15]

He believed also that tactics did not consist solely in being able easily to extend one's line or increase its depth, or to change it from a long column into a phalanx, or without error to change the front by a counter march according as the enemy came up on the right or the left or behind; but he considered it also a part of good tactics to break up one's army into several divisions whenever occasion demanded, and to place each division, too, where it would do the most good, and to make speed when it was necessary to reach a place before the enemy — all these and other such qualifications were essential, he

believed, to a skilful tactician, and he devoted himself to them all alike. [16]

And so on his marches he always proceeded giving out his orders with a view to existing circumstances; but in camp his arrangements were made, for the most part, as has been described. [17]

As they continued their march and came near to Media, Cyrus turned aside to visit Cyaxares. And when they had exchanged greetings, the first thing Cyrus told Cyaxares was that a palace had been selected for him in Babylon, and official headquarters, so that he might occupy a residence of his own whenever he came there; and then he also gave him many splendid presents. [18] Cyaxares accepted them and then introduced to him his daughter, who brought him a golden crown and bracelets and a necklace and the most beautiful Median robe that could be found. [19] As the princess placed the crown on Cyrus's head, Cyaxares said, "And the maiden herself, my own daughter, I offer you as well, Cyrus, to be your wife. Your father married my father's daughter, whose son you are. This is she whom you used often to pet when you came to visit us when you were a boy. And whenever anybody asked her whom she was going to marry, she would say 'Cyrus.' And with her I offer you all Media as a dowry, for I have no legitimate male issue." [20]

Thus he spoke, and Cyrus answered: "Well, Cyaxares, I heartily approve of your family and your daughter and your gifts. And I desire, with the approval of my father and mother, to accept your offer."

Thus Cyrus answered; but still he made the young lady presents of everything that he thought would please Cyaxares as well as herself. And when he had done so, he proceeded on his way to Persia. [21]

And when, as he continued his journey, he came to the boundaries of Persia, he left the main body of his army there, while he went on with his friends to the capital; and he took along animals enough for all the Persians to sacrifice and make a feast, and brought with him such gifts as were appropriate for his father and mother and his friends besides and such as were suitable for the authorities and the elders and all the peers. And he gave presents also to all the Persians, men and women, such as even to this day the great king bestows whenever he comes to Persia. [22]

Then Cambyses assembled the Persian elders and the highest of the chief magistrates; he called in Cyrus also and then addressed them as follows: "Toward you, my Persian friends, I cherish, as is natural, feelings of good-will, for I am your king; and no less toward you, Cyrus, for you are my son. It is right, therefore, that I should declare frankly to you what I think I recognize to be for the good of both. [23]

"In the past you advanced the fortunes of Cyrus by giving him an army and placing him in command of it. And at its head Cyrus has with the help of the gods given you, Persians, a good report among all men and made you honoured throughout all Asia. Of those who went with him on his campaigns he has enriched the most deserving and to the commoners he has given wages and support; and by establishing a Persian cavalry force he has made the Persians masters also of the plains. [24]

"If, therefore, you continue to be of the same mind also in the future, you will be the cause of much good to each other. But, Cyrus, if you on your part become puffed up by your present successes and attempt to govern the Persians as you do those other nations, with a view to self-aggrandizement, or if you, fellow-citizens, become jealous of his power and attempt to depose him from his sovereignty, be sure that you will hinder one another from receiving much good. [25] And that this may not befall you, but the good, it seems best to me for you to perform a common sacrifice and to make a covenant, first calling the gods to witness. You, Cyrus, on your part, must covenant that if any one sets hostile foot in Persia or attempts to subvert the Persian constitution, you will come to her aid with all your strength; and you, Persians, on your part, are to covenant that if any one attempts to put an end to Cyrus's sovereignty or if any one of his subjects attempts to revolt, you will come to your own rescue as well as Cyrus's in whatsoever way he may call upon you. [26]

"As long as I live, the Persian throne continues to be mine own. But when I am dead, it will, of course, pass to Cyrus if he survives me. And as often as he comes to Persia, it should be a sacred custom with you that he sacrifice on your behalf even as I do now. And when he is away, it might be well for you, I think, that that one of our family who seems to you the most worthy should perform that sacred

office.” [27]

When Cambyses had finished speaking, Cyrus and the Persian magistrates accepted his proposal. And as they then covenanted, with the gods as their witnesses, so the Persians and their king still continue to this day to act toward one another. And when this had all been completed, Cyrus took his departure. [28]

When, on his way back, he came to Media, Cyrus wedded the daughter of Cyaxares, for he had obtained the consent of his father and mother. And to this day people still tell of her wonderful beauty. <But some historians say that he married his mother’s sister. But that maid must certainly have been a very old maid.> And when he was married he at once departed with his bride for Babylon.

6. When he arrived in Babylon, he decided to send out satraps to govern the nations he had subdued. But the commanders of the garrisons in the citadels and the colonels in command of the guards throughout the country he wished to be responsible to no one but himself. This provision he made with the purpose that if any of the satraps, on the strength of the wealth or the men at their command, should break out into open insolence or attempt to refuse obedience, they might at once find opposition in their province. [2] In the wish, therefore, to secure this result, he resolved first to call together his chief officers and inform them in advance, so that when they went they might know on what understanding they were going; for he believed that if he did so, they would take it more kindly; whereas he thought that they might take it ill, if any of them discovered the conditions after being installed as satraps, for then they would think that this policy had been adopted from distrust of them personally. [3] And so he called them together and spoke as follows:

“My friends, we have in the subjugated states garrisons with their officers, whom we left behind there at the time; and when I came away I left them with orders not to trouble themselves with any business other than to hold the forts. These, therefore, I will not remove from their positions, for they have carried out my instructions faithfully; but I have decided to send satraps there, besides, to govern the people, receive the tribute, pay the militia, and attend to any other business that needs attention. [4] I have further decided that any of you who remain here, and to whom I may

occasionally give the trouble of going on business for me to those nations, shall have lands and houses there; so that they may have tribute paid to them here and, whenever they go there, they may lodge in residences of their own.” [5]

Thus he spoke, and to many of his friends he gave houses and servants in the various states which he had subdued. And even to this day those properties, some in one land, some in another, continue in the possession of the descendants of those who then received them, while the owners themselves reside at court. [6]

“And then,” Cyrus resumed, “we must take care that those who go as satraps to such countries shall be men of the right sort, who will bear in mind to send back here what there is good and desirable in their several provinces, in order that we also who remain here may have a share of the good things that are to be found everywhere. And that will be no more than fair; for if any danger threatens anywhere, it is we who shall have to ward it off.” [7]

With these words he concluded his address on that occasion; and then he chose out from the number of his friends those whom he saw eager to go on the conditions named and who seemed to him best qualified, and sent them as satraps to the following countries: Megabyzus to Arabia, Artabatas to Cappadocia, Artacamas to Phrygia Major, Chrysantas to Lydia and Ionia, Adusius to Caria (it was he for whom the Carians had petitioned), and Pharnuchus to Aeolia and Phrygia on the Hellespont. [8]

He sent out no Persians as satraps over Cilicia or Cyprus or Paphlagonia, because these he thought joined his expedition against Babylon voluntarily; he did, however, require even these nations to pay tribute. [9]

As Cyrus then organized the service, so is it even to this day: the garrisons upon the citadels are immediately under the king’s control, and the colonels in command of the garrisons receive their appointment from the king and are enrolled upon the king’s list. [10]

And he gave orders to all the satraps he sent out to imitate him in everything that they saw him do: they were, in the first place, to organize companies of cavalry and charioteers from the Persians who went with them and from the allies; to require as many as received lands and palaces to attend at the satrap’s court and exercising proper

self-restraint to put themselves at his disposal in whatever he demanded; to have the boys that were born to them educated at the local court, just as was done at the royal court; and to take the retinue at his gates out hunting and to exercise himself and them in the arts of war. [11]

“And whoever I find has the largest number of chariots to show and the largest number of the most efficient horsemen in proportion to his power,” Cyrus added, “him will I honour as a valuable ally and as a valuable fellow-protector of the sovereignty of the Persians and myself. And with you also, just as with me, let the most deserving be set in the most honourable seats; and let your table, like mine, feed first your own household and then, too, be bountifully arrayed so as to give a share to your friends and to confer some distinction day by day upon any one who does some noble act. [12]

“Have parks, too, and keep wild animals in them; and do not have your food served you unless you have first taken exercise, nor have fodder given to your horses unless they have been exercised. For I should not be able with merely human strength single-handed to ensure the permanence of the fortunes of all of you; but as I must be valiant and have those about me valiant, in order to help you; so you likewise must be valiant yourselves and have those about you valiant, in order to be my allies. [13]

“Please observe also that among all the directions I am now giving you, I give no orders to slaves. I try to do myself everything that I say you ought to do. And even as I bid you follow my example, so do you also instruct those whom you appoint to office to follow yours.” [14]

And as Cyrus then effected his organization, even so unto this day all the garrisons under the king are kept up, and all the courts of the governors are attended with service in the same way; so all households, great and small, are managed; and by all men in authority the most deserving of their guests are given preference with seats of honour; all the official journeying are conducted on the same plan and all the political business is centralized in a few heads of departments. [15]

When he had told them how they should proceed to carry out his instructions, he gave each one a force of soldiers and sent them off;

and he directed them all to make preparations, with the expectation that there would be an expedition the next year and a review of the men, arms, horses, and chariots. [16]

We have noticed also that this regulation is still in force, whether it was instituted by Cyrus, as they affirm, or not: year by year a man makes the circuit of the provinces with an army, to help any satrap that may need help, to humble any one that may be growing rebellious, and to adjust matters if any one is careless about seeing the taxes paid or protecting the inhabitants, or to see that the land is kept under cultivation, or if any one is neglectful of anything else that he has been ordered to attend to; but if he cannot set it right, it is his business to report it to the king, and he, when he hears of it, takes measures in regard to the offender. And those of whom the report often goes out that “the king’s son is coming,” or “the king’s brother” or “the king’s eye,” these belong to the circuit commissioners; though sometimes they do not put in an appearance at all, for each of them turns back, wherever he may be, when the king commands. [17]

We have observed still another device of Cyrus to cope with the magnitude of his empire; by means of this institution he would speedily discover the condition of affairs, no matter how far distant they might be from him: he experimented to find out how great a distance a horse could cover in a day when ridden hard but so as not to break down, and then he erected post-stations at just such distances and equipped them with horses and men to take care of them; at each one of the stations he had the proper official appointed to receive the letters that were delivered and to forward them on, to take in the exhausted horses and riders and send on fresh ones. [18] They say, moreover, that sometimes this express does not stop all night, but the night-messengers succeed the day-messengers in relays, and when that is the case, this express, some say, gets over the ground faster than the cranes. If their story is not literally true, it is at all events undeniable that this is the fastest overland travelling on earth; and it is a fine thing to have immediate intelligence of everything, in order to attend to it as quickly as possible. [19]

Now, when the year had gone round, he collected his army together at Babylon, containing, it is said, about one hundred and twenty thousand horse, about two thousand scythe-bearing chariots

and about six hundred thousand foot. [20] And when these had been made ready for him, he started out on that expedition on which he is said to have subjugated all the nations that fill the earth from where one leaves Syria even to the Indian Ocean. His next expedition is said to have gone to Egypt and to have subjugated that country also. [21]

From that time on his empire was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. The extremes of his empire are uninhabitable, on the one side because of the heat, on another because of the cold, on another because of too much water, and on the fourth because of too little. [22] Cyrus himself made his home in the centre of his domain, and in the winter season he spent seven months in Babylon, for there the climate is warm; in the spring he spent three months in Susa, and in the height of summer two months in Ecbatana. By so doing, they say, he enjoyed the warmth and coolness of perpetual spring-time. [23]

People, moreover, were so devoted to him that those of every nation thought they did themselves an injury if they did not send to Cyrus the most valuable productions of their country, whether the fruits of the earth, or animals bred there, or manufactures of their own arts; and every city did the same. And every private individual thought he should become a rich man if he should do something to please Cyrus. And his theory was correct; for Cyrus would always accept that of which the givers had an abundance, and he would give in return that of which he saw that they were in want.

7. When his life was far spent amid such achievements and Cyrus was now a very old man, he came back for the seventh time in his reign to Persia. His father and his mother were in the course of nature long since dead; so Cyrus performed the customary sacrifice and led the Persians in their national dance and distributed presents among them all, as had been his custom. [2]

As he slept in the palace, he saw a vision: a figure of more than human majesty appeared to him in a dream and said: "Make ready, Cyrus; for thou shalt soon depart to the gods." When the vision was past, he awoke and seemed almost to know that the end of his life was at hand. [3] Accordingly, he at once took victims and offered

sacrifice in the high places to ancestral Zeus, to Helius, and to the rest of the gods, even as the Persians are wont to make sacrifice; and as he sacrificed, he prayed, saying: "O ancestral Zeus and Helius and all the gods, accept these offerings as tokens of gratitude for help in achieving many glorious enterprises; for in omens in the sacrifice, in signs from heaven, in the flight of birds, and in ominous words, ye ever showed me what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And I render heartfelt thanks to you that I have never failed to recognize your fostering care and never in my successes entertained proud thoughts transcending human bounds. And I beseech of you that ye will now also grant prosperity and happiness to my children, my wife, my friends, and my country, and to me myself an end befitting the life that ye have given me." [4]

Then after he had concluded his rites and come home, he thought he would be glad to rest and so lay down; and when the hour came, those whose office it was came in and bade him go to his bath. But he told them that he was resting happily. And then again, when the hour came, those whose office it was set dinner before him. But his soul had no desire for food, but he seemed thirsty and drank with pleasure. [5]

And when the same thing befell him on the next day and the day after that, he summoned his sons; for they had accompanied him, as it chanced, and were still in Persia. He summoned also his friends and the Persian magistrates; and when they were all come, he began to speak as follows: [6]

"My sons, and all you my friends about me, the end of my life is now at hand; I am quite sure of this for many reasons; and when I am dead, you must always speak and act in regard to me as of one blessed of fortune. For when I was a boy, I think I plucked all the fruits that among boys count for the best; when I became a youth, I enjoyed what is accounted best among young men; and when I became a mature man, I had the best that men can have. And as time went on, it seemed to me that I recognized that my own strength was always increasing with my years, so that I never found my old age growing any more feeble than my youth had been; and, so far as I know, there is nothing that I ever attempted or desired and yet failed to secure. [7]

“Moreover, I have lived to see my friends made prosperous and happy through my efforts and my enemies reduced by me to subjection; and my country, which once played no great part in Asia, I now leave honoured above all. Of all my conquests, there is not once that I have not maintained. Throughout the past I have fared even as I have wished; but a fear that was ever at my side, lest in the time to come I might see or hear or experience something unpleasant, would not let me become overweeningly proud or extravagantly happy. [8]

“But now, if I die, I leave you, my sons, whom the gods have given me, to survive me, and I leave my friends and country happy; [9] and so why should I not be justly accounted blessed and enjoy an immortality of fame?

“But I must also declare my will about the disposition of my throne, that the succession may not become a matter of dispute and cause you trouble. Now, I love you both alike, my sons; but precedence in counsel and leadership in everything that may be thought expedient, that I commit to the first born, who naturally has a wider experience. [10] I, too, was thus trained by my country and yours to give precedence to my elders — not merely to brothers but to all fellow-citizens — on the street, in the matter of seats, and in speaking; and so from the beginning, my children, I have been training you also to honour your elders above yourselves and to be honoured above those who are younger. Take what I say, therefore, as that which is approved by time, by custom, and by the law. [11] So you, Cambyses, shall have the throne, the gift of the gods and of myself, in so far as it is mine to give.

“To you, Tanaoxares, I give the satrapy of Media, Armenia, and, in addition to those two, Cadusia. And in giving you this office, I consider that I leave to your older brother greater power and the title of king, while to you I leave a happiness disturbed by fewer cares; [12] for I cannot see what human pleasure you will lack; on the contrary, everything that is thought to bring pleasure to man will be yours. But to set one’s heart on more difficult undertakings, to be cumbered with many cares, and to be able to find no rest, because spurred on by emulation of what I have done, to lay plots and to be plotted against, all that must necessarily go hand in hand with royal power

more than with your station; and, let me assure you, it brings many interruptions to happiness. [13]

“As for you, Cambyzes, you must also know that it is not this golden sceptre that maintains your empire; but faithful friends are a monarch’s truest and surest sceptre. But do not think that man is naturally faithful; else all men would find the same persons faithful, just as all find the other properties of nature the same. But every one must create for himself faithfulness in his friends; and the winning of such friends comes in no wise by compulsion, but by kindness. [14] If, then, you shall endeavour to make others also fellow-guardians of your sovereignty, make a beginning nowhere sooner than with him who is of the same blood with yourself. Fellow-citizens, you know, stand nearer than foreigners do, and messmates nearer than those who eat elsewhere; but those who are sprung from the same seed, nursed by the same mother, reared in the same home, loved by the same parents, and who address the same persons as father and mother, how are they not the closest of all? [15] Do not you two, therefore, ever make of no effect those blessings whereby the gods have led the way to knitting close the bonds between brothers, but do you build at once upon that foundation still other works of love; and thus the love between you will always be a love that no other men can ever surpass. Surely he that has forethought for his brother is taking care for himself; for to whom else is a brother’s greatness more of an honour than to a brother? And who else will be honoured by the power of a great man so much as that man’s brother? And if a man’s brother is a great man, whom will any one so much fear to injure as that man’s brother? [16]

“Therefore, Tanaoxares, let no one more readily than yourself yield obedience to your brother or more zealously support him. For his fortunes, good or ill, will touch no one more closely than yourself. And bear this also in mind: whom could you favour in the hope of getting more from him than from your brother? Where could you lend help and get in return a surer ally than you would find in him? Whom would it be a more shameful thing for you not to love than your own brother? And who is there in all the world whom it would be a more noble thing to prefer in honour than your brother? It is only a brother, you know, Cambyzes, whom, if he holds the first

place of love in his brother's heart, the envy of others cannot reach.
[17]

"Nay by our fathers' gods I implore you, my sons, honour one another, if you care at all to give me pleasure. For assuredly, this one thing, so it seems to me, you do not know clearly, that I shall have no further being when I have finished this earthly life; for not even in this life have you seen my soul, but you have detected its existence by what it accomplished. [18] Have you never yet observed what terror the souls of those who have been foully dealt with strike into the hearts of those who have shed their blood, and what avenging deities they send upon the track of the wicked? And do you think that the honours paid to the dead would continue, if their souls had no part in any of them? [19] I am sure I do not; nor yet, my sons, have I ever convinced myself of this — that only as long as it is contained in a mortal body is the soul alive, but when it has been freed from it, is dead; for I see that it is the soul that endues mortal bodies with life, as long as it is in them. [20] Neither have I been able to convince myself of this — that the soul will want intelligence just when it is separated from this unintelligent body; but when the spirit is set free, pure and untrammelled by matter, then it is likely to be most intelligent. And when man is resolved into his primal elements, it is clear that every part returns to kindred matter, except the soul; that alone cannot be seen, either when present or when departing. [21]

"Consider again," he continued, "that there is nothing in the world more nearly akin to death than is sleep; and the soul of man at just such times is revealed in its most divine aspect and at such times, too, it looks forward into the future; for then, it seems, it is most untrammelled by the bonds of the flesh. [22]

"Now if this is true, as I think it is, and if the soul does leave the body, then do what I request of you and show reverence for my soul. But if it is not so, and if the soul remains in the body and dies with it, then at least fear the gods, eternal, all-seeing, omnipotent, who keep this ordered universe together, unimpaired, ageless, unerring, indescribable in its beauty and its grandeur; and never allow yourselves to do or purpose anything wicked or unholy. [23]

"Next to the gods, however, show respect also to all the race of men as they continue in perpetual succession; for the gods, do not

hide you away in darkness, but your works must ever live on in the sight of all men; and if they are pure and untainted with unrighteousness, they will make your power manifest among all mankind. But if you conceive any unrighteous schemes against each other, you will forfeit in the eyes of all men your right to be trusted. For no one would be able any longer to trust you — not even if he very much desired to do so — if he saw either of you wronging that one who has the first claim to the other's love. [24]

“Now, if I am giving you sufficient instructions as to what manner of men you ought to be one towards the other — well and good; if not, then you must learn it from the history of the past, for this is the best source of instruction. For, as a rule, parents have always been friends to their children, brothers to their brothers; but ere now some of them have been at enmity one with another. Whichever, therefore, of these two courses you shall find to have been profitable, choose that, and you would counsel well. [25]

“But of this, perhaps, enough.

“Now as to my body, when I am dead, my sons, lay it away neither in gold nor in silver nor in anything else, but commit it to the earth as soon as may be. For what is more blessed than to be united with the earth, which brings forth and nourishes all things beautiful and all things good? I have always been a friend to man, and I think I should gladly now become a part of that which does him so much good. [26]

“But I must conclude,” he said; “for my soul seems to me to be slipping away from those parts of my body, from which, as it appears, it is wont to begin its departure. So if any one wishes to take my hand or desires to look into my face while I yet live, let him come near; but after I have covered myself over, I beg of you, my children, let no one look upon my body, not even yourselves. [27]

“Invite, however, all the Persians and our allies to my burial, to joy with me in that I shall henceforth be in security such that no evil can ever again come nigh me, whether I shall be in the divine presence or whether I shall no longer have any being; and to all those who come show all the courtesies that are usual in honour of a man that has been blessed of fortune, and then dismiss them. [28]

“Remember also this last word of mine,” he said: “if you do good

to your friends, you will also be able to punish your enemies. And now farewell, my children, and say farewell to your mother as from me. And to all my friends, both present and absent, I bid farewell.”

After these words, he shook hands with them all, covered himself over, and so died.<

8. That Cyrus’s empire was the greatest and most glorious of all the kingdoms in Asia — of that it may be its own witness. For it was bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by the Black Sea, on the west by Cyprus and Egypt, and on the south by Ethiopia. And although it was of such magnitude, it was governed by the single will of Cyrus; and he honoured his subjects and cared for them as if they were his own children; and they, on their part, revered Cyrus as a father. [2] Still, as soon as Cyrus was dead, his children at once fell into dissension, states and nations began to revolt, and everything began to deteriorate. And that what I say is the truth, I will prove, beginning with the Persians’ attitude toward religion.lgt;

I know, for example, that in early times the kings and their officers, in their dealings with even the worst offenders, would abide by an oath that they might have given, and be true to any pledge they might have made. [3] For had they not had such a character for honour, and had they not been true to their reputation, not a man would have trusted them, just as not a single person any longer trusts them, now that their lack of character is notorious; and the generals of the Greeks who joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger would not have had such confidence in them even on that occasion. But, as it was, trusting in the previous reputation of the Persian kings, they placed themselves in the king’s power, were led into his presence, and had their heads cut off. And many also of the barbarians who joined that expedition went to their doom, some deluded by one promise, others by another. [4]

But at the present time they are still worse, as the following will show: if, for example, any one in the olden times risked his life for the king, or if any one reduced a state or a nation to submission to him, or effected anything else of good or glory for him, such an one received honour and preferment; now, on the other hand, if any one seems to bring some advantage to the king by evil-doing, whether as Mithradates did, by betraying his own father Ariobarzanes, or as a

certain Rheomithres did, in violating his most sacred oaths and leaving his wife and children and the children of his friends behind as hostages in the power of the king of Egypt — such are the ones who now have the highest honours heaped upon them. [5]

Witnessing such a state of morality, all the inhabitants of Asia have been turned to wickedness and wrong-doing. For, whatever the character of the rulers is, such also that of the people under them for the most part becomes. In this respect they are now even more unprincipled than before. [6]

In money matters, too, they are more dishonest in this particular: they arrest not merely those who have committed many offences, but even those who have done no wrong, and against all justice compel them to pay fines; and so those who are supposed to be rich are kept in a state of terror no less than those who have committed many crimes, and they are no more willing than malefactors are to come into close relations with their superiors in power; in fact, they do not even venture to enlist in the royal army. [7] Accordingly, owing to their impiety toward the gods and their iniquity toward man, any one who is engaged in war with them can, if he desire, range up and down their country without having to strike a blow. Their principles in so far, therefore, are in every respect worse now than they were in antiquity. [8]

In the next place, as I will now show, they do not care for their physical strength as they used to do/. For example, it used to be their custom neither to spit nor to blow the nose. It is obvious that they observed this custom not for the sake of saving the moisture in the body, but from the wish to harden the body by labour and perspiration. But now the custom of refraining from spitting or blowing the nose still continues, but they never give themselves the trouble to work off the moisture in some other direction. [9] In former times it was their custom also to eat but once in the day, so that they might devote the whole day to business and hard work. Now, to be sure, the custom of eating but once a day still prevails, but they begin to eat at the hour when those who breakfast earliest begin their morning meal, and they keep on eating and drinking until the hour when those who stay up latest go to bed. [10]

They had also the custom of not bringing pots into their banquets,

evidently because they thought that if one did not drink to excess, both mind and body would be less uncertain. So even now the custom of not bringing in the pots still obtains, but they drink so much that, instead of carrying anything in, they are themselves carried out when they are no longer able to stand straight enough to walk out. [11]

Again, this also was a native custom of theirs, neither to eat nor drink while on a march, nor yet to be seen doing any of the necessary consequences of eating or drinking. Even yet that same abstinence prevails, but they make their journeys so short that no one would be surprised at their ability to resist those calls of nature. [12]

Again, in times past they used to go out hunting so often that the hunts afforded sufficient exercise for both men and horses. But since Artaxerxes and his court became the victims of wine, they have neither gone out themselves in the old way nor taken the others out hunting; on the contrary, if any one often went hunting with his friends out of sheer love for physical exertion, the courtiers would not hide their jealousy and would hate him as presuming to be a better man than they. [13]

Again, it is still the custom for the boys to be educated at court; but instruction and practice in horsemanship have died out, because there are no occasions on which they may give an exhibition and win distinction for skill. And while anciently the boys used there to hear cases at law justly decided and so to learn justice, as they believed — that also has been entirely reversed; for now they see all too clearly that whichever party gives the larger bribe wins the case. [14] The boys of that time used also to learn the properties of the products of the earth, so as to avail themselves of the useful ones and keep away from those that were harmful. But now it looks as if they learned them only in order to do as much harm as possible; at any rate, there is no place where more people die or lose their lives from poisons than there. [15]

Furthermore, they are much more effeminate now than they were in Cyrus's day. For at that time they still adhered to the old discipline and the old abstinence that they received from the Persians, but adopted the Median garb and Median luxury; now, on the contrary, they are allowing the rigour of the Persians to die out, while they

keep up the effeminacy of the Medes. [16]

I should like to explain their effeminacy more in detail. In the first place, they are not satisfied with only having their couches upholstered with down, but they actually set the posts of their beds upon carpets, so that the floor may offer no resistance, but that the carpets may yield. Again, whatever sorts of bread and pastry for the table had been discovered before, none of all those have fallen into disuse, but they keep on always inventing something new besides; and it is the same way with meats; for in both branches of cookery they actually have artists to invent new dishes. [17]

Again, in winter they are not satisfied with having clothing on their heads and bodies and legs, but they must have also sleeves thickly lined to the very tips of their fingers, and gloves besides. In summer, on the other hand, they are not satisfied with the shade afforded by the trees and rocks, but amid these they have people stand by them to provide artificial shade. [18]

They take great pride also in having as many cups as possible; but they are not ashamed if it transpire that they came by them by dishonest means, for dishonesty and sordid love of gain have greatly increased among them. [19]

Furthermore, it was of old a national custom not to be seen going anywhere on foot; and that was for no other purpose than to make themselves as knightly as possible. But now they have more coverings upon their horses than upon their beds, for they do not care so much for knighthood as for a soft seat. [20] And so is it not to be expected that in military prowess they should be wholly inferior to what they used to be? In times past it was their national custom that those who held lands should furnish cavalymen from their possessions and that these, in case of war, should also take the field, while those who performed outpost duty in defence of the country received pay for their services. But now the rulers make knights out of their porters, bakers, cooks, cup-bearers, bath-room attendants, butlers, waiters, chamberlains who assist them in retiring at night and in rising in the morning, and beauty-doctors who pencil their eyes and rouge their cheeks for them and otherwise beautify them; these are the sort that they make into knights to serve for pay for them. [21] From such recruits, therefore, a host is obtained, but they are of no

use in war; and that is clear from actual occurrences: for enemies may range up and down their land with less hindrance than friends. [22] For Cyrus had abolished skirmishing at a distance, had armed both horses and men with breastplates, had put a javelin into each man's hand, and had introduced the method of fighting hand to hand. But now they neither skirmish at a distance any longer, nor yet do they fight in a hand-to-hand engagement. [23] The infantry still have their wicker shields and bills and sabres, just as those had who set the battle in array in the times of Cyrus; but not even they are willing to come into a hand-to-hand conflict. [24]

Neither do they employ the scythed chariot any longer for the purpose for which Cyrus had it made. For he advanced the charioteers to honour and made them objects of admiration and so had men who were ready to hurl themselves against even a heavy-armed line. The officers of the present day, however, do not so much as know the men in the chariots, and they think that untrained drivers will be just as serviceable to them as trained charioteers. [25] Such untrained men do indeed charge, but before they penetrate the enemy's lines some of them are unintentionally thrown out, some of them jump out on purpose, and so the teams without drivers often create more havoc on their own side than on the enemy's. [26] However, inasmuch as even they understand what sort of material for war they have, they abandon the effort; and no one ever goes to war any more without the help of Greek mercenaries, be it when they are at war with one another or when the Greeks make war upon them; but even against Greeks they recognize that they can conduct their wars only with the assistance of Greeks. [27]

I think now that I have accomplished the task that I set before myself. For I maintain that I have proved that the Persians of the present day and those living in their dependencies are less reverent toward the gods, less dutiful to their relatives, less upright in their dealings with all men, and less brave in war than they were of old. But if any one should entertain an opinion contrary to my own, let him examine their deeds and he will find that these testify to the truth of my statements.

HELLENICA



Translated by Carleton L. Brownson

The *Hellenica* is Xenophon's continuation of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, literally resuming from where the other author's history was abruptly left unfinished and narrating the events of the final seven years of the conflict and the war's aftermath. Many critics consider the *Hellenica* to be a personal work, written by Xenophon in retirement on his Spartan estate, intended primarily for circulation among his friends, who knew the main protagonists and events, having most likely participated in them. Xenophon's account starts in 411 BCE, the year where Thucydides breaks off, and ends in 362 BCE, the year of the Battle of Mantinea. The work is of vital importance as a primary historical source and is celebrated for its clarity of style, as found in most of Xenophon's extant works.

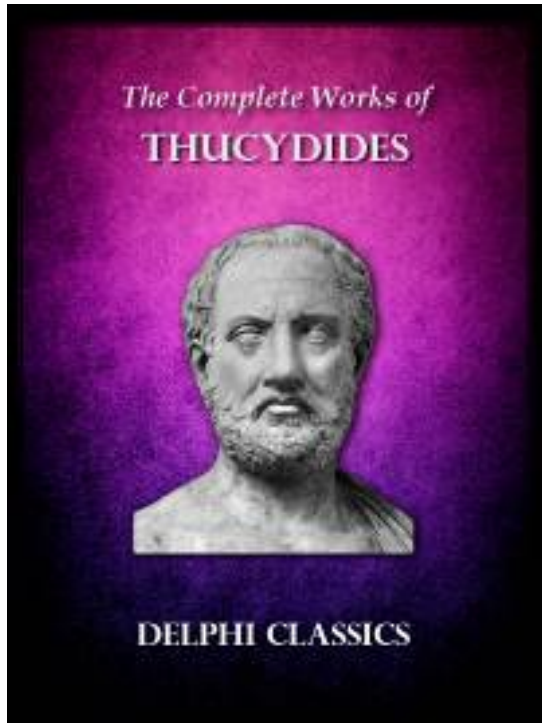


Thucydides (c. 460 – c. 395 BC) was an Athenian general and historian, whose famous History of the Peloponnesian War recounts the 5th century BC war between Sparta and Athens to the year 411 BC.

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BOOK I.

1. After this, not many days later, Thymochares came from Athens with a few ships; and thereupon the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians fought another naval battle, and the Lacedaemonians were victorious, under the leadership of Agesandridas. [2]

Shortly after this, at the beginning of the winter, Dorieus, the son of Diagoras, sailed into the Hellespont from Rhodes with fourteen ships, arriving at daybreak. And when the Athenian day-watcher described him, he signalled to the generals, and they put out against him with twenty ships; and Dorieus, fleeing from them towards the shore, beached his triremes, as fast as he got them clear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Rhoeteum. [3] And when the Athenians came near, the men under Dorieus fought, from their ships and from the shore, until the Athenians sailed away to Madytus, to the rest of their fleet, without having accomplished anything. [4]

Now Mindarus caught sight of the battle as he was sacrificing to Athena at Ilium, and hurrying to the sea he launched his triremes and set out, in order to pick up the ships under Dorieus. [5] And the Athenians set out against him and did battle, along the strand near Abydus, from morning till late afternoon. They were at some points victorious and at others defeated, when Alcibiades sailed into the Hellespont to their support, with eighteen ships. [6] Thereupon the Peloponnesians took to flight in the direction of Abydus; and Pharnabazus came along the shore to their aid, and riding his horse into the sea as far as possible, bore a share in the fighting and cheered on his followers, cavalry and infantry. [7] Meanwhile the Peloponnesians made a barrier of their ships and marshalled themselves on the shore and fought. At length the Athenians sailed away to Sestus after capturing thirty of the enemy's ships, though without their crews, and recovering those which they had previously lost themselves. [8] From Sestus all but forty of their ships went off in different directions, outside the Hellespont, to collect money; and Thrasyllus, who was one of the generals, set sail for Athens to report these events and to ask for troops and ships. [9]

After this Tissaphernes came to the Hellespont; and when

Alcibiades with a single trireme went to visit him, bearing friendly offerings and gifts, Tissaphernes seized him and imprisoned him in Sardis, saying that the King ordered him to make war upon the Athenians. [10] Thirty days later, however, Alcibiades, together with Mantitheus, who had been taken prisoner in Caria, provided themselves with horses and made their escape from Sardis by night to Clazomenae. [11]

Meanwhile the Athenians at Sestus, learning that Mindarus was planning to sail against them with sixty ships, withdrew by night to Cardia. There Alcibiades joined them, coming from Clazomenae with five triremes and a dispatch boat. But upon learning that the Peloponnesian ships had set out from Abydos to Cyzicus, he proceeded overland to Sestus and gave orders that the ships should sail around to that place. [12] When they had arrived there and he was on the point of putting out to sea for battle, Theramenes sailed in from Macedonia with a reinforcement of twenty ships, and at the same time Thrasybulus arrived from Thasos with twenty more, both of them having been engaged in collecting money. [13] And after bidding them also to follow after him when they had removed their cruising sails, Alcibiades set off with his own ships to Parium; and when all the ships had come together at Parium, to the number of eighty-six, they set sail during the ensuing night, and on the next day at breakfast time arrived at Proconnesus. [14] There they learned that Mindarus was at Cyzicus, and also Pharnabazus with his army. Accordingly they remained that day at Proconnesus, but on the following day Alcibiades called an assembly of his men and told them that they must needs fight at sea, fight on land, and fight against fortresses. "For we," he said, "have no money, but the enemy have an abundance of it from the King." [15] Now on the preceding day, when they had come to anchor, Alcibiades had taken into his custody all the vessels in the harbour, even the small ones, in order that no one should report to the enemy the size of his fleet, and he made proclamation that death would be the punishment of any one who was caught sailing across to the other side of the strait. [16] And after the assembly he made preparations for battle and, in the midst of a heavy rain, set out for Cyzicus. When he was near Cyzicus, the weather cleared and the sun came out, and he sighted the ships under

Mindarus, sixty in number, engaged in practice at some distance from the harbour and already cut off from it by his own fleet. [17] But the Peloponnesians, when they saw that the Athenian triremes were far more numerous than before and were near the harbour, fled to the shore; and mooring their ships together, they fought with their adversaries as they sailed down upon them. [18] Alcibiades, however, with twenty of his ships sailed round the fleets and landed on the shore. When Mindarus saw this, he also landed, and fell fighting on the shore; and those who were with him fled. And the Athenians took away with them to Proconnesus all the Peloponnesian ships, except those of the Syracusans; for these were burned by their own crews.

From Proconnesus the Athenians sailed on the next day against Cyzicus; [19] and the Cyzicenes admitted them, inasmuch as the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus had evacuated the city. [20] There Alcibiades remained for twenty days, and after obtaining a great deal of money from the Cyzicenes, but without doing any further harm in the city, sailed back to Proconnesus. From there he sailed to Perinthus and Selymbria. [21] And the Perinthians admitted the Athenian forces to their city, and the Selymbrians, while not admitting them, gave them money. [22] From there they proceeded to Chrysopolis, in Calchedonia, and fortified it, established a custom house in the city, and proceeded to collect the tithe-duty from vessels sailing out of the Pontus; they also left there as a garrison thirty ships and two of the generals, Theramenes and Eumachus, to have charge of the fort, to attend to the outgoing ships, and to harm the enemy in any other way they could. The other generals returned to the Hellespont. [23]

Meanwhile a letter dispatched to Lacedaemon by Hippocrates, vice-admiral under Mindarus, was intercepted and taken to Athens; it ran as follows: "The ships are gone. Mindarus is dead. The men are starving. We know not what to do." [24] Pharnabazus, however, urged the whole Peloponnesian army and their allies not to be discouraged over a matter of ship-timber — for he said there was plenty of that in the King's land — so long as their bodies were safe; and he not only gave to each man a cloak and subsistence for two months, but he also armed the sailors and set them as guards over his own coastline. [25] Furthermore, calling together the generals and ship-captains from the

various states, he bade them build triremes at Antandrus to equal the number which they had severally lost, giving them money for the purpose and telling them to get timber from Mount Ida. [26] And while the ship-building was going on, the Syracusans helped the Antandrians to finish a portion of their wall, and in the garrison-duty made themselves most popular. For this reason the Syracusans now enjoy at Antandrus the privileges of benefactors and citizens. As for Pharnabazus, after making these arrangements he went at once to the relief of Calchedon. [27]

At this time word came from home to the Syracusan generals that they had been banished by the democratic party. Accordingly they called together their soldiers and, through Hermocrates as spokesman, lamented their misfortune in being unjustly and illegally banished, all without exception. They urged their soldiers to continue zealous in the future, as they had been in the past, and to be true men in obeying every order; and they directed them to choose new commanders, to hold office until those who had been chosen to fill their places should arrive from Syracuse. [28] The men, however, and particularly the captains and marines and steersmen, set up a shout at this and bade the generals remain in command. They replied that they ought not to indulge in partizan opposition to their own government. "But if anyone," they said, "has any charge to bring against us, you should give us a hearing, remembering how many naval battles you have won and how many ships you have captured when fighting by yourselves, and how often when associated with others you have proved yourselves invincible under our leadership, occupying the most honourable post in the line of battle on account of our skill and your own zealous spirit, exhibited both on land and sea." [29] But when no one brought any charge against them, at the request of the troops they remained until their successors arrived, — Demarchus, the son of Epicydes, Myskon, the son of Menecrates, and Potamis, the son of Gnosis. Then, after most of the captains had taken oath that, when they returned to Syracuse, they would bring their generals back from exile, they sped them on their ways, commending them all; [30] but in particular those who had associated with Hermocrates felt exceedingly the loss of his care and enthusiasm and democratic spirit. For the best of those whose

acquaintance he made, both captains and steersmen and marines, he used to gather every day in the morning and at evening to his own tent, where he communicated to them whatever he was planning to say or to do; he instructed them also, sometimes directing them to speak *ex tempore* and sometimes after deliberation. [31] As a result of this Hermocrates enjoyed the greatest reputation in the general council, and was thought superior to all others as speaker and adviser. He now went to visit Pharnabazus; and since he had once brought an accusation against Tissaphernes at Lacedaemon, in which Astyochus supported him as witness, and had been adjudged to speak the truth, he received money from Pharnabazus before he asked for it, and busied himself with collecting mercenaries and triremes with a view to his restoration to Syracuse. Meanwhile the Syracusans who succeeded the banished generals arrived at Miletus and took over the ships and the troops. [32]

At about this time a revolution took place in Thasos, and the partisans of Lacedaemon and the Laconian governor Eteonicus were driven out of the island. And Pasippidas the Laconian, who was accused of having managed this intrigue, in collusion with Tissaphernes, was banished from Sparta, while Cratesippidas was sent out to the fleet which Pasippidas had collected from the allies, and assumed command of it at Chios. [33]

During these days also, and while Thrasyllus was in Athens, Agis made a raid from Decelea up to the very walls of the city; and Thrasyllus led forth the Athenians and all others who were in the city and marshalled them beside the Lyceum, with the intention of engaging the enemy if they approached. [34] When Agis saw this, he withdrew in haste, and some few of his rear line were killed by the Athenian light troops. In consequence of this occurrence the Athenians were still more ready to give Thrasyllus the help for which he had come, and they voted that he might choose out for service a thousand hoplites, a hundred horsemen, and fifty triremes. [35]

Meanwhile Agis, who could see from Decelea great numbers of grain-ships sailing in to Piraeus, said that it was useless for his troops to be trying all this long time to shut off the Athenians from access to their land, unless one should occupy also the country from which the grain was coming in by sea; and that it was best to send to Calchedon

and Byzantium Clearchus, the son of Rhamphias, who was diplomatic agent for the Byzantines at Sparta. [36] When this was resolved upon, fifteen ships were manned by the Megarians and the other allies, more properly transports than warships, and Clearchus set out with them. Three of his ships were destroyed in the Hellespont by the nine Attic ships which were continually on duty there to protect the Athenian merchantmen, but the rest escaped to Sestus and from there made their way safely to Byzantium. [37]

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians, under the leadership of Hannibal, made an expedition against Sicily, with an army of one hundred thousand men, and in the course of three months captured two Greek cities, Selinus and Himera.

2.

In the next year — in which was celebrated the ninety-third Olympiad, when the newly added two-horse race was won by Euagoras of Elis and the stadium by Eubotas of Cyrene, Euarchippus being now ephor at Sparta and Euctemon archon at Athens — the Athenians fortified Thoricus; and Thrasyllus took the ships which had been voted him, equipped five thousand of his sailors so that he might employ them as peltasts also, and set sail at the beginning of the summer for Samos. [2] After remaining there for three days he sailed to Pygela; and there he laid waste the country and attacked the wall of the town. A force from Miletus, however, came to the aid of the Pygelans, and finding the Athenian light troops scattered, pursued them. [3] Thereupon the peltasts and two companies of the hoplites came to the aid of their light troops and killed all but a few of the men from Miletus; they also captured about two hundred shields and set up a trophy. [4] On the next day they sailed to Notium and from there, after making the necessary preparations, marched to Colophon; and the Colophonians gave them their allegiance. It was now the time when the grain was ripening, and during the following night they made a raid into Lydia, burned many villages, and seized money, slaves, and other booty in great quantities. [5] Stages, the Persian, however, was in this region, and when the Athenians had scattered from their camp for private plunder, he captured one of them and killed seven others, despite the fact that their cavalry came to the rescue. [6] After this Thrasyllus led his army back to the coast,

with the intention of sailing to Ephesus. But when Tissaphernes learned of this plan, he gathered together a large army and sent out horsemen to carry word to everybody to rally at Ephesus for the protection of Artemis. [7] And now, on the seventeenth day after his raid, Thrasyllus sailed to Ephesus; and having disembarked the hoplites at the foot of Mount Coressus, and the cavalry, peltasts, marines, and all the rest near the marsh on the opposite side of the city, he led forward the two divisions at daybreak. [8] The defenders of the city sallied forth to meet the attack, — the Ephesians, the allies whom Tissaphernes had brought them, the crews of the original twenty Syracusan ships and of five others which chanced to have arrived there at the time, newly come from Syracuse under the command of Eucles, the son of Hippon, and Heracleides, the son of Aristogenes, and finally, the crews of two Selinuntine ships. [9] All these contingents directed their first attack upon the hoplites at Coressus; and after routing them, killing about a hundred of them, and pursuing the rest down to the shore, they turned their attention to those by the marsh; and there also the Athenians were put to flight, and about three hundred of them were killed. [10] So the Ephesians set up a trophy there and a second at Coressus. They also gave to the Syracusans and Selinuntines, who had especially distinguished themselves, the prizes for valour, not only general prizes, but many to particular individuals among them, while upon any one of them who at any time might desire it they conferred the privilege of dwelling in Ephesus tax free; and to the Selinuntines, after Selinus had been destroyed, they gave the rights of Ephesian citizenship as well. [11]

As for the Athenians, after obtaining a truce and so recovering the bodies of their dead, they sailed back to Notium, buried the dead there, and sailed on towards Lesbos and the Hellespont. [12] While they were at anchor in the harbour of Methymna, in Lesbos, they saw sailing past them from Ephesus the twenty-five Syracusan ships; and putting out to the attack they captured four of them, men and all, and chased the rest back to Ephesus. [13] And Thrasyllus sent home to Athens all the prisoners with the exception of Alcibiades; this Alcibiades, who was an Athenian and a cousin and fellow-exile of Alcibiades the general, he caused to be stoned to death. Then he set

sail to Sestus to join the rest of the army; and from Sestus the entire force crossed over to Lampsacus. [14]

And now the winter came on. During the course of it the Syracusan prisoners, who were immured in stone quarries in Piraeus, dug through the rock and made their escape by night, most of them to Decelea and the rest to Megara. [15] Meanwhile at Lampsacus Alcibiades endeavoured to marshal his entire army as a unit, but the old soldiers were unwilling to be marshalled with the troops of Thrasyllus; for they said that they had never known defeat, while the others had just come from a defeat. Both contingents, however, wintered there together, occupying themselves in fortifying Lampsacus. [16] They also made an expedition against Abydus; and Pharnabazus, who came to its aid with a large force of cavalry, was defeated in battle and put to flight. And Alcibiades pursued him with the Athenian cavalry and one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, under the command of Menander, until darkness covered the retreat. [17] As a result of this battle the soldiers came together of their own accord and the old troops fraternised with those under Thrasyllus. The Athenians also made some other expeditions during the winter into the interior and laid waste the King's territory. [18]

At the same period the Lacedaemonians granted terms to the Helots who had revolted and fled from Malea to Coryphasium, allowing them to evacuate Coryphasium unmolested. At about the same time, also, the colonists of Heracleia, in Trachis, were betrayed by the Achaeans in a battle where both peoples were drawn up against their enemies, the Oetaeans, and as a result about seven hundred of the Heracleots perished, together with the Lacedaemonian governor, Labotas. [19]

So this year ended, being the year in which the Medes, who had revolted from Darius, king of the Persians, were again reduced to subjection.

3.

During the ensuing year the temple of Athena at Phocaea was struck by lightning and set on fire. When the winter ended and spring began, — Pantacles being now ephor and Antigenes archon, and the war having continued for twenty-two years — the Athenians sailed with their entire force to Proconnesus. [2] From there they set out

against Calchedon and Byzantium, and went into camp near Calchedon. Now the Calchedonians, when they learned that the Athenians were approaching, had put all their portable property in the keeping of the Bithynian Thracians, their neighbours. [3] Alcibiades, however, taking a few of the hoplites and the cavalry, and giving orders that the ships should sail along the coast, went to the Bithynians and demanded the property of the Calchedonians, saying that if they did not give it to him, he would make war upon them; so they gave it over. [4] And when Alcibiades returned to his camp with the booty, after having concluded a treaty with the Bithynians, he proceeded with his whole army to invest Calchedon by building a wooden stockade which extended from sea to sea, taking in the river also in so far as this was practicable. [5] Thereupon Hippocrates, the Lacedaemonian governor, led forth his troops from the city to do battle; and the Athenians marshalled themselves against him, while Pharnabazus, outside the stockade, with infantry and horsemen in great numbers, tried to aid Hippocrates. [6] Now for a long time Hippocrates and Thrasyllus fought, each with his hoplites, until Alcibiades came to the rescue with a few hoplites and the cavalry. Then Hippocrates was killed, and those who were with him fled back into the city. [7] At the same time Pharnabazus, unable to effect a junction with Hippocrates owing to the narrowness of the space, since the stockade came down close to the river, retired to the Heracleium in the Calchedonian territory, where he had his camp. [8] After this Alcibiades went off to the Hellespont and the Chersonese to collect money; and the rest of the generals concluded a compact with Pharnabazus which provided that, in consideration of their sparing Calchedon, Pharnabazus should give the Athenians twenty talents and should conduct Athenian ambassadors to the King; [9] they also received from Pharnabazus a pledge under oath that the Calchedonians should pay to the Athenians precisely the same tribute they had been accustomed to pay and should settle the arrears of tribute, while they on their side made oath that the Athenians would not wage war upon the Calchedonians until the ambassadors should return from the King. [10] Alcibiades was not present at the exchange of these oaths, but was in the neighbourhood of Selymbria; and when he had captured that city, he came to Byzantium, bringing with him

all the forces of the Chersonesians and soldiers from Thrace and more than three hundred horsemen. [11] Now Pharnabazus thought that Alcibiades also ought to give his oath, and so waited at Calchedon until he should come from Byzantium; but when he came, he said that he would not make oath unless Pharnabazus also should do the like to him. [12] In the end, Alcibiades made oath at Chrysopolis to the representatives of Pharnabazus, Mitrobates and Arnapes, and Pharnabazus at Calchedon to the representatives of Alcibiades, Euryptolemus and Diotimus, both parties not only giving the official oath but also making personal pledges to one another. [13] Immediately after this Pharnabazus went away, leaving word that the ambassadors who were going to the King should meet him at Cyzicus. The Athenians who were sent were Dorotheus, Philocydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemus, and Mantitheus, and with them two Argives, Cleostratus and Pyrrolochus; ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians also went along, Pasippidas and others, and with them Hermocrates, who was already an exile from Syracuse, and his brother Proxenus. [14]

While Pharnabazus was conducting this party, the Athenians were besieging Byzantium; they had built a stockade around the city, and were attacking its wall with missiles from a distance and by close assault. [15] Within Byzantium was Clearchus the Lacedaemonian, its governor, and with him some Laconian Perioeci, a few emancipated Helots, a contingent of Megarians, under the command of Helixus the Megarian, and one of Boeotians, under the command of Coeratadas. [16] Now the Athenians, finding that they were unable to accomplish anything by force, persuaded some of the Byzantines to betray the city. [17] Meanwhile Clearchus, the governor, supposing that no one would do that, arranged everything as well as he could, turned over the charge of the city to Coeratadas and Helixus, and crossed to the opposite shore to meet Pharnabazus, in order to get from him pay for the soldiers and also to collect ships. His plan was to assemble those which had been left behind by Pasippidas as guardships and were now in the Hellespont, those at Antandrus, and those which Agesandridas, a lieutenant of Mindarus, had under his command on the Thracian coast, and finally, to have other ships built; then, after gathering them all together, he thought to harry the

allies of the Athenians and so draw off their army from Byzantium. [18] But when Clearchus had sailed away, those who wanted to betray the city of the Byzantines set about their work, — Cydon, Ariston, Anaxicrates, Lycurgus, and Anaxilaus. [19] This Anaxilaus was afterwards tried for his life at Lacedaemon because of this betrayal, but was acquitted, on the plea that he did not betray the city, but rather saved it; he was a Byzantine, he said, not a Lacedaemonian, and when he saw children and women perishing of starvation, — for Clearchus, he said, gave whatever provisions the city contained to the soldiers of the Lacedaemonians, — he had for this reason admitted the enemy, not for the sake of money nor out of hatred to the Lacedaemonians. [20] As has been said, however, these betrayers made their preparations, and then, opening by night the gates that lead to the Thracian Square, as it is called, let in the Athenian army and Alcibiades. [21] Now Helixus and Coeratadas, who knew nothing of what was going on, hurried to the market-place with all their troops; but when they found that the enemy were masters everywhere and that they could do nothing, they surrendered themselves. [22] They were all sent off to Athens, and as they were disembarking at Piraeus, Coeratadas slipped away in the crowd and made his escape to Decelea.

4.

As for Pharnabazus and the ambassadors, while they were spending the winter at Gordium, in Phrygia, they heard what had happened at Byzantium. [2] But as they were continuing their journey to the King, at the opening of the spring, they met not only the Lacedaemonian ambassadors returning, — Boeotius and his colleagues and the messengers besides, who reported that the Lacedaemonians had obtained from the King everything they wanted, — [3] but also Cyrus, who had come in order to be ruler of all the peoples on the coast and to support the Lacedaemonians in the war. This Cyrus brought with him a letter, addressed to all the dwellers upon the sea and bearing the King's seal, which contained among other things these words: "I send down Cyrus as caranus of those whose mustering-place is Castolus." [4] The word "caranus" means "lord." When the Athenian ambassadors heard all this and saw Cyrus, they wished, if it were possible, to make their journey to the

King, but otherwise to return home. [5] Cyrus, however, directed Pharnabazus either to give the ambassadors into his charge, or at any rate not to let them go home as yet, for he wished the Athenians not to know of what was going on. [6] Pharnabazus, accordingly, in order that Cyrus might not censure him, detained the ambassadors for a time, now saying that he would conduct them to the King, and again, that he would let them go home; [7] but when three years had passed, he requested Cyrus to release them, on the plea that he had given his oath to conduct them back to the coast, since he could not take them to the King. So they sent the ambassadors to Ariobarzanes and directed him to escort them on; and he conducted them to Cius, in Mysia, whence they set sail to join the Athenian army. [8]

Meanwhile Alcibiades, wishing to sail home with his troops, made straight for Samos; from there he sailed, with twenty of the ships, to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria; and after collecting there a hundred talents, he returned to Samos. [9] Thrasybulus, however, with thirty ships, went off to the Thracian coast, where he reduced all the places which had revolted to the Lacedaemonians, and especially Thasos, which was in a bad state on account of wars and revolutions and famine. [10] Thrasyllus finally, with the rest of the fleet, sailed home to Athens; but before he arrived, the Athenians had chosen as generals Alcibiades, who was still in exile, Thrasybulus, who was absent, and as a third, from among those at home, Conon. [11] And now Alcibiades sailed from Samos with his twenty ships and his money to Paros, and from there directed his course straight to Gytheium, in order to take a look at the thirty triremes which he heard the Lacedaemonians were making ready there and to see how his city felt toward him, with reference to his homecoming. [12] And when he found that the temper of the Athenians was kindly, that they had chosen him general, and that his friends were urging him by personal messages to return, he sailed in to Piraeus, arriving on the day when the city was celebrating the Plynteria and the statue of Athena was veiled from sight, — a circumstance which some people imagined was of ill omen, both for him and for the state; for on that day no Athenian would venture to engage in any serious business. [13]

When he sailed in, the common crowd of Piraeus and of the city gathered to his ships, filled with wonder and desiring to see the

famous Alcibiades. Some of them said that he was the best of the citizens; that he alone was banished without just cause, but rather because he was plotted against by those who had less power than he and spoke less well and ordered their political doings with a view to their own private gain, whereas he was always advancing the common weal, both by his own means and by the power of the state. [14] At the time in question, they said, he was willing to be brought to trial at once, when the charge had just been made that he had committed sacrilege against the Eleusinian Mysteries; his enemies, however, postponed the trial, which was obviously his right, and then, when he was absent, robbed him of his fatherland; [15] thereafter, in his exile, helpless as a slave and in danger of his life every day, he was forced to pay court to those whom he hated most; and though he saw those who were dearest to him, his fellow-citizens and kinsmen and all Athens, making mistakes, he was debarred by his banishment from the opportunity of helping them. [16] It was not the way, they said, of men such as he to desire revolution or a change in government; for under the democracy it had been his fortune to be not only superior to his contemporaries but also not inferior to his elders, while his enemies, on the other hand, were held in precisely the same low estimation after his banishment as before; later, however, when they had gained power, they had slain the best men, and since they alone were left, they were accepted by the citizens merely for the reason that better men were not available. [17]

Others, however, said that Alcibiades alone was responsible for their past troubles, and as for the ills which threatened to befall the state, he alone would probably prove to be the prime cause of them. [18]

Meanwhile Alcibiades, who had come to anchor close to the shore, did not at once disembark, through fear of his enemies; but mounting upon the deck of his ship, he looked to see whether his friends were present. [19] But when he sighted his cousin Eurypotemus, the son of Peisianax, and his other relatives and with them his friends, then he disembarked and went up to the city, accompanied by a party who were prepared to quell any attack that anyone might make upon him. [20] And after he had spoken in his own defence before the Senate and the Assembly, saying that he had

not committed sacrilege and that he had been unjustly treated, and after more of the same sort had been said, with no one speaking in opposition because the Assembly would not have tolerated it, he was proclaimed general-in-chief with absolute authority, the people thinking that he was the man to recover for the state its former power; then, as his first act, he led out all his troops and conducted by land the procession of the Eleusinian Mysteries, which the Athenians had been conducting by sea on account of the war; [21] and after this he collected an armament of fifteen hundred hoplites, one hundred and fifty horsemen, and one hundred ships. Then, in the fourth month after his return to Athens, he set sail for Andros, which had revolted from the Athenians; and with him were sent Aristocrates and Adeimantus, the son of Leucolophides, the generals who had been chosen for service by land. [22]

Alcibiades disembarked his army at Gaurium, in the territory of Andros; and when the men of Andros and the Laconians who were there came forth to meet him, the Athenians routed them, shut them up in their city, and killed some few of them. [23] Accordingly Alcibiades set up a trophy, and after remaining there a few days, sailed to Samos, and from Samos as a base prosecuted the war.

5.

Not long before this the Lacedaemonians had sent out Lysander as admiral, since Cratesippidas' term of office had expired. And after Lysander had arrived at Rhodes and secured some ships there, he sailed to Cos and Miletus, and from there to Ephesus, where he remained with seventy ships until Cyrus arrived at Sardis. On his arrival Lysander went up to visit him, accompanied by the ambassadors from Lacedaemon. [2] Then and there they told Cyrus of the deeds of which Tissaphernes had been guilty, and begged him to show the utmost zeal in the war. [3] Cyrus replied that this was what his father had instructed him to do, and that he had no other intention himself, but would do everything possible; he had brought with him, he said, five hundred talents; if this amount should prove insufficient, he would use his own money, which his father had given him; and if this too should prove inadequate, he would go so far as to break up the throne whereon he sat, which was of silver and gold. [4] The ambassadors thanked him, and urged him to make the wage of each

sailor an Attic drachma a day, explaining that if this were made the rate, the sailors of the Athenian fleet would desert their ships, and hence he would spend less money. [5] He replied that their plan was a good one, but that it was not possible for him to act contrary to the King's instructions; besides, the original compact ran in this way, that the King should give thirty minae per month to each ship, whatever number of ships the Lacedaemonians might wish to maintain. [6] Lysander accordingly dropped the matter for the moment; but after dinner, when Cyrus drank his health and asked him by what act he could gratify him most, Lysander replied: "By adding an obol to the pay of each sailor." [7] And from this time forth the wage was four obols, whereas it had previously been three. Cyrus also settled the arrears of pay and gave them a month's wage in advance besides, so that the men of the fleet were much more zealous. [8] Now when the Athenians heard of this, they were despondent, and sent ambassadors to Cyrus through Tissaphernes. [9] Cyrus, however, would not receive them, although Tissaphernes urged him to do so and advised him to see to it that no single Greek state should become strong, but that all be kept weak through constant quarrelling among themselves, — the policy he himself had followed on the advice of Alcibiades. [10]

As for Lysander, when he had finished organising his fleet, he hauled ashore the ships which were at Ephesus, now ninety in number, and kept quiet, while the ships were being dried out and repaired. [11] Meantime Alcibiades, hearing that Thrasybulus had come out from the Hellespont and was investing Phocaea, sailed across to see him, leaving in command of the fleet Antiochus, the pilot of his own ship, with orders not to attack Lysander's ships. [12] Antiochus, however, with his own ship and one other sailed from Notium into the harbour of Ephesus and coasted along past the very prows of Lysander's ships. [13] Lysander at first launched a few ships and pursued him, but when the Athenians came to the aid of Antiochus with more ships, he then formed into line of battle every ship he had and sailed against them. Thereupon the Athenians also launched the rest of their triremes at Notium and set out, as each one got a clear course. [14] From that moment they fell to fighting, the one side in good order, but the Athenians with their ships scattered, and

fought until the Athenians took to flight, after losing fifteen triremes. As for the men upon them, the greater part escaped, but some were taken prisoners. Then Lysander, after taking possession of his prizes and setting up a trophy at Notium, sailed across to Ephesus, while the Athenians went to Samos. [15] After this Alcibiades came to Samos, set sail with all his ships to the harbour of Ephesus, and formed the fleet in line at the mouth of the harbour as a challenge to battle, in case anyone cared to fight. But when Lysander did not sail out against him, because his fleet was considerably inferior in numbers, Alcibiades sailed back to Samos. And a little later the Lacedaemonians captured Delphinium and Eion. [16]

When the Athenians at home got the news of the battle at Notium, they were angry with Alcibiades, thinking that he had lost the ships through neglect of duty and dissolute conduct, and they chose ten new generals, Conon, Diomedon, Leon, Pericles, Erasinides, Aristocrates, Arcestratus, Protomachus, Thrasyllus, and Aristogenes. [17] So Alcibiades, who was in disfavour with the army as well, took a trireme and sailed away to his castle in the Chersonese. [18] After this Conon set sail from Andros, with the twenty ships which he had, to Samos, there to assume command of the fleet in accordance with the vote which the Athenians had passed. They also sent Phanosthenes to Andros, with four ships, to replace Conon. [19] On the way Phanosthenes fell in with two Thurian triremes and captured them, crews and all; and the men who were thus taken were all imprisoned by the Athenians, but their commander, Dorieus, a Rhodian by birth, but some time before exiled from both Athens and Rhodes by the Athenians, who had condemned him and his kinsmen to death, and now a citizen of Thurii, they set free without even exacting a ransom, taking pity upon him. [20] When, meanwhile, Conon had arrived at Samos, where he found the Athenian fleet in a state of despondency, he manned with full complements seventy triremes instead of the former number, which was more than a hundred, and setting out with this fleet, in company with the other generals, landed here and there in the enemy's territory and plundered it. [21]

So the year ended, being the year in which the Carthaginians made an expedition to Sicily with one hundred and twenty triremes

and an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and although defeated in battle, starved Acragas into submission after besieging it for seven months.

6.

In the ensuing year — the year in which there was an eclipse of the moon one evening, and the old temple of Athena at Athens was burned, Pityas being now ephor at Sparta and Callias archon at Athens — the Lacedaemonians sent Callicratidas to take command of the fleet, since Lysander's term of office had ended (and with it the twenty-fourth year of the war). [2] And when Lysander delivered over the ships, he told Callicratidas that he did so as master of the sea and victor in battle. Callicratidas, however, bade him coast along from Ephesus on the left of Samos, where the Athenian ships were, and deliver over the fleet at Miletus; then, he said, he would grant him that he was master of the sea. [3] But when Lysander replied that he would not meddle when another was commander, Callicratidas, left to himself, manned with sailors from Chios and Rhodes and other allied states fifty ships in addition to those which he had received from Lysander. And after assembling the entire fleet, a total of one hundred and forty ships, he prepared to meet the enemy. [4] But when he found out that Lysander's friends were intriguing against him, — they not only rendered half-hearted service, but also spread the report in the cities that the Lacedaemonians made a serious mistake in changing their admirals; for in place of men who were proving themselves fit and were just coming to understand naval matters and knew well how to deal with men, they frequently sent out men who were unacquainted with the sea and unknown to the people near the seat of war; and there was danger, they said, of their meeting with disaster on this account, — after hearing of all this Callicratidas called together the Lacedaemonians who were there and addressed them as follows: [5]

“I, for my part, am content to stay at home, and if Lysander or anyone else professes to be more experienced in naval affairs, I will not stand in his way so far as I am concerned; but it is I who have been sent by the state to command the fleet, and I cannot do otherwise than obey my orders to the best of my power. As for you, in view of the ambition which I cherish and the criticisms which our

state incurs, — and you know them as well as I do, — give me whatever advice seems to you best on the question of my remaining here or sailing back home to report the conditions which exist here.” [6]

Since no one dared to propose anything else than that he should obey the authorities at home and do the work for which he had come, he went to Cyrus and asked for pay for the sailors; Cyrus, however, told him to wait for two days. [7] But Callicratidas, indignant at being thus put off and driven to anger by having to dance attendance at his gates, declaring that the Greeks were in a sorry plight, toadying to barbarians for the sake of money, and saying that if he reached home in safety he would do his best to reconcile the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, sailed away to Miletus; [8] and after despatching triremes from there to Lacedaemon to get money, he gathered the Milesians in assembly and spoke as follows:

“Upon me, men of Miletus, lies the necessity of obeying the authorities at home; and as for you, I claim that you should show the utmost zeal in this war, because you dwell among barbarians and in the past have suffered very many ills at their hands. [9] And you should as leaders show the other allies how we may inflict the utmost harm upon the enemy in the shortest time, until the people return from Lacedaemon whom I have sent thither to get money; [10] for the money which Lysander had on hand he gave back to Cyrus, as though it were unneeded surplus, and went his way; and as for Cyrus, whenever I visited him he invariably put off giving me an audience, and I could not bring myself to dance attendance at his gates. [11] But I promise you that for whatever good results we achieve while we are waiting for the funds from Sparta I will make you an adequate return. Let us then, with the help of the gods, show the barbarians that even without paying court to them we can punish our enemies.” [12]

When he had said this, many arose, particularly those who were accused of opposing him, and in alarm proposed a grant of money, offering private contributions as well. And taking this money and supplying from Chios a payment of five drachmae apiece for his seamen, he sailed against Methymna, in Lesbos, which was hostile. [13] And when the Methymnaeans refused to surrender, — for there was an Athenian garrison in the place and those who had control of

the government were partisans of Athens, — Callicratidas attacked the city and captured it by storm. [14] All the property which it contained the soldiers seized as booty, but all the captives Callicratidas assembled in the market-place; and when his allies urged him to sell into slavery the Methymnaeans as well as the Athenians, he said that while he was commander no Greek should be enslaved if he could help it. [15] Accordingly on the next day he let the Methymnaeans go free, but sold the members of the Athenian garrison and such of the captives as were slaves; then he sent word to Conon that he would put a stop to his playing the wanton with his bride, the sea. And when he caught sight of Conon putting out to sea at daybreak, he pursued him, aiming to cut off his course to Samos, so that he could not direct his flight thither. [16] Conon's ships, however, made good speed as he fled, because the best oarsmen had been picked out of a great many crews and assembled in a few; in the end he sought refuge in the harbour of Mytilene, in Lesbos, and with him two more of the ten generals, Leon and Erasinides. But Callicratidas, pursuing with one hundred and seventy ships, sailed into the harbour simultaneously. [17] And Conon, thwarted in his plan by the enemy's swiftness, was forced to give battle at the mouth of the harbour and lost thirty ships; their crews, however, escaped to the land; and the remainder of his ships, forty in number, he drew up on shore under the wall of the city. [18] Thereupon Callicratidas anchored in the harbour and blockaded him on that side, holding the outlet to the sea. As for the land side, he summoned the Methymnaeans to come to his aid with their entire force and brought over his army from Chios; and money came to him from Cyrus. [19]

When Conon found himself blockaded both by land and by sea, and was unable to procure provisions from anywhere, — and the people in the city were many, and the Athenians could not come to his aid because they had not learned of these events, — he launched two of his fastest ships and manned them before daybreak, picking out the best oarsmen from his whole fleet, shifting the marines to the hold of the ships, and setting up the side screens. [20] They continued in this way through the day, but each evening he had them disembark when darkness came on, so that the enemy might not perceive that they were so doing. On the fifth day they put on board a moderate

quantity of provisions, and when it came to be midday and the blockaders were careless and some of them asleep, they rowed out of the harbour, and one of the ships set out for the Hellespont and the other to the open sea. [21] And the blockaders, as they severally got their ships clear of one another, cutting away their anchors and rousing themselves from sleep, hastened to the pursuit in confusion, for it chanced that they had been breakfasting on the shore; and when they had embarked, they pursued the vessel which had made for the open sea, and at sunset they overhauled her and, after capturing her in battle, took her in tow and brought her back, men and all, to their fleet. [22] But the ship which fled toward the Hellespont escaped, and on its arrival at Athens reported the blockade. Meanwhile Diomedon, seeking to aid Conon, blockaded as he was, anchored with twelve ships in the strait of Mytilene. [23] Callicratidas, however, sailed down upon him suddenly and captured ten of his ships, Diomedon escaping with his own ship and one other. [24]

When the Athenians heard of what had happened and of the blockade, they voted to go to the rescue with one hundred and ten ships, putting aboard all who were of military age, whether slave or free; and within thirty days they manned the one hundred and ten ships and set forth. Even the knights went aboard in considerable numbers. [25] After this they sailed to Samos and from there got ten Samian ships; they collected also more than thirty others from the rest of the allies, forcing everybody to embark, and in like manner whatever Athenian ships happened to be abroad. And the total number of the ships came to more than one hundred and fifty. [26] Now Callicratidas, when he heard that the relief expedition was already at Samos, left behind him at Mytilene fifty ships with Eteonicus as commander, and setting sail with the remaining one hundred and twenty, took dinner at Cape Malea in Lesbos. [27] On the same day it chanced that the Athenians took dinner on the Arginusae islands. These lie opposite Mytilene. [28] And when Callicratidas saw their fires during the night and people reported to him that it was the Athenians, he proposed to put to sea at about midnight, in order to attack them unexpectedly; but a heavy rain coming on, with thunder, prevented the setting out. And when it ceased, he sailed at daybreak for the Arginusae. [29]

The Athenians stood out to meet him, extending their left wing out to sea and arranged in the following order: Aristocrates, in command of the left wing, led the way with fifteen ships, and next in order Diomedon with fifteen more; and Pericles was stationed behind Aristocrates and Erasinides behind Diomedon; and beside Diomedon were the Samians with ten ships, drawn up in single line; and their commander was a Samian named Hippeus; and next to them were the ten ships of the taxiarchs, also in single line; and behind these the three ships of the nauarchs and also some ships from the allies; [30] and the right wing was under the command of Protomachus, with fifteen ships; and beside him was Thrasyllus with fifteen more; and Lysias, with the same number of ships, was stationed behind Protomachus, and Aristogenes behind Thrasyllus. [31] The ships were arranged in this way so as not to give the enemy a chance of breaking through the line; for the Athenians were inferior in seamanship. But all the vessels of the Lacedaemonians were arranged in single line, with a view to breaking through the enemy and circling round him, inasmuch as they had superior seamen. And Callicratidas was on the right wing. [32] Now Hermon the Megarian, the pilot of Callicratidas' ship, said to him that it was well to sail away; for the triremes of the Athenians were far more numerous. Callicratidas, however, said that Sparta would fare none the worse if he were killed, but flight, he said, would be a disgrace. [33]

After this they fell to fighting, and fought for a long time, their ships at first in close order and afterwards scattered. But when Callicratidas, as his ship rammed an enemy, fell overboard into the sea and disappeared, and Protomachus and those with him on the right wing defeated the opposing Lacedaemonian left, then began a flight of the Peloponnesians to Chios, though very many went to Phocaea; while the Athenians sailed back to the Arginusae. [34] The loss on the Athenian side was twenty-five ships, crews and all, with the exception of a few men who were brought to shore, and on the Peloponnesian side nine Laconian ships, out of a total of ten, and more than sixty ships of the allies. [35] After this victory it was resolved by the Athenian generals that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, who were ship-captains, and some of the taxiarchs, should sail with forty-seven ships to the aid of the disabled vessels and the men on

board them, while they themselves went with the rest of the fleet to attack the ships under Eteonicus which were blockading Mytilene. But despite their desire to carry out these measures, the wind and a heavy storm which came on prevented them; accordingly, after setting up a trophy, they bivouacked where they were. [36]

As for Eteonicus, the dispatch-boat reported to him the whole story of the battle. He, however, sent the boat out again, telling those who were in it to sail out of the harbour in silence and not talk with anyone, and then to sail back immediately to his fleet, wearing garlands and shouting that Callicratidas had been victorious in battle and that all the ships of the Athenians had been destroyed. [37] This they proceeded to do; and when they were sailing in, Eteonicus began to offer sacrifices for the good news, and gave orders that the soldiers should take their dinner, that the traders should put their goods into their boats in silence and sail off to Chios (for the wind was favourable), and that the triremes also should sail thither with all speed. [38] And he himself led his land forces back to Methymna, after setting fire to their camp. Conon now launched his ships, and, since the enemy had stolen away and the wind was quieter, went to meet the Athenians, who had by this time set out from the Arginusae, and told them what Eteonicus had done. The Athenians put in to Mytilene, sailed thence against Chios, and, accomplishing nothing there, sailed back towards Samos.

7.

Now the people at home deposed the above-mentioned generals, with the exception of Conon; and as his colleagues they chose two men, Adeimantus and Philocles. As for those generals who had taken part in the battle, two of them — Protomachus and Aristogenes — did not return to Athens, but when the other six came home — [2] Pericles, Diomedon, Lysias, Aristocrates, Thrasyllus, and Erasinides, — Archedemus, who was at that time a leader of the popular party at Athens and had charge of the two-obol fund, brought accusation against Erasinides before a court and urged that a fine be imposed upon him, claiming that he had in his possession money from the Hellespont which belonged to the people; he accused him, further, of misconduct as general. And the court decreed that Erasinides should be imprisoned. [3] After this the generals made a statement before the

Senate in regard to the battle and the violence of the storm; and upon motion of Timocrates, that the others also should be imprisoned and turned over to the Assembly for trial, the Senate imprisoned them. [4] After this a meeting of the Assembly was called, at which a number of people, and particularly Theramenes, spoke against the generals, saying that they ought to render an account of their conduct in not picking up the shipwrecked. For as proof that the generals fastened the responsibility upon no person apart from themselves, Theramenes showed a letter which they had sent to the Senate and to the Assembly, in which they put the blame upon nothing but the storm. [5] After this the several generals spoke in their own defence (though briefly, for they were not granted the hearing prescribed by the law) and stated what they had done, saying that they themselves undertook to sail against the enemy and that they assigned the duty of recovering the shipwrecked to certain of the captains who were competent men and had been generals in the past, — Theramenes, Thrasybulus, and others of that sort; [6] and if they had to blame any, they could blame no one else in the matter of the recovery except these men, to whom the duty was assigned. "And we shall not," they added, "just because they accuse us, falsely say that they were to blame, but rather that it was the violence of the storm which prevented the recovery." [7] They offered as witnesses to the truth of these statements the pilots and many others among their ship-companions. With such arguments they were on the point of persuading the Assembly, and many of the citizens rose and wanted to give bail for them; it was decided, however, that the matter should be postponed to another meeting of the Assembly (for by that time it was late in the day and they could not have distinguished the hands in the voting), and that the Senate should draft and bring in a proposal regarding the manner in which the men should be tried. [8]

After this the Apaturia was celebrated, at which fathers and kinsmen meet together. Accordingly Theramenes and his supporters arranged at this festival with a large number of people, who were clad in mourning garments and had their hair close shaven, to attend the meeting of the Assembly, pretending that they were kinsmen of those who had perished, and they bribed Callixeinus to accuse the generals in the Senate. [9] Then they called an Assembly, at which the

Senate brought in its proposal, which Callixeinus had drafted in the following terms: "Resolved, that since the Athenians have heard in the previous meeting of the Assembly both the accusers who brought charges against the generals and the generals speaking in their own defence, they do now one and all cast their votes by tribes; and that two urns be set at the voting-place of each tribe; and that in each tribe a herald proclaim that whoever adjudges the generals guilty, for not picking up the men who won the victory in the naval battle, shall cast his vote in the first urn, and whoever adjudges them not guilty, shall cast his vote in the second; [10] and if they be adjudged guilty, that they be punished with death and handed over to the Eleven, and that their property be confiscated and the tenth thereof belong to the goddess." [11] And there came before the Assembly a man who said that he had been saved by floating upon a meal-tub, and that those who were perishing charged him to report to the people, if he were saved, that the generals did not pick up the men who had proved themselves most brave in the service of their country. [12] Now Euryptolemus, the son of Peisianax, and some others served a summons upon Callixeinus, alleging that he had made an unconstitutional proposal. And some of the people applauded this act, but the greater number cried out that it was monstrous if the people were to be prevented from doing whatever they wished. [13] Indeed, when Lyciscus thereupon moved that these men also should be judged by the very same vote as the generals, unless they withdrew the summons, the mob broke out again with shouts of approval, and they were compelled to withdraw the summonses. [14] Furthermore, when some of the Prytanes refused to put the question to the vote in violation of the law, Callixeinus again mounted the platform and urged the same charge against them; and the crowd cried out to summon to court those who refused. [15] Then the Prytanes, stricken with fear, agreed to put the question, — all of them except Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus; and he said that in no case would he act except in accordance with the law. [16] After this Euryptolemus mounted the platform and spoke as follows in defence of the generals:

"I have come to the platform, men of Athens, partly to accuse Pericles, though he is my kinsman and intimate, and Diomedon, who

is my friend, partly to speak in their defence, and partly to advise the measures which seem to me to be best for the state as a whole. [17] I accuse them, because they persuaded their colleagues to change their purpose when they wanted to send a letter to the Senate and to you, in which they stated that they assigned to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, with forty-seven triremes, the duty of picking up the shipwrecked, and that they failed to perform this duty. [18] Such being the case, are these generals to share the blame now with Theramenes and Thrasybulus, although it was those alone who blundered, and are they now, in return for the humanity they showed then, to be put in hazard of their lives through the machinations of those men and certain others? [19] No! at least not if you take my advice and follow the just and righteous course, the course which will best enable you to learn the truth and to avoid finding out hereafter, to your sorrow, that it is you yourselves who have sinned most grievously, not only against the gods, but against yourselves. The advice I give you is such that, if you follow it, you cannot be deceived either by me or by anyone else, and that with full knowledge you will punish the guilty with whatever punishment you may desire, either all of them together or each one separately, namely, by first granting them at least one day, if not more, to speak in their own defence, and by putting your trust, not so much in others, but in yourselves. [20] Now you all know, men of Athens, that the decree of Cannonus is exceedingly severe: it provides that if anyone shall wrong the people of Athens, he shall plead his case in fetters before the people, and if he be adjudged guilty, he shall be put to death by being cast into the pit, and his property shall be confiscated and the tenth part thereof shall belong to the goddess. [21] Under this decree I urge you to try the generals, and, by Zeus, if it so please you, Pericles, my kinsman, first of them all; for it would be base for me to think more of him than of the general interests of the state. [22] Or if you do not wish to do this, try them under the following law, which applies to temple-robbers and traitors: namely, if anyone shall be a traitor to the state or shall steal sacred property, he shall be tried before a court, and if he be convicted, he shall not be buried in Attica, and his property shall be confiscated. [23] By whichever of these laws you choose, men of Athens, let the men be tried, each one separately, and let the day be

divided into three parts, one wherein you shall gather and vote as to whether you judge them guilty or not, another wherein the accusers shall present their case, and another wherein the accused shall make their defence. [24]

“If this is done, the guilty will incur the severest punishment, and the guiltless will be set free by you, men of Athens, and will not be put to death unjustly. [25] As for yourselves, you will be granting a trial in accordance with the law and standing true to religion and your oaths, and you will not be fighting on the side of the Lacedaemonians by putting to death the men who captured seventy ships from them and defeated them, — by putting to death these men, I say, without a trial, in violation of the law. [26] What is it, pray, that you fear, that you are in such excessive haste? Do you fear lest you will lose the right to put to death and set free anyone you please if you proceed in accordance with the law, but think that you will retain this right if you proceed in violation of the law, by the method which Callixeinus persuaded the Senate to report to the people, that is, by a single vote? [27] Yes, but you might possibly be putting to death some one who is really innocent; and repentance afterwards — ah, remember how painful and unavailing it always is, and especially when one’s error has brought about a man’s death. [28] You would do a monstrous thing if, after granting in the past to Aristarchus, the destroyer of the democracy and afterwards the betrayer of Oenoe to your enemies the Thebans, a day in which to defend himself as he pleased, and allowing him all his other rights under the law, — if, I say, you shall now deprive the generals, who have done everything to your satisfaction, and have defeated the enemy, of these same rights. [29] Let no such act be yours, men of Athens, but guard the laws, which are your own and above all else have made you supremely great, and do not try to do anything without their sanction.

“And now come back to the actual circumstances under which the mistakes are thought to have been committed by the generals. When, after winning the battle, they sailed in to the shore, Diomedon urged that they should one and all put out to sea in line and pick up the wreckage and the shipwrecked men, while Erasinides proposed that all should sail with the utmost speed against the enemy at Mytilene. But Thrasyllus said that both things would be accomplished if they

should leave some of the ships there and should sail with the rest against the enemy; [30] and if this plan were decided upon, he advised that each of the generals, who were eight in number, should leave behind three ships from his own division, and that they should also leave the ten ships of the taxiarchs, the ten of the Samians, and the three of the nauarchs. These amount all told to forty-seven ships, four for each one of the lost vessels, which were twelve in number. [31] Among the captains who were left behind were both Thrasybulus and Theramenes, the man who accused the generals at the former meeting of the Assembly. And with the rest of the ships they planned to sail against the enemy's fleet. Now what one of these acts did they not do adequately and well? It is but just, therefore, that those, on the one hand, who were detailed to go against the enemy should be held to account for their lack of success in dealing with the enemy, and that those, on the other hand, who were detailed to recover the shipwrecked, in case they did not do what the generals ordered, should be tried for not recovering them. [32] This much, however, I can say in defence of both parties, that the storm absolutely prevented them from doing any of the things which the generals had planned. And as witnesses to this fact you have those who were saved by mere chance, among whom is one of our generals, who came through safely on a disabled ship, and whom they now bid you judge by the same vote (although at that time he needed to be picked up himself) by which you judge those who did not do what they were ordered to do. [33] Do not, then, men of Athens, in the face of your victory and your good fortune, act like men who are beaten and unfortunate, nor, in the face of heaven's visitation, show yourselves unreasonable by giving a verdict of treachery instead of helplessness, since they found themselves unable on account of the storm to do what they had been ordered to do; nay, it would be far more just for you to honour the victors with garlands than, yielding to the persuasions of wicked men, to punish them with death." [34]

When Euryptolemus had thus spoken, he offered a resolution that the men be tried under the decree of Cannonus, each one separately; whereas the proposal of the Senate was to judge them all by a single vote. The vote being now taken as between these two proposals, they decided at first in favour of the resolution of Euryptolemus; but when

Menecles interposed an objection under oath and a second vote was taken, they decided in favour of that of the Senate. After this they condemned the generals who took part in the battle, eight in all; and the six who were in Athens were put to death. [35] And not long afterwards the Athenians repented, and they voted that complaints be brought against any who had deceived the people, that they furnish bondsmen until such time as they should be brought to trial, and that Callixeinus be included among them. Complaints were brought against four others also, and they were put into confinement by their bondsmen. But when there broke out afterwards a factional disturbance, in the course of which Cleophon was put to death, these men escaped, before being brought to trial; Callixeinus indeed returned, at the time when the Piraeus party returned to the city, but he was hated by everybody and died of starvation.

BOOK II.

1. The troops that were at Chios under Eteonicus subsisted, so long as the summer lasted, upon the produce of the season and by working for hire up and down the island; when winter came on, however, and they were without food and poorly clad and unshod, they got together and agreed to make an attack upon Chios; and it was decided that those who approved this plan should carry a reed, so that they could tell how numerous they were. [2] Now when Eteonicus learned of the plot, he was uncertain how to deal with the matter on account of the great number of the reed-bearers. To attack them openly seemed to him to be dangerous, for he feared that they might rush to their arms, gain possession of the city, turn enemies, and so ruin everything, in case they should prevail; while, in the other case, to be putting allied soldiers to death in such numbers was also clearly a serious matter, for in this way the Lacedaemonians might incur harsh criticism among the other Greeks as well, and the troops might be disaffected toward the cause. [3] Accordingly he took with him fifteen men armed with daggers and proceeded through the city, and meeting a man suffering from ophthalmia as he was leaving a physician's house, a reed in his hand, he put him to death. [4] And when an uproar resulted and people asked why the man had been put to death, Eteonicus ordered his followers to give out word that it was because he had the reed. As a result of this announcement all those who were carrying reeds threw them away, each man as he heard the report being afraid that he might be seen with one. [5] After this Eteonicus called together the Chians and bade them contribute money, in order that the sailors might get their pay and not attempt anything seditious; and the Chians did so. At the same time he ordered his men to embark upon their ships; and going along past each ship in its turn he encouraged and advised them at length, as though he knew nothing of what had happened, and distributed a month's pay to all hands. [6]

After this the Chians and the rest of the allies gathered at Ephesus and resolved, in view of the existing situation, to send ambassadors to Lacedaemon to report the facts and to ask for Lysander as

commander of the fleet, a man who was in high favour among the allies as a result of his former command, when he won the battle of Notium. [7] Ambassadors were accordingly sent, and with them went also envoys from Cyrus with the same request. And the Lacedaemonians granted them Lysander as vice-admiral, but made Aracus admiral; for it was contrary to their law for a man to hold the office of admiral twice; nevertheless, they put the ships under the command of Lysander — the war having now lasted twenty-five years. [8]

It was in this year that Cyrus put to death Autoboesaces and Mitraeus, who were sons of Darius' sister — the daughter of Darius' father Xerxes — because upon meeting him they did not thrust their hands through the corê, an honour they show the King alone. (The corê is a longer sleeve than the cheiris, and a man who had his hand in one would be powerless to do anything.) [9] In consequence, Hieramenes and his wife said to Darius that it would be shameful if he were to overlook such wanton violence on the part of Cyrus; and Darius, on the plea that he was ill, sent messengers and summoned Cyrus to come to him. [10]

In the following year — Archytas being now ephor, and Alexias archon at Athens — Lysander arrived at Ephesus and sent for Eteonicus to come thither from Chios with the ships, while he also gathered together all the other ships that were anywhere to be found; then he occupied himself with refitting these vessels and building more at Antandrus. [11] Meantime he went to Cyrus and asked for money; and Cyrus told him that the funds provided by the King had been spent, in fact much more besides, showing him how much each of the admirals had received; nevertheless he did give him money. [12] And upon receiving it Lysander appointed to each trireme its captain and paid his sailors the wages that were due them. Meanwhile the Athenian generals also were getting their fleet in readiness, at Samos. [13]

At this point Cyrus sent for Lysander, for a messenger had come to him from his father with word that he was ill and summoned him, he being at Thamneria, in Media, near the country of the Cadusians, against whom he had made an expedition, for they were in revolt. [14] And when Lysander arrived, Cyrus warned him not to give battle to

the Athenians unless he should far outnumber them in ships; for, Cyrus said, both the King and he had money in abundance, and hence, so far as that point was concerned, it would be possible to man many ships. He then assigned to Lysander all the tribute which came in from his cities and belonged to him personally, and gave him also the balance he had on hand; and, after reminding Lysander how good a friend he was both to the Lacedaemonian state and to him personally, he set out on the journey to his father. [15]

Now Lysander, when Cyrus had thus given over to him all his money and set out, in response to the summons, to visit his sick father, distributed pay to his men and set sail to the Ceramic Gulf, in Caria. There he attacked a city named Cedreiae which was an ally of the Athenians, and on the second day's assault captured it by storm and reduced the inhabitants to slavery; they were a mixture of Greek and barbarian blood. Thence he sailed away to Rhodes. [16] As for the Athenians, they harried the territory of the King, using Samos as a base, and sailed against Chios and Ephesus; they were also making their preparations for battle, and had chosen three generals in addition to the former number, — Menander, Tydeus, and Cephisodotus. [17] Meanwhile Lysander sailed from Rhodes along the coast of Ionia to the Hellespont, in order to prevent the passing out of the grain-ships and to take action against the cities which had revolted from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians likewise set out thither from Chios, keeping to the open sea; [18] for Asia was hostile to them. But Lysander coasted along from Abydus to Lampsacus, which was an ally of the Athenians; and the people of Abydus and the other cities were at hand on the shore to support him, being commanded by Thorax, a Lacedaemonian. [19] Then they attacked the city and captured it by storm, whereupon the soldiers plundered it. It was a wealthy city, full of wine and grain and all other kinds of supplies. But Lysander let go all the free persons who were captured. [20] Now the Athenians had been sailing in the wake of Lysander's fleet, and they anchored at Elaeus, in the Chersonese, with one hundred and eighty ships. While they were breakfasting there, the news about Lampsacus was reported to them, and they set out immediately to Sestus. [21] From there, as soon as they had provisioned, they sailed to Aegospotami, which is opposite

Lampsacus, the Hellespont at this point being about fifteen stadia wide. There they took dinner. [22] And during the ensuing night, when early dawn came, Lysander gave the signal for his men to take breakfast and embark upon their ships, and after making everything ready for battle and stretching the side screens, he gave orders that no one should stir from his position or put out. [23] At sunrise the Athenians formed their ships in line for battle at the mouth of the harbour. Since, however, Lysander did not put out against them, they sailed back again, when it grew late in the day, to Aegospotami. [24] Thereupon Lysander ordered the swiftest of his ships to follow the Athenians and, when they had disembarked, to observe what they did, and then to sail back and report to him; and he did not disembark his men from their vessels until these scout-ships had returned. This he did for four days; and the Athenians continued to sail out and offer battle. [25] Meantime Alcibiades, who could discern from his castle that the Athenians were moored on an open shore, with no city near by, and were fetching their provisions from Sestus, a distance of fifteen stadia from their ships, while the enemy, being in a harbour and near a city, had everything needful, told the Athenians that they were not moored in a good place, and advised them to shift their anchorage to Sestus and thus gain a harbour and a city; “for if you are there,” he said, “you will be able to fight when you please.” [26] The generals, however, and especially Tydeus and Menander, bade him be gone; for they said that they were in command now, not he. So he went away. [27] And now Lysander, on the fifth day the Athenians sailed out against him, told his men, who followed them back, that as soon as they saw that the enemy had disembarked and had scattered up and down the Chersonese, — and the Athenians did this far more freely every day, not only because they bought their provisions at a distance, but also because they presumed to think lightly of Lysander for not putting out to meet them, — they were to sail back to him and to hoist a shield when midway in their course. And they did just as he had ordered. [28] Straightway Lysander gave a signal to his fleet to sail with all speed, and Thorax with his troops went with the fleet. Now when Conon saw the oncoming attack, he signalled the Athenians to hasten with all their might to their ships. But since his men were scattered here and there, some of the ships

had but two banks of oars manned, some but one, and some were entirely empty; Conon's own ship, indeed, and seven others accompanying him, which were fully manned, put to sea in close order, and the *Paralus* with them, but all the rest Lysander captured on the beach. He also gathered up on the shore most of the men of their crews; some, however, gained the shelter of the neighbouring strongholds. [29]

But when Conon, fleeing with his nine ships, realized that the Athenian cause was lost, he put in at Abarnis, the promontory of Lampsacus, and there seized the cruising sails that belonged to Lysander's ships; then he sailed away with eight ships to seek refuge with Euagoras in Cyprus, while the *Paralus* went to Athens with the tidings of what had happened. [30] As for Lysander, he took his prizes and prisoners and everything else back to Lampsacus, the prisoners including Philocles, Adeimantus, and some of the other generals. Furthermore, on the day when he achieved this victory he sent Theopompus, the Milesian buccaneer, to Lacedaemon to report what had happened, and Theopompus arrived and delivered his message on the third day. [31] After this Lysander gathered together the allies and bade them deliberate regarding the disposition to be made of the prisoners. Thereupon many charges began to be urged against the Athenians, not only touching the outrages they had already committed and what they had voted to do if they were victorious in the battle, — namely, to cut off the right hand of every man taken alive, — but also the fact that after capturing two triremes, one a Corinthian and the other an Andrian, they had thrown the crews overboard to a man. And it was Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had thus made away with these men. [32] Many other stories were told, and it was finally resolved to put to death all of the prisoners who were Athenians, with the exception of Adeimantus, because he was the one man who in the Athenian Assembly had opposed the decree in regard to cutting off the hands of captives; he was charged, however, by some people with having betrayed the fleet. As to Philocles, who threw overboard the Andrians and Corinthians, Lysander first asked him what he deserved to suffer for having begun outrageous practices towards Greeks, and then had his throat cut.

After setting in order the affairs of Lampsacus, Lysander sailed against Byzantium and Calchedon. And the people of those cities admitted him, allowing the Athenian garrisons, by the terms of the surrender, to withdraw. And those who had betrayed Byzantium to Alcibiades fled at this time to the Pontus, but afterwards they went to Athens and became Athenian citizens. [2] Now the Athenian garrisons, and in fact every other Athenian whom he saw anywhere, Lysander sent home to Athens, giving them safe conduct if they sailed to that one place and not if they went to any other; for he knew that the more people were collected in the city and Piraeus, the more quickly there would be a scarcity of provisions. Then, after leaving Sthenelaus, a Laconian, as governor of Byzantium and Calchedon, he sailed back to Lampsacus and occupied himself with refitting his ships. [3]

It was at night that the Paralus arrived at Athens with tidings of the disaster, and a sound of wailing ran from Piraeus through the long walls to the city, one man passing on the news to another; and during that night no one slept, all mourning, not for the lost alone, but far more for their own selves, thinking that they would suffer such treatment as they had visited upon the Melians, colonists of the Lacedaemonians, after reducing them by siege, and upon the Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans and Aeginetans and many other Greek peoples. [4] On the following day they convened an Assembly, at which it was resolved to block up all the harbours except one, to repair the walls, to station guards, and in all other respects to get the city ready for a siege. They busied themselves, accordingly, with these matters. [5]

Meanwhile Lysander, sailing out of the Hellespont with two hundred ships, arrived at Lesbos and arranged the affairs of Mytilene and the other cities of the island; and he sent Eteonicus with ten triremes to the places on the Thracian coast, and Eteonicus brought over everything in that region to the side of the Lacedaemonians. [6] Indeed, the rest of the Greek world also had fallen away from the Athenians immediately after the battle, with the exception of Samos; there the people slaughtered the aristocrats and held possession of their city. [7] After this Lysander sent word to Agis, at Decelea, and to

Lacedaemon that he was coming with two hundred ships. Thereupon the Lacedaemonians took the field with their whole force, and likewise the rest of the Peloponnesians excepting the Argives, at the command of Pausanias, the other king of the Lacedaemonians. [8] And when all had been gathered together, Pausanias led them to Athens and encamped in the Academy. [9] Meantime Lysander, upon reaching Aegina, restored the state to the Aeginetans, gathering together as many of them as he could, and he did the same thing for the Melians also and for all the others who had been deprived of their native states. Then, after laying waste Salamis, he anchored at Piraeus with one hundred and fifty ships and closed the entrance to the harbour against all merchantmen. [10]

Now the Athenians, being thus besieged by land and by sea, knew not what to do, since they had neither ships nor allies nor provisions; and they thought that there was no way out, save only to suffer the pains which they had themselves inflicted, not in retaliation, but in wantonness and unjustly upon the people of small states, for no other single reason than because they were in alliance with the Lacedaemonians. [11] On this account they restored to the disfranchised their political rights and held out steadfastly, refusing to make overtures for peace even though many were dying in the city from starvation. When, however, their provisions had entirely given out, they sent ambassadors to Agis declaring their wish to become allies of the Lacedaemonians while still keeping their walls and Piraeus, and on these terms to conclude a treaty. [12] But Agis bade them go to Lacedaemon, saying that he himself had no authority. And when the ambassadors reported to the Athenians this reply, they sent them to Lacedaemon. [13] But when they were at Sellasia, near Laconia, and the ephors learned from them what proposals they were bringing, — the same, namely, as those which they had presented to Agis, — they directed them to go back again without coming a step farther and, if they really had any desire for peace, to take better counsel before they returned. [14] And when the ambassadors reached home and reported this to the people, despondency descended upon all; for they imagined that they would be reduced to slavery, and that while they were sending another set of ambassadors, many would die of the famine. [15] Nevertheless, no one wanted to make any proposal

involving the destruction of the walls; for when Archestratus said in the Senate that it was best to make peace with the Lacedaemonians on the terms they offered — and the terms were that they should tear down a portion ten stadia long of each of the two long walls, — he was thrown into prison, and a decree was passed forbidding the making of a proposal of this sort. [16]

This being the condition of affairs in Athens, Theramenes said in the Assembly that if they were willing to send him to Lysander, he would find out before he came back whether the Lacedaemonians were insistent in the matter of the walls because they wished to reduce the city to slavery, or in order to obtain a guarantee of good faith. Upon being sent, however, he stayed with Lysander three months and more, waiting for the time when, on account of the failure of provisions, the Athenians would agree to anything and everything which might be proposed. [17] And when he returned in the fourth month, he reported in the Assembly that Lysander had detained him all this time and had then directed him to go to Lacedaemon, saying that he had no authority in the matters concerning which Theramenes asked for information, but only the ephors. After this Theramenes was chosen ambassador to Lacedaemon with full power, being at the head of an embassy of ten. [18] Lysander meanwhile sent Aristoteles, an Athenian exile, in company with some Lacedaemonians, to report to the ephors that the answer he had made to Theramenes was that they only had authority in the matter of peace and war. [19] Now when Theramenes and the other ambassadors were at Sellasia and, on being asked with what proposals they had come, replied that they had full power to treat for peace, the ephors thereupon gave orders to summon them to Lacedaemon. When they arrived, the ephors called an assembly, at which the Corinthians and Thebans in particular, though many other Greeks agreed with them, opposed making a treaty with the Athenians and favoured destroying their city. [20] The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not enslave a Greek city which had done great service amid the greatest perils that had befallen Greece, and they offered to make peace on these conditions: that the Athenians should destroy the long walls and the walls of Piraeus, surrender all their ships except twelve, allow their exiles to

return, count the same people friends and enemies as the Lacedaemonians did, and follow the Lacedaemonians both by land and by sea wherever they should lead the way. [21]

So Theramenes and his fellow-ambassadors brought back this word to Athens. And as they were entering the city, a great crowd gathered around them, fearful that they had returned unsuccessful; for it was no longer possible to delay, on account of the number who were dying of the famine. [22] On the next day the ambassadors reported to the Assembly the terms on which the Lacedaemonians offered to make peace; Theramenes acted as spokesman for the embassy, and urged that it was best to obey the Lacedaemonians and tear down the walls. And while some spoke in opposition to him, a far greater number supported him, and it was voted to accept the peace. [23] After this Lysander sailed into Piraeus, the exiles returned, and the Peloponnesians with great enthusiasm began to tear down the walls to the music of flute-girls, thinking that that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece. [24]

So the year ended, in the middle of which Dionysius of Syracuse, the son of Hermocrates, became tyrant, after the Carthaginians had been defeated in battle by the Syracusans, but had captured Acragas by famine, the Siceliots abandoning the city.

3.

In the following year — in which was celebrated an Olympiad, wherein Crocinas the Thessalian was victorious in the stadium, Endius being now ephor at Sparta and Pythodorus archon at Athens. Since, however, Pythodorus was chosen during the time of the oligarchy, the Athenians do not use his name to mark the year, but call it “the archonless year.” And this oligarchy came into being in the way hereafter described — [2] it was voted by the people to choose thirty men to frame the ancient laws into a constitution under which to conduct the government. And the following men were chosen: Polychares, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Eucleides, Hieron, Mnesilochus, Chremon, Theramenes, Aresias, Diocles, Phaedrias, Chaereleos, Anaetius, Peison, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomacles, Theognis, Aeschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Erasistratus, Pheidon, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesitheides. [3] When this had been done, Lysander

sailed off to Samos, while Agis withdrew the land force from Decelea and dismissed the several contingents to their cities. [4]

It was near this date, and at about the time of an eclipse of the sun, that Lycophron of Pherae, who wanted to make himself ruler of all Thessaly, defeated in battle those among the Thessalians who opposed him, namely the Larisaeans and others, and slew many of them. [5]

It was at the same time also that Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, was defeated in battle by the Carthaginians and lost Gela and Camarina. Shortly afterwards also the Leontines, who had been dwelling at Syracuse, revolted from Dionysius and the Syracusans and returned to their own city. And immediately thereafter the Syracusan horsemen were despatched by Dionysius to Catana. [6]

Meanwhile the Samians were being besieged by Lysander on every side, and when, seeing that at first they refused to come to terms, he was on the point of making an attack upon them, they came to an agreement with him that every free person should depart from the city with but one cloak and that all else should be surrendered; and on these terms they withdrew. [7] And Lysander gave over the city and everything therein to the former citizens, and appointed ten rulers to guard it; then he dismissed the naval contingents of the allies to their several cities, [8] and he sailed home with the Laconian ships to Lacedaemon, taking with him the prows of the captured ships, the triremes from Piraeus except twelve, the crowns which he had received from the cities as gifts to himself individually, four hundred and seventy talents in money, being the balance that remained of the tribute money which Cyrus had assigned to him for the prosecution of the war, and whatever else he had obtained during the course of the war. [9] All these things he delivered over to the Lacedaemonians at the close of the summer — with which ended the twenty-eight years and six months of the war, during which years the eponymous ephors were the following: Aenesias first, in whose term the war began, in the fifteenth year of the thirty years' truce which followed the conquest of Euboea, and after him the following: [10] Brasidas, Isanor, Sostratidas, Exarchus, Agesistratus, Angenidas, Onomacles, Zeuxippus, Pityas, Pleistolas, Cleinomachus, Ilarchus, Leon, Chaerilas, Patesiadas, Cleosthenes, Lycarius, Eperatus,

Onomantius, Alexippidas, Misgolaidas, Isias, Aracus, Euarchippus, Pantacles, Pityas, Archytas, and Endius; it was in Endius' term that Lysander sailed home after performing the deeds above described. [11]

Now at Athens the Thirty had been chosen as soon as the long walls and the walls round Piraeus were demolished; although chosen, however, for the purpose of framing a constitution under which to conduct the government, they continually delayed framing and publishing this constitution, but they appointed a Senate and the other magistrates as they saw fit. [12] Then, as a first step, they arrested and brought to trial for their lives those persons who, by common knowledge, had made a living in the time of the democracy by acting as informers and had been offensive to the aristocrats; and the Senate was glad to pronounce these people guilty, and the rest of the citizens — at least all who were conscious that they were not of the same sort themselves — were not at all displeased. [13] When, however, the Thirty began to consider how they might become free to do just as they pleased with the state, their first act was to send Aeschines and Aristoteles to Lacedaemon and persuade Lysander to help them to secure the sending of a Lacedaemonian garrison, to remain until, as they said, they could put "the scoundrels" out of the way and establish their government; and they promised to maintain this garrison at their own charges. [14] Lysander consented, and helped them to secure the dispatch of the troops and of Callibius as governor. But when they had got the garrison, they paid court to Callibius in every way, in order that he might approve of everything they did, and as he detailed guardsmen to go with them, they arrested the people whom they wished to reach, — not now "the scoundrels" and persons of little account, but from this time forth the men who, they thought, were least likely to submit to being ignored, and who, if they undertook to offer any opposition, would obtain supporters in the greatest numbers. [15]

Now in the beginning Critias and Theramenes were agreed in their policy and friendly; but when Critias showed himself eager to put many to death, because, for one thing, he had been banished by the democracy, Theramenes opposed him, saying that it was not reasonable to put a man to death because he was honoured by the commons, provided he was doing no harm to the aristocrats. "For,"

said he, “you and I also have said and done many things for the sake of winning the favour of the city.” [16] Then Critias (for he still treated Theramenes as a friend) replied that it was impossible for people who wanted to gain power not to put out of the way those who were best able to thwart them. “But if,” he said, “merely because we are thirty and not one, you imagine that it is any the less necessary for us to keep a close watch over this government, just as one would if it were an absolute monarchy, you are foolish.” [17] But when, on account of the great numbers continually — and unjustly — put to death, it was evident that many were banding together and wondering what the state was coming to, Theramenes spoke again, saying that unless they admitted an adequate number of citizens into partnership with them in the management of affairs, it would be impossible for the oligarchy to endure. [18] Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, who were by this time alarmed and feared above all that the citizens would flock to the support of Theramenes, enrolled a body of three thousand, who were to share, as they said, in the government. [19] Theramenes, however, objected to this move also, saying that, in the first place, it seemed to him absurd that, when they wanted to make the best of the citizens their associates, they should limit themselves to three thousand, as though this number must somehow be good men and true and there could neither be excellent men outside this body nor rascals within it. “Besides,” he said, “we are undertaking, in my opinion, two absolutely inconsistent things, — to rig up our government on the basis of force and at the same time to make it weaker than its subjects.” [20]

This was what Theramenes said. As for the Thirty, they held a review, the Three Thousand assembling in the market-place and those who were not on “the roll” in various places here and there; then they gave the order to pile arms, and while the men were off duty and away, they sent their Lacedaemonian guardsmen and such citizens as were in sympathy with them, seized the arms of all except the Three Thousand, carried them up to the Acropolis, and deposited them in the temple. [21] And now, when this had been accomplished, thinking that they were at length free to do whatever they pleased, they put many people to death out of personal enmity, and many also for the sake of securing their property. One measure that they

resolved upon, in order to get money to pay their guardsmen, was that each of their number should seize one of the aliens residing in the city, and that they should put these men to death and confiscate their property. [22] So they bade Theramenes also to seize anyone he pleased; and he replied: "But it is not honourable, as it seems to me," he said, "for people who style themselves the best citizens to commit acts of greater injustice than the informers used to do. For they allowed those from whom they got money, to live; but shall we, in order to get money, put to death men who are guilty of no wrongdoing? Are not such acts altogether more unjust than theirs were?" [23] Then the Thirty, thinking that Theramenes was an obstacle to their doing whatever they pleased, plotted against him, and kept accusing him to individual senators, one to one man and another to another, of injuring the government. And after passing the word to some young men, who seemed to them most audacious, to be in attendance with daggers hidden under their arms, they convened the Senate. [24] Then when Theramenes arrived, Critias arose and spoke as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate, if anyone among you thinks that more people than is fitting are being put to death, let him reflect that where governments are changed these things always take place; and it is inevitable that those who are changing the government here to an oligarchy should have most numerous enemies, both because the state is the most populous of the Greek states and because the commons have been bred up in a condition of freedom for the longest time. [25] Now we, believing that for men like ourselves and you democracy is a grievous form of government, and convinced that the commons would never become friendly to the Lacedaemonians, our preservers, while the aristocrats would continue ever faithful to them, for these reasons are establishing, with the approval of the Lacedaemonians, the present form of government. [26] And if we find anyone opposed to the oligarchy, so far as we have the power we put him out of the way; but in particular we consider it to be right that, if any one of our own number is harming this order of things, he should be punished. [27]

"Now in fact we find this man Theramenes trying, by what means he can, to destroy both ourselves and you. As proof that this is true

you will discover, if you consider the matter, that no one finds more fault with the present proceedings than Theramenes here, or offers more opposition when we wish to put some demagogue out of the way. Now if he had held these views from the beginning, he was, to be sure, an enemy, but nevertheless he would not justly be deemed a scoundrel. [28] In fact, however, he was the very man who took the initiative in the policy of establishing a cordial understanding with the Lacedaemonians; he was the very man who began the overthrow of the democracy, and who urged you most to inflict punishment upon those who were first brought before you for trial; but now, when you and we have manifestly become hateful to the democrats, he no longer approves of what is going on, — just so that he may get on the safe side again, and that we may be punished for what has been done. [29] Therefore he ought to be punished, not merely as an enemy, but also as a traitor both to you and to ourselves. And treason is a far more dreadful thing than war, inasmuch as it is harder to take precaution against the hidden than against the open danger, and a far more hateful thing, inasmuch as men make peace with enemies and become their trustful friends again, but if they catch a man playing the traitor, they never in any case make peace with that man or trust him thereafter. [30]

“Now to let you know that this man’s present doings are nothing new, but that he is, rather, a traitor by nature, I will recall to you his past deeds. This man in the beginning, although he had received honours at the hands of the democracy, was extremely eager, like his father Hagnon, to change the democracy into the oligarchy of the Four Hundred, and he was a leader in that government. When, however, he perceived that some opposition to the oligarchy was gathering, he took the lead again — as champion of the democrats against the oligarchs! That is the reason, you know, why he is nicknamed ‘Buskin’: [31] for as the buskin seems to fit both feet, so he faces both ways. But, Theramenes, the man who deserves to live ought not to be clever at leading his comrades into dangerous undertakings and then, if any hindrance offers itself, to turn around on the instant, but he ought, as one on shipboard, to hold to his task until they come into a fair breeze. Otherwise, how in the world would sailors reach the port for which they are bound, if they should

sail in the opposite direction the moment any hindrance offered itself? [32] It is true, of course, that all sorts of changes in government are attended by loss of life, but you, thanks to your changing sides so easily, share the responsibility, not merely for the slaughter of a large number of oligarchs by the commons, but also for the slaughter of a large number of democrats by the aristocracy. And this Theramenes, you remember, was the man who, although detailed by the generals to pick up the Athenians whose ships were disabled in the battle off Lesbos, failed to do so, and nevertheless was the very one who accused the generals and brought about their death in order that he might save his own life! [33]

“Now when a man clearly shows that he is always looking out for his own advantage and taking no thought for honour or his friends, how in the world can it be right to spare him? Ought we not surely, knowing of his previous changes, to take care that he shall not be able to do the same thing to us also? We therefore arraign him on the charge of plotting against and betraying both ourselves and you. And in proof that what we are thus doing is proper, consider this fact also.

[34] The constitution of the Lacedaemonians is, we know, deemed the best of all constitutions. Now in Lacedaemon if one of the ephors should undertake to find fault with the government and to oppose what was being done instead of yielding to the majority, do you not suppose that he would be regarded, not only by the ephors themselves but also by all the rest of the state, as having merited the severest punishment? Even so you, if you are wise, will not spare this Theramenes, but rather yourselves; for to leave him alive would cause many of those who hold opposite views to yours to cherish high thoughts, while to destroy him would cut off the hopes of them all, both within and without the city.” [35]

When Critias had so spoken, he sat down; and Theramenes rose and said: “I will mention first, gentlemen, the last thing Critias said against me. He says that I brought about the death of the generals by my accusation. But it was not I, as you know, who began the matter by accusing them; on the contrary, it was they who accused me, by stating that although that duty was assigned me by them, I failed to pick up the unfortunates in the battle off Lesbos. I said in my defence that on account of the storm it was not possible even to sail, much

less to pick up the men, and it was decided by the state that my plea was a reasonable one, while the generals were clearly accusing themselves. For though they said it was possible to save the men, they nevertheless sailed away and left them to perish. [36] I do not wonder, however, that Critias has misunderstood the matter; for when these events took place, it chanced that he was not here; he was establishing a democracy in Thessaly along with Prometheus, and arming the serfs against their masters. [37] God forbid that any of the things which he was doing there should come to pass here.

“I quite agree with him, however, on this point, that if anyone is desirous of deposing you from your office and is making strong those who are plotting against you, it is just for him to incur the severest punishment. But I think you can best judge who it is that is doing this, if you will consider the course which each of us two has taken and is now taking. [38] Well then, up to the time when you became members of the Senate and magistrates were appointed and the notorious informers were brought to trial, all of us held the same views; but when these Thirty began to arrest men of worth and standing, then I, on my side, began to hold views opposed to theirs. [39] For when Leon the Salaminian was put to death, — a man of capacity, both actually and by repute, — although he was not guilty of a single act of wrong-doing, I knew that those who were like him would be fearful, and, being fearful, would be enemies of this government. I also knew, when Niceratus, the son of Nicias, was arrested, — a man of wealth who, like his father, had never done anything to curry popular favour, — that those who were like him would become hostile to us. [40] And further, when Antiphon, who during the war supplied from his own means two fast-sailing triremes, was put to death by us, I knew that all those who had been zealous in the state’s cause would look upon us with suspicion. I objected, also, when they said that each of us must seize one of the resident aliens; for it was entirely clear that if these men were put to death, the whole body of such aliens would become enemies of the government. [41] I objected likewise when they took away from the people their arms, because I thought that we ought not to make the state weak; for I saw that, in preserving us, the purpose of the Lacedaemonians had not been that we might become few in number

and unable to do them any service; for if this had been what they desired, it was within their power, by keeping up the pressure of famine a little while longer, to leave not a single man alive. [42] Again, the hiring of guardsmen did not please me, for we might have enlisted in our service an equal number of our own citizens, until we, the rulers, should easily have made ourselves masters of our subjects. And further, when I saw that many in the city were becoming hostile to this government and that many were becoming exiles, it did not seem to me best to banish either Thrasybulus or Anytus or Alcibiades; for I knew that by such measures the opposition would be made strong, if once the commons should acquire capable leaders and if those who wished to be leaders should find a multitude of supporters. [43]

“Now would the man who offers openly this sort of admonition be fairly regarded as a well-wisher, or as a traitor? It is not, Critias, the men who prevent one’s making enemies in abundance nor the men who teach one how to gain allies in the greatest numbers, — it is not these, I say, who make one’s enemies strong; but it is much rather those who unjustly rob others of property and put to death people who are guilty of no wrong, who, I say, make their opponents numerous and betray not only their friends but also themselves, and all to satisfy their covetousness. [44] And if it is not evident in any other way that what I say is true, look at the matter in this way: do you suppose that Thrasybulus and Anytus and the other exiles would prefer to have us follow here the policy which I am urging by word, or the policy which these men are carrying out in deed? For my part, I fancy that now they believe every spot is full of allies, while if the best element in the state were friendly to us, they would count it difficult even to set foot anywhere in the land! [45] Again, as to his statement that I have a propensity to be always changing sides, consider these facts also: it was the people itself, as everybody knows, which voted for the government of the Four Hundred, being advised that the Lacedaemonians would trust any form of government sooner than a democracy. [46] But when the Lacedaemonians did not in the least relax their efforts in prosecuting the war, and Aristoteles, Melanthius, Aristarchus, and their fellow-generals were found to be building a fort on the peninsula, into which

they proposed to admit the enemy and so bring the state under the control of themselves and their oligarchical associates, — if I perceived this plan and thwarted it, is that being a traitor to one's friends? [47]

“He dubs me ‘Buskin,’ because, as he says, I try to fit both parties. But for the man who pleases neither party, — what in the name of the gods should we call him? For you in the days of the democracy were regarded as the bitterest of all haters of the commons, and under the aristocracy you have shown yourself the bitterest of all haters of the better classes. [48] But I, Critias, am forever at war with the men who do not think there could be a good democracy until the slaves and those who would sell the state for lack of a shilling should share in the government, and on the other hand I am forever an enemy to those who do not think that a good oligarchy could be established until they should bring the state to the point of being ruled absolutely by a few. But to direct the government in company with those who have the means to be of service, whether with horses or with shields, — this plan I regarded as best in former days and I do not change my opinion now. [49] And if you can mention any instance, Critias, where I joined hands with demagogues or despots and undertook to deprive men of standing of their citizenship, then speak. For if I am found guilty either of doing this thing now or of ever having done it in the past, I admit that I should justly suffer the very uttermost of all penalties and be put to death.” [50]

When with these words he ceased speaking and the Senate had shown its good will by applause, Critias, realizing that if he should allow the Senate to pass judgment on the case, Theramenes would escape, and thinking that this would be unendurable, went and held a brief consultation with the Thirty, and then went out and ordered the men with the daggers to take their stand at the railing in plain sight of the Senate. [51] Then he came in again and said: “Senators, I deem it the duty of a leader who is what he ought to be, in case he sees that his friends are being deceived, not to permit it. I, therefore, shall follow that course. Besides, these men who have taken their stand here say that if we propose to let a man go who is manifestly injuring the oligarchy, they will not suffer us to do so. Now it is provided in

the new laws that while no one of those who are on the roll of the Three Thousand may be put to death without your vote, the Thirty shall have power of life or death over those outside the roll. I, therefore," he said, "strike off this man Theramenes from the roll, with the approval of all the Thirty. That being done," he added, "we now condemn him to death." [52]

When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar and said: "And I, sirs," said he, "beg only bare justice, — that it be not within the power of Critias to strike off either me or whomsoever of you he may wish, but rather that both in your case and in mine the judgment may be rendered strictly in accordance with that law which these men have made regarding those on the roll. [53] To be sure," said he, "I know, I swear by the gods, only too well, that this altar will avail me nothing, but I wish to show that these Thirty are not only most unjust toward men, but also most impious toward the gods. But I am surprised at you," he said, "gentlemen of the aristocracy, that you are not going to defend your own rights, especially when you know that my name is not a whit easier to strike off than the name of each of you." [54] At this moment the herald of the Thirty ordered the Eleven to seize Theramenes; and when they came in, attended by their servants and with Satyrus, the most audacious and shameless of them, at their head, Critias said: "We hand over to you," said he, "this man Theramenes, condemned according to the law. Do you, the Eleven, take him and lead him to the proper place and do that which follows." [55]

When Critias had spoken these words, Satyrus dragged Theramenes away from the altar, and his servants lent their aid. And Theramenes, as was natural, called upon gods and men to witness what was going on. But the senators kept quiet, seeing that the men at the rail were of the same sort as Satyrus and that the space in front of the senate-house was filled with the guardsmen, and being well aware that the former had come armed with daggers. [56] So they led the man away through the market-place, while he proclaimed in a very loud voice the wrongs he was suffering. One saying of his that is reported was this: when Satyrus told him that if he did not keep quiet, he would suffer for it, he asked: "Then if I do keep quiet, shall I not suffer?" And when, being compelled to die, he had drunk the

hemlock, they said that he threw out the last drops, like a man playing kottabos, and exclaimed: "Here's to the health of my beloved Critias." Now I am not unaware of this, that these are not sayings worthy of record; still, I deem it admirable in the man that when death was close at hand, neither self-possession nor the spirit of playfulness departed from his soul.

4.

So, then, Theramenes died; but the Thirty, thinking that now they could play the tyrant without fear, issued a proclamation forbidding those who were outside the roll to enter the city and evicted them from their estates, in order that they themselves and their friends might have these people's lands. And when they fled to Piraeus, they drove many of them away from there also, and filled both Megara and Thebes with the refugees. [2]

Presently Thrasybulus set out from Thebes with about seventy companions and seized Phyle, a strong fortress. And the Thirty marched out from the city against him with the Three Thousand and the cavalry, the weather being very fine indeed. When they reached Phyle, some of the young men were so bold as to attack the fortress at once, but they accomplished nothing and suffered some wounds themselves before they retired. [3] And while the Thirty were planning to invest the place, so as to force them to surrender by shutting off their avenues for receiving provisions, a very heavy snow storm came on during the night and continued on the following day. So they came back to the city in the snow, after losing a goodly number of their camp-followers by the attacks of the men in Phyle. [4] Then the Thirty, knowing that the enemy would also gather plunder from the farms if there were no force to protect them, sent out all but a few of the Laconian guardsmen and two divisions of the cavalry to the outlying districts about fifteen stadia from Phyle. These troops made their camp in a bushy spot and proceeded to keep guard. [5] Now by this time about seven hundred men were gathered at Phyle, and during the night Thrasybulus marched down with them; and about three or four stadia from the guardsmen he had his troops ground their arms and keep quiet. [6] Then when it was drawing towards day and the enemy were already getting up and going away from their camp whithersoever each one had to go, and the grooms

were keeping up a hubbub as they curried their horses, at this moment Thrasybulus and his men picked up their arms and charged on the run. They struck down some of the enemy and turned them all to flight, pursuing them for six or seven stadia; and they killed more than one hundred and twenty of the hoplites, and among the cavalry Nicostratus, nicknamed "the beautiful," and two more besides, catching them while still in their beds. [7] Then after returning from the pursuit and erecting a trophy and packing up all the arms and baggage they had captured, they went back to Phyle. And when the cavalry from the city came to the rescue, there were none of the enemy left to be seen; so after waiting until their relatives had taken up the bodies of the dead, they returned to the city. [8]

After this the Thirty, deeming their government no longer secure, formed a plan to appropriate Eleusis, so as to have a place of refuge if it should prove necessary. Accordingly Critias and the rest of the Thirty, having issued orders to the cavalry to accompany them, went to Eleusis. There they held a review of the townspeople under guard of the cavalry, pretending that they wanted to know how numerous they were and how large an additional garrison they would require, and then ordered them all to register; and each man when he had registered had to pass out by the gate in the town wall in the direction of the sea. Meanwhile they had stationed the cavalry on the shore on either side of the gate, and as each man passed out their servants bound him fast. And when all had thus been seized, they ordered Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, to take them to Athens and turn them over to the Eleven. [9] On the following day they summoned to the Odeum the hoplites who were on the roll and the cavalry also. Then Critias rose and said: "We, gentlemen," said he, "are establishing this government no less for you than for ourselves. Therefore, even as you will share in honours, so also you must share in the dangers. Therefore you must vote condemnation of the Eleusinians who have been seized, that you may have the same hopes and fears as we." Then he showed them a place and bade them cast their ballots therein, in plain sight of everybody. [10] Now the Laconian guardsmen were in one half of the Odeum, fully armed; and these proceedings were pleasing also to such of the citizens as cared only for their own advantage.

Soon after this Thrasybulus took the men of Phyle, who had now gathered to the number of about one thousand, and came by night to Piraeus. When the Thirty learned of this, they at once set out against him, with the Laconian guardsmen and their own cavalry and hoplites; then they advanced along the carriage road which leads up to Piraeus. [11] And for a time the men from Phyle tried to prevent their coming up, but when they saw that the line of the town wall, extensive as it was, needed a large force for its defence, whereas they were not yet numerous, they gathered in a compact body on the hill of Munichia. And the men from the city, when they came to the market-place of Hippodamus, first formed themselves in line of battle, so that they filled the road which leads to the temple of Artemis of Munichia and the sanctuary of Bendis; and they made a line not less than fifty shields in depth; then, in this formation, they advanced up the hill. [12] As for the men from Phyle, they too filled the road, but they made a line not more than ten hoplites in depth. Behind the hoplites, however, were stationed peltasts and light javelin-men, and behind them the stone-throwers. And of these there were many, for they came from that neighbourhood.

And now, while the enemy were advancing, Thrasybulus ordered his men to ground their shields and did the same himself, though still keeping the rest of his arms, and then took his stand in the midst of them and spoke as follows: [13] "Fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you and to remind others that those who form the right wing of the approaching force are the very men whom you turned to flight and pursued four days ago, but the men upon the extreme left — they, yes they, are the Thirty, who robbed us of our city when we were guilty of no wrong, and drove us from our homes, and proscribed those who were dearest to us. But now, behold, they have found themselves in a situation in which they never expected to be, but we always prayed that they might be. [14] For with arms in our hands we stand face to face with them; and the gods, because once we were seized while dining or sleeping or trading, because some of us also were banished when we were not only guilty of no offence, but were not even in the city, are now manifestly fighting on our side. For in fair weather they send a storm, when it is to our advantage, and when we attack, they grant us, though we are few in number and

our enemies are many, to set up trophies of victory; [15] and now in like manner they have brought us to a place where the men before you, because they are marching up hill, cannot throw either spears or javelins over the heads of those in front of them, while we, throwing both spears and javelins and stones down hill, shall reach them and strike down many. [16] And though one would have supposed that we should have to fight with their front ranks at least on even terms, yet in fact, if you let fly your missiles with a will, as you should, no one will miss his man when the road is full of them, and they in their efforts to protect themselves will be continually skulking under their shields. You will therefore be able, just as if they were blind men, to strike them wherever you please and then leap upon them and overthrow them. [17] And now, comrades, we must so act that each man shall feel in his breast that he is chiefly responsible for the victory. For victory, God willing, will now give back to us country and homes, freedom and honours, children, to such as have them, and wives. Happy, indeed, are those of us who shall win the victory and live to behold the gladdest day of all! And happy also he who is slain; for no one, however rich he may be, will gain a monument so glorious. Now, when the right moment comes, I will strike up the paean; and when we call Enyalios to our aid, then let us all, moved by one spirit, take vengeance upon these men for the outrages we have suffered.” [18]

After saying these words and turning about to face the enemy, he kept quiet; for the seer bade them not to attack until one of their own number was either killed or wounded. “But as soon as that happens,” he said, “we shall lead on, and to you who follow will come victory, but death, methinks, to me.” [19] And his saying did not prove false, for when they had taken up their shields, he, as though led on by a kind of fate, leaped forth first of all, fell upon the enemy, and was slain, and he lies buried at the ford of the Cephissus; but the others were victorious, and pursued the enemy as far as the level ground. In this battle fell two of the Thirty, Critias and Hippomachus, one of the Ten who ruled in Piraeus, Charmides, the son of Glaucon, and about seventy of the others. And the victors took possession of their arms, but they did not strip off the tunic of any citizen. When this had been done and while they were giving back the bodies of the dead, many

on either side mingled and talked with one another. [20] And Cleocritus, the herald of the initiated, a man with a very fine voice, obtained silence and said: "Fellow citizens, why do you drive us out of the city? why do you wish to kill us? For we never did you any harm, but we have shared with you in the most solemn rites and sacrifices and the most splendid festivals, we have been companions in the dance and schoolmates and comrades in arms, and we have braved many dangers with you both by land and by sea in defense of the common safety and freedom of us both. [21] In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, in the name of our ties of kinship and marriage and comradeship, — for all these many of us share with one another, — cease, out of shame before gods and men, to sin against your fatherland, and do not obey those most accursed Thirty, who for the sake of their private gain have killed in eight months more Athenians, almost, than all the Peloponnesians in ten years of war. [22] And when we might live in peace as fellow citizens, these men bring upon us war with one another, a war most utterly shameful and intolerable, utterly unholy and hated by both gods and men. Yet for all that, be well assured that for some of those now slain by our hands not only you, but we also, have wept bitterly."

Thus he spoke; but the surviving officials of the oligarchy, partly because their followers were hearing such things, led them back to the city. [23] On the following day the Thirty, utterly dejected and with but few adherents left, held their session in the council-chamber; and as for the Three Thousand, wherever their several detachments were stationed, everywhere they began to quarrel with one another. For all those who had done any act of especial violence and were therefore fearful, urged strenuously that they ought not to yield to the men in Piraeus; while those who were confident that they had done no wrong, argued in their own minds and set forth to the others that there was no need of their suffering these evils, and they said that they ought not to obey the Thirty or allow them to ruin the state. In the end they voted to depose the Thirty and choose others. And they chose ten, one from each tribe. [24]

The Thirty thereupon retired to Eleusis; and the Ten, with the aid of the cavalry commanders, took care of the men in the city, who were in a state of great disquiet and distrust of one another. In fact,

even the cavalry did guard duty by night, being quartered in the Odeum and keeping with them both their horses and their shields; and such was the suspicion that prevailed, that they patrolled along the walls from evening onwards with their shields, and toward dawn with their horses, fearing continually that they might be attacked by parties of men from Piraeus. [25] The latter, who were now numerous and included all sorts of people, were engaged in making shields, some of wood, others of wicker-work, and in painting them. And having given pledges that whoever fought with them should be accorded equality in taxation with citizens even if they were foreigners, they marched forth before ten days had passed, a large body of hoplites with numerous light troops; they also got together about seventy horsemen; and they made forays and collected wood and produce, and then came back to spend the night in Piraeus. [26] As for the men in the city, none of them went forth from the walls under arms except the cavalry, who sometimes captured foraging parties made up of the men from Piraeus and inflicted losses upon their main body. They also fell in with some people of Aexone who were going to their own farms after provisions; and Lysimachus, the cavalry commander, put these men to the sword, although they pleaded earnestly and many of the cavalymen were much opposed to the proceeding. [27] In retaliation, the men in Piraeus killed one of the cavalymen, Callistratus, of the tribe of Leontis, having captured him in the country. For by this time they were very confident, so that they even made attacks upon the wall of the city. And perhaps it is proper to mention also the following device of the engineer in the city: when he learned that the enemy were intending to bring up their siege-engines by the race-course which leads from the Lyceum, he ordered all his teams to haul stones each large enough to load a wagon and drop them at whatever spot in the course each driver pleased. When this had been done, each single one of the stones caused the enemy a great deal of trouble. [28]

And now, when the Thirty in Eleusis sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon, and likewise those in the city who were on the roll, and asked for aid on the plea that the commons had revolted from the Lacedaemonians, Lysander, calculating that it was possible to blockade the men in Piraeus both by land and by sea and to force

them to a quick surrender if they were cut off from provisions, lent his assistance to the ambassadors, with the result that a hundred talents was loaned to the Athenian oligarchs and that Lysander himself was sent out as governor on land and his brother Libys as admiral of the fleet. [29] Accordingly, Lysander proceeded to Eleusis and busied himself with gathering a large force of Peloponnesian hoplites; meanwhile the admiral kept guard on the sea, to prevent any supplies from coming in by water to the besieged; so that the men in Piraeus were soon in difficulties again, while the men in the city again had their turn of being confident, in reliance upon Lysander. While matters were proceeding in this way, Pausanias the king, seized with envy of Lysander because, by accomplishing this project, he would not only win fame but also make Athens his own, persuaded three of the five ephors and led forth a Lacedaemonian army. [30] And all the allies likewise followed with him, excepting the Boeotians and the Corinthians; and the plea of these was that they did not think they would be true to their oaths if they took the field against the Athenians when the latter were doing nothing in violation of the treaty; in fact, however, they acted as they did because they supposed that the Lacedaemonians wanted to make the territory of the Athenians their own sure possession.

So Pausanias encamped on the plain which is called Halipedum, near Piraeus, himself commanding the right wing, while Lysander and his mercenaries formed the left. [31] Then, sending ambassadors to the men in Piraeus, Pausanias bade them disperse to their homes; and when they refused to obey, he attacked them, at least so far as to raise the war-cry, in order that it might not be evident that he felt kindly toward them. And when he had retired without accomplishing anything by his attack, on the next day he took two regiments of the Lacedaemonians and three tribes of the Athenian cavalry and proceeded along the shore to the Still Harbour, looking to see where Piraeus could best be shut off by a wall. [32] As he was returning, some of the enemy attacked him and caused him trouble, whereupon, becoming angry, he ordered the cavalry to charge upon them at full speed, and the infantrymen within ten years of military age to follow the cavalry; while he himself with the rest of his troops came along in the rear. And they killed nearly thirty of the enemy's light troops

and pursued the rest to the theatre in Piraeus. [33] There, as it chanced, the whole body of the light troops and likewise the hoplites of the men in Piraeus were arming themselves. And the light troops, rushing forth at once, set to throwing javelins, hurling stones, shooting arrows, and discharging slings; then the Lacedaemonians, since many of them were being wounded and they were hard pressed, gave ground, though still facing the enemy; and at this the latter attacked much more vigorously. In this attack Chaeron and Thibrachus, both of them polemarchs, were slain, and Lacrates, the Olympic victor, and other Lacedaemonians who lie buried before the gates of Athens in the Cerameicus. [34] Now Thrasybulus and the rest of his troops — that is, the hoplites — when they saw the situation, came running to lend aid, and quickly formed in line, eight deep, in front of their comrades. And Pausanias, being hard pressed and retreating about four or five stadia to a hill, sent orders to the Lacedaemonians and to the allies to join him. There he formed an extremely deep phalanx and led the charge against the Athenians. The Athenians did indeed accept battle at close quarters; but in the end some of them were pushed into the mire of the marsh of Halae and others gave way; and about one hundred and fifty of them were slain. [35]

Thereupon Pausanias set up a trophy and returned to his camp; and despite what had happened he was not angry with them, but sent secretly and instructed the men in Piraeus to send ambassadors to him and the ephors who were with him, telling them also what proposals these ambassadors should offer; and they obeyed him. He also set about dividing the men in the city, and gave directions that as many of them as possible should gather together and come to him and the ephors and say that they had no desire to be waging war with the men in Piraeus, but rather to be reconciled with them and in common with them to be friends of the Lacedaemonians. [36] Now Naucleidas also, who was an ephor, was pleased to hear this. For, as it is customary for two of the ephors to be with a king on a campaign, so in this instance Naucleidas and one other were present, and both of them held to the policy of Pausanias rather than to that of Lysander. For this reason they eagerly sent to Lacedaemon both the envoys from Piraeus, having the proposals for peace with the

Lacedaemonians, and the envoys from the city party as private individuals, namely, Cephisophon and Meletus. [37] When, however, these men had departed for Lacedaemon, the authorities in the city also proceeded to send ambassadors, with the message that they surrendered both the walls which they possessed and themselves to the Lacedaemonians, to do with them as they wished; and they said they counted it only fair that the men in Piraeus, if they claimed to be friends of the Lacedaemonians, should in like manner surrender Piraeus and Munichia. [38] When the ephors and the members of the Lacedaemonian assembly had heard all the ambassadors, they dispatched fifteen men to Athens and commissioned them, in conjunction with Pausanias, to effect a reconciliation in the best way they could. And they effected a reconciliation on these terms, that the two parties should be at peace with one another and that every man should depart to his home except the members of the Thirty, and of the Eleven, and of the Ten who had ruled in Piraeus. They also decided that if any of the men in the city were afraid, they should settle at Eleusis. [39]

When these things had been accomplished, Pausanias disbanded his army and the men from Piraeus went up to the Acropolis under arms and offered sacrifice to Athena. When they had come down, the generals convened an Assembly. There Thrasybulus spoke as follows: [40] "I advise you," he said, "men of the city, to 'know yourselves.' And you would best learn to know yourselves were you to consider what grounds you have for arrogance, that you should undertake to rule over us. Are you more just? But the commons, though poorer than you, never did you any wrong for the sake of money; while you, though richer than any of them, have done many disgraceful things for the sake of gain. But since you can lay no claim to justice, consider then whether it is courage that you have a right to pride yourselves upon. [41] And what better test could there be of this than the way we made war upon one another? Well then, would you say that you are superior in intelligence, you who having a wall, arms, money, and the Peloponnesians as allies, have been worsted by men who had none of these? Is it the Lacedaemonians, then, think you, that you may pride yourselves upon? How so? Why, they have delivered you up to this outraged populace, just as men

fasten a clog upon the necks of snapping dogs and deliver them up to keepers, and now have gone away and left you. [42] Nevertheless, my comrades, I am not the man to ask you to violate any one of the pledges to which you have sworn, but I ask you rather to show this virtue also, in addition to your other virtues, — that you are true to your oaths and are god-fearing men.” When he had said this and more to the same effect, and had told them that there was no need of their being disturbed, but that they had only to live under the laws that had previously been in force, he dismissed the Assembly. [43]

So at that time they appointed their magistrates and proceeded to carry on their government; but at a later period, on learning that the men at Eleusis were hiring mercenary troops, they took the field with their whole force against them, put to death their generals when they came for a conference, and then, by sending to the others their friends and kinsmen, persuaded them to become reconciled. And, pledged as they were under oath, that in very truth they would not remember past grievances, the two parties even to this day live together as fellow-citizens and the commons abide by their oaths.

BOOK III.

1. So ended the civil strife at Athens. Shortly after this Cyrus sent messengers to Lacedaemon and asked that the Lacedaemonians should show themselves as good friends to him as he was to them in the war against the Athenians. And the ephors, thinking that what he said was fair, sent instructions to Samius, at that time their admiral, to hold himself under Cyrus' orders, in case he had any request to make. And in fact Samius did zealously just what Cyrus asked of him: he sailed round to Cilicia at the head of his fleet, in company with the fleet of Cyrus, and made it impossible for Syennesis, the ruler of Cilicia, to oppose Cyrus by land in his march against the Persian king. [2] As to how Cyrus collected an army and with this army made the march up country against his brother, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus was slain, and how after that the Greeks effected their return in safety to the sea — all this has been written by Themistogenes the Syracusan. [3]

Now when Tissaphernes, who was thought to have proved himself very valuable to the King in the war against his brother, was sent down as satrap both of the provinces which he himself had previously ruled and of those which Cyrus had ruled, he straightway demanded that all the Ionian cities should be subject to him. But they, both because they wanted to be free and because they feared Tissaphernes, inasmuch as they had chosen Cyrus, while he was living, instead of him, refused to admit him into their cities and sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon asking that the Lacedaemonians, since they were the leaders of all Hellas, should undertake to protect them also, the Greeks in Asia, in order that their land might not be laid waste and that they themselves might be free. [4] Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent them Thibron as governor, giving him an army made up of a thousand emancipated Helots and four thousand of the other Peloponnesians. Thibron also asked from the Athenians three hundred cavalymen, saying that he would provide pay for them himself. And the Athenians sent some of those who had served as cavalymen in the time of the Thirty, thinking it would be a gain to the democracy if they should live in foreign lands and perish there. [5]

Furthermore, when they arrived in Asia, Thibron also gathered troops from the Greek cities of the mainland; for at that time all the cities obeyed any command a Lacedaemonian might give. Now while he was at the head of this army, Thibron did not venture to descend to level ground, because he saw the enemy's cavalry, but was satisfied if he could keep the particular territory where he chanced to be from being ravaged. [6] When, however, the men who had made the march up country with Cyrus joined forces with him after their safe return, from that time on he would draw up his troops against Tissaphernes even on the plains, and he got possession of cities, Pergamus by voluntary surrender, and likewise Teuthrania and Halisarna, two cities which were under the rule of Eurysthenes and Procles, the descendants of Demaratus the Lacedaemonian; and this territory had been given to Demaratus by the Persian king as a reward for accompanying him on his expedition against Greece. Furthermore, Gorgion and Gongylus gave in their allegiance to Thibron, they being brothers, one of them the ruler of Gambrium and Palaegambrium, the other of Myrina and Grynium; and these cities also were a gift from the Persian king to the earlier Gongylus, because he espoused the Persian cause, — the only man among the Eretrians who did so, — and was therefore banished. [7] On the other hand, there were some weak cities which Thibron did actually capture by storm; as for Larisa (Egyptian Larisa, as it is called), when it refused to yield he invested and besieged it. When he proved unable to capture it in any other way, he sunk a shaft and began to dig a tunnel therefrom, with the idea of cutting off their water supply. And when they made frequent sallies from within the wall and threw pieces of wood and stones into the shaft, he met this move by making a wooden shed and setting it over the shaft. The Larisaeans, however, sallied forth by night and destroyed the shed also, by fire. Then, since he seemed to be accomplishing nothing, the ephors sent him word to leave Larisa and undertake a campaign against Caria. [8]

When, in pursuance of his intention to march against Caria, he was already at Ephesus, Dercylidas arrived to take command of the army, a man who was reputed to be exceedingly resourceful; indeed, he bore the nickname "Sisyphus." Thibron accordingly went back home, and was condemned and banished; for the allies accused him

of allowing his soldiers to plunder their friends. [9] And when Dercylidas took over the command of the army, being aware that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were suspicious of each other, he came to an understanding with Tissaphernes and led away his army into the territory of Pharnabazus, preferring to make war against one of the two rather than against both together. Besides, Dercylidas was an enemy of Pharnabazus from earlier days; for after he had become governor at Abydus at the time when Lysander was admiral, he was compelled, as a result of his being slandered by Pharnabazus, to stand sentry, carrying his shield — a thing which is regarded by Lacedaemonians of character as a disgrace; for it is a punishment for insubordination. On this account, then, he was all the more pleased to proceed against Pharnabazus. [10] And from the outset he was so superior to Thibron in the exercise of command that he led his troops through the country of friends all the way to the Aeolis, in the territory of Pharnabazus, without doing any harm whatever to his allies.

This Aeolis belonged, indeed, to Pharnabazus, but Zenis of Dardanus had, while he lived, acted as satrap of this territory for him; when Zenis fell ill and died, and Pharnabazus was preparing to give the satrapy to another man, Mania, the wife of Zenis, who was also a Dardanian, fitted out a great retinue, took presents with her to give to Pharnabazus himself and to use for winning the favour of his concubines and the men who had the greatest influence at the court of Pharnabazus, and set forth to visit him. And when she had gained an audience with him, she said: [11] “Pharnabazus, my husband was not only a friend to you in all other ways, but he also paid over the tributes which were your due, so that you commended and honoured him. Now, therefore, if I serve you no less faithfully than he, why should you appoint another as satrap? And if I fail to please you in any point, surely it will be within your power to deprive me of my office and give it to another.” [12] When Pharnabazus heard this, he decided that the woman should be satrap. And when she had become mistress of the province, she not only paid over the tributes no less faithfully than had her husband, but besides this, whenever she went to the court of Pharnabazus she always carried him gifts, and whenever he came down to her province she received him with far

more magnificence and courtesy than any of his other governors; [13] and she not only kept securely for Pharnabazus the cities which she had received from her husband, but also gained possession of cities on the coast which had not been subject to him, Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae — attacking their walls with a Greek mercenary force, while she herself looked on from a carriage; and when a man won her approval she would bestow bounteous gifts upon him, so that she equipped her mercenary force in the most splendid fashion. She also accompanied Pharnabazus in the field, even when he invaded the land of the Mysians or the Pisidians because of their continually ravaging the King's territory. In return for these services Pharnabazus paid her magnificent honours, and sometimes asked her to aid him as a counsellor. [14] Now when she was more than forty years old, Meidias, who was the husband of her daughter, was disturbed by certain people saying that it was a disgraceful thing for a woman to be the ruler while he was in private station, and since, although she guarded herself carefully against all other people, as was proper for an absolute ruler, she trusted him and gave him her affection, as a woman naturally would to a son-in-law, he made his way into her presence, as the story goes, and strangled her. He also killed her son, a youth of very great beauty about seventeen years old. [15] When he had done these things, he seized the strong cities of Scepsis and Gergis, where Mania had kept the most of her treasure. The other cities, however, would not admit him into their walls, but the garrisons that were in them kept them safe for Pharnabazus. Then Meidias sent gifts to Pharnabazus and claimed the right to be ruler of the province, even as Mania had been. And Pharnabazus in reply told him to take good care of his gifts until he came in person and took possession of them and of him too; for he said that he would not wish to live if he failed to avenge Mania. [16]

It was at this juncture that Dercylidas arrived, and he forthwith took possession in a single day of Larisa, Hamaxitus, and Colonae, the cities on the coast, by their voluntary act; then he sent to the cities of Aeolis also and urged them to free themselves, admit him into their walls, and become allies. Now the people of Neandria, Ilium, and Cocylium obeyed him, for the Greek garrisons of those cities had been by no means well treated since the death of Mania; [17] but the

man who commanded the garrison in Cebren, a very strong place, thinking that if he succeeded in keeping the city for Pharnabazus he would receive honours at his hands, refused to admit Dercylidas. Thereupon the latter, in anger, made preparations for attack. And when the sacrifices that he offered did not prove favourable on the first day, he sacrificed again on the following day. And when these sacrifices also did not prove favourable, he tried again on the third day; and for four days he kept persistently on with his sacrificing, though greatly disturbed by the delay; for he was in haste to make himself master of all Aeolis before Pharnabazus came to the rescue.

[18] Now a certain Athenadas, a Sicyonian captain, thinking that Dercylidas was acting foolishly in delaying, and that he was strong enough of himself to deprive the Cebrenians of their water supply, rushed forward with his own company and tried to choke up their spring. And the people within the walls, sallying forth against him, inflicted many wounds upon him, killed two of his men, and drove back the rest with blows and missiles. But while Dercylidas was in a state of vexation and was thinking that his attack would thus be made less spirited, heralds came forth from the wall, sent by the Greeks in the city, and said that what their commander was doing was not to their liking, but that for their part they preferred to be on the side of the Greeks rather than of the barbarian. [19] While they were still talking about this, there came a messenger from their commander, who sent word that he agreed with all that the first party were saying. Accordingly Dercylidas, whose sacrifices on that day, as it chanced, had just proved favourable, immediately had his troops take up their arms and led them toward the gates; and the people threw them open and admitted him. And after stationing a garrison in this city also, he marched at once against Scepsis and Gergis. [20]

Now Meidias, who was expecting the coming of Pharnabazus and on the other hand was by this time afraid of his own citizens, sent to Dercylidas and said that he would come to a conference with him if he should first receive hostages. And Dercylidas sent him one man from each of the cities of the allies, and bade him take as many and whoever he pleased. Meidias took ten and came forth from the city, and when he met Dercylidas asked him on what conditions he could be an ally of the Lacedaemonians. Dercylidas replied, on condition

of allowing his citizens to be free and independent; and as he said this he proceeded to advance upon Scepsis. [21] Then Meidias, realizing that he would not be able, against the will of the citizens, to prevent his doing so, allowed him to enter the city. And Dercylidas, when he had sacrificed to Athena on the acropolis of Scepsis, led forth Meidias' garrison, gave over the city to the citizens, and then, after exhorting them to order their public life as Greeks and freemen should, departed from the city and led his army against Gergis. And many of the Scepsians took part in the escort which accompanied him on his way, paying him honour and being well pleased at what had been done, [22] and Meidias also followed along with him and urged him to give over the city of the Gergithians to him. And Dercylidas told him only that he would not fail to obtain any of his rights; and as he said this, he was approaching the gates of the city together with Meidias, and the army was following him in double file as though on a peaceful mission.

Now the men on the towers of Gergis, which were extremely high, did not throw their missiles because they saw Meidias with him; and when Dercylidas said: "Bid them open the gates, Meidias, so that you may lead the way and I may go with you to the temple and there sacrifice to Athena," Meidias, although he shrank from opening the gates, nevertheless out of fear that he might be seized on the spot, gave the order to open them. [23] When Dercylidas entered he proceeded to the acropolis, keeping Meidias with him as before; and he ordered the rest of his soldiers to take their positions along the walls while he, with those about him, sacrificed to Athena. When the sacrifice had been completed he made proclamation that the spearmen of Meidias' bodyguard should take their positions at the van of his own army, saying that they were to serve him as mercenaries; for Meidias, he said, no longer had anything to fear. [24] Then Meidias, not knowing what to do, said: "Well as for me," said he, "I will go away to prepare hospitality for you." And Dercylidas replied: "No, by Zeus, for it would be shameful for me, who have just sacrificed, to be entertained by you instead of entertaining you. Stay, therefore, with us, and while the dinner is preparing you and I will think out what is fair toward one another and act accordingly."

When they were seated Dercylidas began asking questions: "Tell me, Meidias, did your father leave you master of his property?" "Yes, indeed," he said. "And how many houses had you? How many farms? How many pastures?" As Meidias began to make a list, the Scepsians who were present said, "He is deceiving you, Dercylidas." [26] "Now don't you," said he, "be too petty about the details." When the list of the inheritance of Meidias had been made Dercylidas said: "Tell me, to whom did Mania belong?" They all said that she belonged to Pharnabazus. "Then," said he, "do not her possessions belong to Pharnabazus too?" "Yes, indeed," they said. "Then they must be ours," he said, "since we are victorious; for Pharnabazus is our enemy. Let some one, then," said he, "lead the way to the place where the possessions of Mania — or rather of Pharnabazus — are stored." [27] Now when the rest led the way to the dwelling of Mania, to which Meidias had succeeded, the latter also followed. And when Dercylidas entered he called the stewards, told his servants to seize them, and announced to them that if they were caught concealing any of Mania's property they should have their throats cut on the spot; so they showed it to him. When he had seen all, he shut it up, sealed it, and set a guard upon it. [28] As he came out he said to some of the commanders of divisions and captains whom he found at the doors: "Gentlemen, we have earned pay for the army — eight thousand men — for almost a year; and if we earn anything more, that, too, shall be added." He said this because he knew that upon hearing it the soldiers would be far more orderly and obedient. And when Meidias asked: "But as for me, Dercylidas, where am I to dwell?" he replied: "Just where it is most proper that you should dwell, Meidias, — in your native city, Scepsis, and in your father's house."

2.

After Dercylidas had accomplished these things and gained possession of nine cities in eight days, he set about planning how he might avoid being a burden to his allies, as Thibron had been, by wintering in a friendly country, and how, on the other hand, Pharnabazus might not, despising the Lacedaemonian army because of his superiority in cavalry, harm the Greek cities. So he sent to Pharnabazus and asked him whether he preferred to have peace or war. And Pharnabazus, thinking that Aeolis had been made a strong

base of attack upon his own dwelling-place, Phrygia, chose a truce.
[2]

When these things had taken place, Dercylidas went to Bithynian Thrace and there passed the winter, by no means to the displeasure of Pharnabazus, for the Bithynians were often at war with him. And during most of the time Dercylidas was plundering Bithynia in safety and had provisions in abundance; when, however, a force of Odrysians, about two hundred horsemen and about three hundred peltasts, came to him as allies from Seuthes across the strait, these troops, after making a camp about twenty stadia from the Greek army and enclosing it with a palisade, asked Dercylidas for some of his hoplites as a guard for their camp and then sallied forth for booty, and seized many slaves and much property. [3] When their camp was already full of a great deal of plunder, the Bithynians, learning how many went out on the raids and how many Greeks they had left behind as a guard, gathered together in great numbers, peltasts and horsemen, and at daybreak made an attack upon the Greek hoplites, who numbered about two hundred. When the attacking party came near, some of them hurled spears and others threw javelins at the Greeks. And the latter, wounded and slain one after another, and unable to do the enemy any harm because of being shut up in the palisade, which was about the height of a man, finally broke through their own fortification and charged upon them. [4] Then the Bithynians, while they gave way at whatever point the Greeks rushed forth, and easily made their escape, since they were peltasts fleeing from hoplites, kept throwing javelins upon them from the one side and the other and struck down many of them at every sally; and in the end the Greeks were shot down like cattle shut up in a pen. About fifteen of them, however, made their escape to the main Greek camp, and these fifteen only because, as soon as they perceived the situation, they had slipped away in the course of the battle unheeded by the Bithynians. [5] As for the latter, when they had accomplished this speedy victory, had slain the Odrysian Thracians who guarded the tents, and recovered all the booty, they departed; so that the Greeks, on coming to the rescue when they learned of the affair, found nothing in the camp except dead bodies stripped bare. But when the Odrysians returned, they first buried their dead, drank a

great deal of wine in their honour, and held a horse-race; and then, from that time on making common camp with the Greeks, they continued to plunder Bithynia and lay it waste with fire. [6]

At the opening of the spring Dercylidas departed from Bithynia and came to Lampsacus. While he was there, Aracus, Naubates, and Antisthenes arrived under commission of the authorities at home. They came to observe how matters stood in general in Asia, and to tell Dercylidas to remain there and continue in command for the ensuing year; also to tell him that the ephors had given them instructions to call together the soldiers and say that while the ephors censured them for what they had done in former days, they commended them because now they were doing no wrong; they were also to say in regard to the future that if the soldiers were guilty of wrong-doing the ephors would not tolerate it, but if they dealt justly by the allies they would commend them. [7] When, however, they called together the soldiers and told them these things, the leader of Cyrus' former troops replied: "But, men of Lacedaemon, we are the same men now as we were last year; but our commander now is one man, and in the past was another. Therefore you are at once able to judge for yourselves the reason why we are not at fault now, although we were then." [8]

While the ambassadors from home and Dercylidas were quartered together, one of Aracus' party mentioned the fact that they had left ambassadors from the Chersonesians at Lacedaemon. And they said that these ambassadors stated that now they were unable to till their land in the Chersonese, for it was being continually pillaged by the Thracians; but if it were protected by a wall extending from sea to sea, they and likewise all of the Lacedaemonians who so desired would have an abundance of good, tillable land. Consequently, they said, they would not be surprised if some Lacedaemonian were in fact sent out by the state with an army to perform this task. [9] Now Dercylidas, when he heard this, did not make known to them the purpose which he cherished, but dismissed them on their journey through the Greek cities to Ephesus, being well pleased that they were going to see the cities enjoying a state of peace and prosperity. So they departed. But Dercylidas, having now found out that he was to remain in Asia, sent to Pharnabazus again and asked whether he

preferred to have a truce, as during the winter, or war. Since Pharnabazus on this occasion again chose a truce, under these circumstances Dercylidas, leaving the cities of that region also in peace, crossed the Hellespont with his army to Europe, and after marching through a portion of Thrace which was friendly and being entertained by Seuthes, arrived at the Chersonese. [10] And when he learned that this Chersonese contained eleven or twelve towns and was an extremely productive and rich land, but had been ravaged, even as was stated, by the Thracians, and found also that the width of the isthmus was thirty-seven stadia, he did not delay, but after offering sacrifices proceeded to build a wall, dividing the whole distance part by part among the soldiers; and by promising them that he would give prizes to the first who finished their part, and also to the others as they severally might deserve, he completed the wall, although he had not begun upon it until the spring, before the time of harvest. And he brought under the protection of the wall eleven towns, many harbours, a great deal of good land suited for raising grain and fruit, and a vast amount of splendid pasture-land for all kinds of cattle. [11] When he had done this, he crossed back again to Asia.

As he was now inspecting the cities of Asia, he saw that in general they were in good condition, but found that exiles from Chios held possession of Atarneus, a strong place, and from this as a base were pillaging Ionia and making their living thereby. When he learned further that they had a large stock of grain in the city, he invested and besieged them; and in eight months he brought them to terms, appointed Dracon of Pellene to have charge of the city, and after storing in the place all kinds of supplies in abundance, so that he might have it as a halting-place whenever he came there, departed to Ephesus, which is distant from Sardis a three days' journey. [12]

Up to this time Tissaphernes and Dercylidas, and the Greeks of this region and the barbarians, continued at peace with one another. Now, however, embassies came to Lacedaemon from the Ionian cities and set forth that it was in the power of Tissaphernes, if he chose, to leave the Greek cities independent; therefore they expressed the belief that if Caria, the particular province where the residence of Tissaphernes was, should suffer harm, under these

circumstances he would very quickly leave them independent. When the ephors heard this, they sent to Dercylidas and gave orders that he should cross the river into Caria, and that Pharax, the admiral, should coast along with his ships to the same place. They accordingly did so. [13] Now it chanced that at this time Pharnabazus had come to visit Tissaphernes, not only because Tissaphernes had been appointed general-in-chief, but also for the purpose of assuring him that he was ready to make war together with him, to be his ally, and to aid him in driving the Greeks out of the territory of the King; for he secretly envied Tissaphernes his position as general for various reasons, but in particular he took it hardly that he had been deprived of Aeolis. Now when Tissaphernes heard his words, he said: "First, then, cross over with me into Caria, and then we will consult about these matters." [14] But when they were there, they decided to station adequate garrisons in the fortresses and to cross back again to Ionia. And when Dercylidas heard that they had crossed the Maeander again, he told Pharax that he was afraid Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus might overrun and pillage the land, unprotected as it was, and so crossed over himself to Ionia. Now while they were on the march, the army being by no means in battle formation, since they supposed that the enemy had gone on ahead into the territory of the Ephesians, on a sudden they saw scouts on the burial-mounds in front of them; [15] and when they also sent men to the tops of the mounds and towers in their neighbourhood, they made out an army drawn up in line of battle where their own road ran — Carians with white shields, the entire Persian force which chanced to be at hand, all the Greek troops which each of the two satraps had, and horsemen in great numbers, those of Tissaphernes upon the right wing and those of Pharnabazus upon the left. [16]

When Dercylidas learned of all this, he told the commanders of divisions and the captains to form their men in line, eight deep, as quickly as possible, and to station the peltasts on either wing and likewise the cavalry — all that he chanced to have and such as it was; meanwhile he himself offered sacrifice. [17] Now all that part of the army which was from Peloponnesus kept quiet and prepared for battle; but as for the men from Priene and Achilleium, from the islands and the Ionian cities, some of them left their arms in the

standing grain (for the grain was tall in the plain of the Maeander) and ran away, while all those who did stand showed clearly that they would not stand very long. [18] On the other side Pharnabazus, it was reported, was urging an engagement. But Tissaphernes, remembering the way Cyrus' troops had made war with the Persians and believing that the Greeks were all like them, did not wish to fight, but sent to Dercylidas and said that he wanted to come to a conference with him. And Dercylidas, taking the best-looking of the troops he had, both cavalry and infantry, came forward to meet the messengers and said: "For my part I had prepared to fight, as you see; however, since he wishes to come to a conference, I have no objection myself. But if this is to be done, pledges and hostages must be given and received."

[19] When this plan had been decided upon and carried out, the armies went away, the barbarians to Tralles in Caria, and the Greeks to Leucophrys, where there was a very holy shrine of Artemis and a lake more than a stadium in length, with a sandy bottom and an unfailing supply of drinkable, warm water. This, then, was what was done at that time; but on the following day the commanders came to the place agreed upon, and it seemed best to them to learn from one another on what terms each would make peace. [20] Dercylidas accordingly stated his condition, that the King should leave the Greek cities independent; and Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus stated theirs, that the Greek army should depart from the country and the Lacedaemonian governors from the cities. When they had stated these terms to one another, they concluded a truce, to continue until the proposals should be reported by Dercylidas to Lacedaemon, and by Tissaphernes to the King. [21]

While these things were being done in Asia by Dercylidas, the Lacedaemonians at the same time were engaged in war at home, against the Eleans. They had long been angry with the Eleans, both because the latter had concluded an alliance with the Athenians, Argives, and Mantineans, and because, alleging that judgment had been rendered against the Lacedaemonians, they had debarred them from both the horse-races and the athletic contests; and this alone did not suffice them, but furthermore, after Lichas had made over his chariot to the Thebans and they were proclaimed victorious, when Lichas came in to put the garland upon his charioteer, they had

scourged him, an old man, and driven him out. [22] And again, at a later time, when Agis was sent to sacrifice to Zeus in accordance with an oracle, the Eleans would not allow him to pray for victory in war, saying that even from ancient times it was an established principle that Greeks should not consult the oracle about a war with Greeks; so that Agis went away without sacrificing. [23] It was in consequence of all these things that the ephors and the assembly were angry, and they determined to bring the Eleans to their senses. Accordingly, they sent ambassadors to Elis and said that it seemed to the authorities of Lacedaemon to be just that they should leave their outlying towns independent. And when the Eleans replied that they would not do so, for the reason that they held the towns as prizes of war, the ephors called out the ban. And Agis, at the head of the army, made his entrance into the territory of Elis through Achaea, along the Larisus. [24] Now when the army had but just arrived in the enemy's country and the land was being laid waste, an earthquake took place. Then Agis, thinking that this was a heaven-sent sign, departed again from the country and disbanded his army. As a result of this the Eleans were much bolder, and sent around embassies to all the states which they knew to be unfriendly to the Lacedaemonians. [25] In the course of the year, however, the ephors again called out the ban against Elis, and with the exception of the Boeotians and the Corinthians all the allies, including the Athenians, took part with Agis in the campaign. Now when Agis entered Elis by way of Aulon, the Lepreans at once revolted from the Eleans and came over to him, the Macistians likewise at once, and after them the Epitalians. And while he was crossing the river, the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians came over to him. [26]

Thereupon he went to Olympia and offered sacrifices to Olympian Zeus, and this time no one undertook to prevent him. After his sacrifices he marched upon the city of Elis, laying the land waste with axe and fire as he went, and vast numbers of cattle and vast numbers of slaves were captured in the country; insomuch that many more of the Arcadians and Achaeans, on hearing the news, came of their own accord to join the expedition and shared in the plunder. In fact this campaign proved to be a harvest, as it were, for Peloponnesus. [27] When Agis reached the city he did some harm to

the suburbs and the gymnasia, which were beautiful, but as for the city itself (for it was unwall'd) the Lacedaemonians thought that he was unwilling, rather than unable, to capture it. Now while the country was being ravaged and the Lacedaemonian army was in the neighbourhood of Cyllene, the party of Xenias — the man of whom it was said that he measured out with a bushel measure the money he received from his father — wishing to have their city go over to the Lacedaemonians and to receive the credit for this, rushed out of a house, armed with swords, and began a slaughter; and having killed, among others, a man who resembled Thrasydaeus, the leader of the commons, they supposed that they had killed Thrasydaeus himself, so that the commons lost heart entirely and kept quiet, [28] while the men engaged in the slaughter supposed that everything was already accomplished and their sympathizers gathered under arms in the market-place. But it chanced that Thrasydaeus was still asleep at the very place where he had become drunk. And when the commons learned that he was not dead, they gathered round his house on all sides, as a swarm of bees around its leader. [29] And when Thrasydaeus put himself at their head and led the way, a battle took place in which the commons were victorious, and those who had undertaken the slaughter were forced to flee to the Lacedaemonians. As for Agis, when he departed and crossed the Alpheus again, after leaving a garrison in Epitalium near the Alpheus, with Lysippus as governor, and also leaving there the exiles from Elis, he disbanded his army and returned home himself. [30]

During the rest of the summer and the ensuing winter the country of the Eleans was plundered by Lysippus and the men with him. But in the course of the following summer Thrasydaeus sent to Lacedaemon and agreed to tear down the walls of Phea and Cyllene, to leave the Triphylian towns of Phrixa and Epitalium independent, likewise the Letrinians, Amphidolians, and Marganians, and besides these the Acrorians and the town of Lasion, which was claimed by the Arcadians. The Eleans, however, claimed the right to hold Epeum, the town between Heraea and Macistus; for they said that they had bought the whole territory for thirty talents from the people to whom the town at that time belonged, and had paid the money. [31] But the Lacedaemonians, deciding that it was no more just to get

property from the weaker by a forced purchase than by a forcible seizure, compelled them to leave this town also independent; they did not, however, dispossess them of the presidency of the shrine of Olympian Zeus, even though it did not belong to the Eleans in ancient times, for they thought that the rival claimants were country people and not competent to hold the presidency. When these things had been agreed upon, a peace and an alliance were concluded between the Eleans and the Lacedaemonians. And so the war between the Lacedaemonians and the Eleans ended.

3.

After this Agis, having gone to Delphi and offered to the god the appointed tithe of his booty, on his way back fell sick at Heraea, being now an old man, and although he was still living when brought home to Lacedaemon, once there he very soon died; and he received a burial more splendid than belongs to man. When the prescribed days of mourning had been religiously observed and it was necessary to appoint a king, Leotychides, who claimed to be a son of Agis, and Agesilaus, a brother of Agis, contended for the kingship. [2] And Leotychides said: "But, Agesilaus, the law directs, not that a brother, but that a son of a king, should be king; if, however, there should chance to be no son, in that case the brother would be king." "It is I, then, who should be king." "How so, when I am alive?" "Because he whom you call your father said that you were not his son." "Nay, but my mother, who knows far better than he did, says even to this day that I am." "But Poseidon showed that you are entirely in the wrong, for he drove your father out of her chamber into the open by an earthquake. And time also, which is said to be the truest witness, gave testimony that the god was right; for you were born in the tenth month from the time when he fled from the chamber." Such were the words which passed between these two. [3] But Diopeithes, a man very well versed in oracles, said in support of Leotychides that there was also an oracle of Apollo which bade the Lacedaemonians beware of the lame kingship. Lysander, however, made reply to him, on behalf of Agesilaus, that he did not suppose the god was bidding them beware lest a king of theirs should get a sprain and become lame, but rather lest one who was not of the royal stock should become king. For the kingship would be lame in very truth when it

was not the descendants of Heracles who were at the head of the state. [4] After hearing such arguments from both claimants the state chose Agesilaus king.

When Agesilaus had been not yet a year in the kingly office, once while he was offering one of the appointed sacrifices in behalf of the state, the seer said that the gods revealed a conspiracy of the most terrible sort. And when he sacrificed again, the seer said that the signs appeared still more terrible. And upon his sacrificing for the third time, he said: "Agesilaus, just such a sign is given me as would be given if we were in the very midst of the enemy." There-upon they made offerings to the gods who avert evil and to those who grant safety, and having with difficulty obtained favourable omens, ceased sacrificing. And within five days after the sacrifice was ended a man reported to the ephors a conspiracy, and Cinadon as the head of the affair. [5] This Cinadon was a young man, sturdy of body and stout of heart, but not one of the peers. And when the ephors asked how he had said that the plan would be carried out, the informer replied that Cinadon had taken him to the edge of the market-place and directed him to count how many Spartiatae there were in the market-place. "And I," he said, "after counting king and ephors and senators and about forty others, asked 'Why, Cinadon, did you bid me count these men?' And he replied: 'Believe,' said he, 'that these men are your enemies, and that all the others who are in the market-place, more than four thousand in number, are your allies.'" In the streets also, the informer said, Cinadon pointed out as enemies here one and there two who met them, and all the rest as allies; and of all who chanced to be on the country estates belonging to Spartiatae, while there would be one whom he would point out as an enemy, namely the master, yet there would be many on each estate named as allies. [6] When the ephors asked how many Cinadon said there really were who were in the secret of this affair, the informer replied that he said in regard to this point that those who were in the secret with himself and the other leaders were by no means many, though trustworthy; the leaders, however, put it this way, that it was they who knew the secret of all the others — Helots, freedmen, lesser Spartiatae, and Perioeci; for whenever among these classes any mention was made of Spartiatae, no one was able to conceal the fact

that he would be glad to eat them raw. [7] When the ephors asked again: “And where did they say they would get weapons?” the informer replied that Cinadon said: “Of course those of us who are in the army have weapons of our own, and as for the masses” — he led him, he said, to the iron market, and showed him great quantities of knives, swords, spits, axes, hatchets, and sickles. And he said, the informer continued, that all those tools with which men work the land and timber and stone were likewise weapons, and that most of the other industries also had in their implements adequate weapons, especially against unarmed men. When he was asked again at what time this thing was to be done, he said that orders had been given him to stay in the city. [8]

Upon hearing these statements the ephors came to the conclusion that he was describing a well-considered plan, and were greatly alarmed; and without even convening the Little Assembly, as it was called, but merely gathering about them — one ephor here and another there — some of the senators, they decided to send Cinadon to Aulon along with others of the younger men, and to order him to bring back with him certain of the Aulonians and Helots whose names were written in the official dispatch. And they ordered him to bring also the woman who was said to be the most beautiful woman in Aulon and was thought to be corrupting the Lacedaemonians who came there, older and younger alike. [9] Now Cinadon had performed other services of a like sort for the ephors in the past; so this time they gave him the dispatch in which were written the names of those who were to be arrested. And when he asked which of the young men he should take with him, they said: “Go and bid the eldest of the commanders of the guard to send with you six or seven of those who may chance to be at hand.” In fact they had taken care that the commander should know whom he was to send, and that those who were sent should know that it was Cinadon whom they were to arrest. The ephors said this thing besides to Cinadon, that they would send three wagons, so that they would not have to bring back the prisoners on foot — trying to conceal, as far as they could, the fact that they were sending after one man — himself. [10] The reason they did not plan to arrest him in the city was that they did not know how great was the extent of the plot, and they wished to hear from Cinadon

who his accomplices were before these should learn that they had been informed against, in order to prevent their escaping. Accordingly, those who made the arrest were to detain Cinadon, and after learning from him the names of his confederates, to write them down and send them back as quickly as possible to the ephors. And so seriously did the ephors regard the matter that they even sent a regiment of cavalry to support the men who had set out for Aulon. [11] When the man had been seized and a horseman had returned with the names of those whom Cinadon had listed, the ephors immediately proceeded to arrest the ser Tisamenus and the most influential of the others. And when Cinadon was brought back and questioned, and confessed everything and told the names of his confederates, they asked him finally what in the world was his object in undertaking this thing. He replied: "I wished to be inferior to no one in Lacedaemon." Thereupon he was straightway bound fast, neck and arms, in a collar, and under scourge and goad was dragged about through the city, he and those with him. And so they met their punishment.

4.

After this a Syracusan named Herodas, being in Phoenicia with a certain shipowner, and seeing Phoenician war-ships — some of them sailing in from other places, others lying there fully manned, and yet others still making ready for sea — and hearing, besides, that there were to be three hundred of them, embarked on the first boat that sailed to Greece and reported to the Lacedaemonians that the King and Tissaphernes were preparing this expedition; but whither it was bound he said he did not know. [2] Now while the Lacedaemonians were in a state of great excitement, and were gathering together their allies and taking counsel as to what they should do, Lysander, thinking that the Greeks would be far superior on the sea, and reflecting that the land force which went up country with Cyrus had returned safely, persuaded Agesilaus to promise, in case the Lacedaemonians would give him thirty Spartiatae, two thousand emancipated Helots, and a contingent of six thousand of the allies, to make an expedition to Asia. Such were the motives which actuated Lysander, but, in addition, he wanted to make the expedition with Agesilaus on his own account also, in order that with the aid of

Agesilaus he might re-establish the decarchies which had been set up by him in the cities, but had been overthrown through the ephors, who had issued a proclamation restoring to the cities their ancient form of government. [3] When Agesilaus offered to undertake the campaign, the Lacedaemonians gave him everything he asked for and provisions for six months. And when he marched forth from the country after offering all the sacrifices which were required, including that at the frontier, he dispatched messengers to the various cities and announced how many men were to be sent from each city, and where they were to report; while as for himself, he desired to go and offer sacrifice at Aulis, the place where Agamemnon had sacrificed before he sailed to Troy. [4] When he had reached Aulis, however, the Boeotarchs, on learning that he was sacrificing, sent horsemen and bade him discontinue his sacrificing, and they threw from the altar the victims which they found already offered. Then Agesilaus, calling the gods to witness, and full of anger, embarked upon his trireme and sailed away. And when he arrived at Gerastus and had collected there as large a part of his army as he could, he directed his course to Ephesus. [5]

When he reached Ephesus, Tissaphernes at once sent and asked him with what intent he had come. And he answered: "That the cities in Asia shall be independent, as are those in our part of Greece." In reply to this Tissaphernes said: "Then if you are willing to make a truce until I can send to the King, I think you could accomplish this object and, if you should so desire, sail back home." "Indeed I should so desire," said he, "if I could but think that I was not being deceived by you." "But," said he, "it is possible for you to receive a guarantee on this point, that in very truth and without guile, if you follow this course, we will do no harm to any part of your domain during the truce." [6] After this agreement had been reached, Tissaphernes made oath to the commissioners who were sent to him, Herippidas, Dercylidas, and Megillus, that in very truth and without guile he would negotiate the peace, and they in turn made oath on behalf of Agesilaus to Tissaphernes that in very truth, if he did this, Agesilaus would steadfastly observe the truce. Now Tissaphernes straightway violated the oaths which he had sworn; for instead of keeping peace he sent to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had

before. But Agesilaus, though he was aware of this, nevertheless continued to abide by the truce. [7]

Meanwhile, during the time that Agesilaus was spending in quiet and leisure at Ephesus, since the governments in the cities were in a state of confusion — for it was no longer democracy, as in the time of Athenian rule, nor decarchy, as in the time of Lysander — and since the people all knew Lysander, they beset him with requests that he should obtain from Agesilaus the granting of their petitions; and for this reason a very great crowd was continually courting and following him, so that Agesilaus appeared to be a man in private station and Lysander king. [8] Now Agesilaus showed afterwards that he also was enraged by these things; but the thirty Spartiatae with him were so jealous that they could not keep silence, but said to Agesilaus that Lysander was doing an unlawful thing in conducting himself more pompously than royalty. When, however, Lysander now began to introduce people to Agesilaus, the king would in every case dismiss, without granting their petitions, those who were known by him to be supported in any way by Lysander. And when Lysander found that the outcome was invariably the opposite of what he desired, he realized how the matter stood; and he no longer allowed a crowd to follow him, while he plainly told those who wanted him to give them any help that they would fare worse if he supported them. [9] But being distressed at his disgrace, he went to Agesilaus and said: “Agesilaus, it seems that you, at least, understand how to humiliate your friends.” “Yes, by Zeus, I do,” said he, “at any rate those who wish to appear greater than I; but as for those who exalt me, if I should prove not to know how to honour them in return, I should be ashamed.” And Lysander said: “Well, perhaps it is indeed true that you are acting more properly than I acted. Therefore grant me this favour at least: in order that I may not be shamed by having no influence with you, and may not be in your way, send me off somewhere. For, wherever I may be, I shall endeavour to be useful to you.” [10] When he had thus spoken, Agesilaus also thought it best to follow this course, and he sent him to the Hellespont. There Lysander, upon learning that Spithridates the Persian had suffered a slight at the hands of Pharnabazus, had a conference with him and persuaded him to revolt, taking with him his children and the money

he had at hand and about two hundred horsemen. And Lysander left everything else at Cyzicus, but put Spithridates himself and his son on board ship and brought them with him to Agesilaus. And when Agesilaus saw them, he was pleased with the exploit, and immediately inquired about the territory and government of Pharnabazus. [11]

Now when Tissaphernes, growing confident because of the army which had come down from the King, declared war upon Agesilaus if he did not depart from Asia, the allies and the Lacedaemonians who were present showed that they were greatly disturbed, thinking that the force which Agesilaus had was inferior to the King's array; but Agesilaus, his countenance radiant, ordered the ambassadors to carry back word to Tissaphernes that he felt very grateful to him because, by violating his oath, he had made the gods enemies of his side and allies of the Greeks. Then he straightway gave orders to the soldiers to pack up for a campaign, and sent word to the cities which had to be visited by anyone who marched upon Caria, that they should make ready a market. He also dispatched orders to the Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontines to send to him at Ephesus troops which should take part in the campaign. [12] Now Tissaphernes, both because Agesilaus had no cavalry (and Caria was unsuited for cavalry), and because he believed that he was angry with him on account of his treachery, made up his mind that he was really going to march against his own residence in Caria, and accordingly sent all his infantry across into that province, and as for his cavalry, he led it round into the plain of the Maeander, thinking that he was strong enough to trample the Greeks under foot with his horsemen before they should reach the regions which were unfit for cavalry. Agesilaus, however, instead of proceeding against Caria, straightway turned in the opposite direction and marched towards Phrygia, and he picked up and led along with him the contingents which met him on the march, subdued the cities, and, since he fell upon them unexpectedly, obtained great quantities of booty. [13] Most of the time he pursued his march through the country in safety; but when he was not far from Dascyleium, his horsemen, who were going on ahead of him, rode to the top of a hill so as to see what was in front. And by chance the horsemen of Pharnabazus, under the command of

Rhathines and Bagaesus, his bastard brother, just about equal to the Greek cavalry in number, had been sent out by Pharnabazus and likewise rode to the top of this same hill. And when the two squadrons saw one another, not so much as four plethra apart, at first both halted, the Greek horsemen being drawn up four deep like a phalanx, and the barbarians with a front of not more than twelve, but many men deep. Then, however, the barbarians charged. [14] When they came to a hand-to-hand encounter, all of the Greeks who struck anyone broke their spears, while the barbarians, being armed with javelins of cornel-wood, speedily killed twelve men and two horses. Thereupon the Greeks were turned to flight. But when Agesilaus came to the rescue with the hoplites, the barbarians withdrew again and one of them was killed. [15] After this cavalry battle had taken place and Agesilaus on the next day was offering sacrifices with a view to an advance, the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. This sign having presented itself, he turned and marched to the sea. And perceiving that, unless he obtained an adequate cavalry force, he would not be able to campaign in the plains, he resolved that this must be provided, so that he might not have to carry on a skulking warfare. Accordingly he assigned the richest men of all the cities in that region to the duty of raising horses; and by proclaiming that whoever supplied a horse and arms and a competent man would not have to serve himself, he caused these arrangements to be carried out with all the expedition that was to be expected when men were eagerly looking for substitutes to die in their stead. [16]

After this, when spring was just coming on, he gathered his whole army at Ephesus; and desiring to train the army, he offered prizes both to the heavy-armed divisions, for the division which should be in the best physical condition, and to the cavalry divisions, for the one which should show the best horsemanship; and he also offered prizes to peltasts and bowmen, for all who should prove themselves best in their respective duties. Thereupon one might have seen all the gymnasia full of men exercising, the hippodrome full of riders, and the javelin-men and bowmen practising. [17] In fact, he made the entire city, where he was staying, a sight worth seeing; for the market was full of all sorts of horses and weapons, offered for sale, and the copper-workers, carpenters, smiths, leather-cutters, and painters were

all engaged in making martial weapons, so that one might have thought that the city was really a workshop of war. [18] And one would have been encouraged at another sight also — Agesilaus in the van, and after him the rest of the soldiers, returning garlanded from the gymnasia and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in deeds of war, and practise obedience to authority, may we not reasonably suppose that such a place abounds in high hopes? [19] And again, believing that to feel contempt for one's enemies infuses a certain courage for the fight, Agesilaus gave orders to his heralds that the barbarians who were captured by the Greek raiding parties should be exposed for sale naked. Thus the soldiers, seeing that these men were white-skinned because they never were without their clothing, and soft and unused to toil because they always rode in carriages, came to the conclusion that the war would be in no way different from having to fight with women. [20]

Meanwhile the year had now ended since the time when Agesilaus had set sail from Greece, so that Lysander and the thirty Spartiatae sailed back home, and Herippidas with his thirty came as their successors. Of these, Agesilaus assigned Xenocles and one other to the command of the cavalry, Scythes to the command of the Helot hoplites, Herippidas to the Cyreans, and Mygdon to the troops from the allied cities, and he announced to them that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the best parts of the country, his object being to have them begin at once to prepare their bodies and spirits for the fray. [21] Tissaphernes, however, thought that he was saying this from a desire to deceive him again, and that this time he would really invade Caria, and accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria, just as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. Agesilaus, however, did not belie his words, but, even as he had announced, marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis. For three days he proceeded through a country bare of enemies, and had provisions for the army in abundance, but on the fourth day the cavalry of the enemy came up. [22] And their commander told the leader of the baggage-train to cross the Pactolus river and encamp, while the horsemen themselves, getting sight of the camp-followers on the side of the Greeks,

scattered for plunder, killed a large number of them. On perceiving this Agesilaus ordered his horsemen to go to their aid. And the Persians, in their turn, when they saw this movement, gathered together and formed an opposing line, with very many companies of their horsemen. [23] Then Agesilaus, aware that the infantry of the enemy was not yet at hand, while on his side none of the arms which had been made ready was missing, deemed it a fit time to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he at once led his phalanx against the opposing line of horsemen, ordering the first ten year-classes of the hoplites to run to close quarters with the enemy, and bidding the peltasts lead the way at a double-quick. He also sent word to his cavalry to attack, in the assurance that he and the whole army were following them. [24] Now the Persians met the attack of the cavalry; but when the whole formidable array together was upon them, they gave way, and some of them were struck down at once in crossing the river, while the rest fled on. And the Greeks, pursuing them, captured their camp as well. Then the peltasts, as was natural, betook themselves to plundering; but Agesilaus enclosed all alike, friends as well as foes, within the circle of his camp. And not only was much other property captured, which fetched more than seventy talents, but it was at this time that the camels also were captured which Agesilaus brought back with him to Greece. [25]

When this battle took place Tissaphernes chanced to be at Sardis, so that the Persians charged him with having betrayed them. Furthermore, the Persian King himself concluded that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn his affairs were taking, and accordingly sent down Tithraustes and cut off his head. After he had done this, Tithraustes sent ambassadors to Agesilaus with this message: "Agesilaus, the man who was responsible for the trouble in your eyes and ours has received his punishment; and the King deems it fitting that you should sail back home, and that the cities in Asia, retaining their independence, should render him the ancient tribute." [26] When Agesilaus replied that he could not do this without the sanction of the authorities at home, Tithraustes said, "But at least, until you receive word from the city, go over into the territory of Pharnabazus, since it is I who have taken vengeance upon your enemy." "Then, until I go there," said Agesilaus, "give me provisions

for the army.” Tithraustes accordingly gave him thirty talents; and he took it and set out for Pharnabazus’ province of Phrygia. [27] And when he was in the plain which is above Cyme, orders came to him from the authorities at home to exercise command as he thought best over the fleet also, and to appoint as admiral whomsoever he wished. Now the Lacedaemonians did this because they reasoned that if the same man were in command of both army and fleet, the army would be much stronger because the strength of both would be united, and the fleet likewise because the army would appear wherever it was needed. [28] But when Agesilaus heard this, in the first place he sent orders to the cities in the islands and on the coast to build triremes in such numbers as the several cities desired. And the result was new triremes to the number of one hundred and twenty, consisting of those which the cities offered and those which private individuals built out of desire to please Agesilaus. [29] Then he appointed as admiral Peisander, his wife’s brother, a man who was ambitious and of a stout spirit, but rather inexperienced in making such provisions as were needful. So Peisander departed and busied himself with naval matters; and Agesilaus continued the march to Phrygia on which he had set out.

5.

But now Tithraustes, who thought he had found out that Agesilaus despised the power of the King and did not in the least intend to depart from Asia, but rather had great hopes that he would overcome the King, being perplexed to know how to deal with the situation, sent Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece, giving him gold to the value of fifty talents of silver, and bade him undertake, on receipt of the surest pledges, to give this money to the leaders in the various states on condition that they should make war upon the Lacedaemonians. So Timocrates went and gave his money, at Thebes to Androcleidas, Ismenias, and Galaxidorus; at Corinth to Timolaus and Polyanthus; and at Argos to Cylon and his followers. [2] And the Athenians, even though they did not receive a share of this gold, were nevertheless eager for the war, thinking that theirs was the right to rule. Then those who had taken the money set to work in their own states to defame the Lacedaemonians; and when they had brought their people to a feeling of hatred toward them, they undertook, further, to unite

the largest states with one another. [3]

But the leading men in Thebes, being aware that unless someone began war the Lacedaemonians would not break the peace with their allies, persuaded the Opuntian Locrians to levy money from the territory which was in dispute between the Phocians and themselves, for they thought that if this was done the Phocians would invade Locris. And they were not disappointed, for the Phocians did at once invade Locris and seize property many times as valuable. [4] Then Androcleidas and his followers speedily persuaded the Thebans to aid the Locrians, on the ground that the Phocians had invaded, not the disputed territory, but Locris, which was admitted to be a friendly and allied country. And when the Thebans made a counter-invasion into Phocis and laid waste the land, the Phocians straightway sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and asked the Lacedaemonians to aid them, setting forth that they had not begun war, but had gone against the Locrians in self-defence. [5] Now the Lacedaemonians were glad to seize a pretext for undertaking a campaign against the Thebans, for they had long been angry with them both on account of their claiming Apollo's tenth at Decelea and their refusing to follow them against Piraeus. Furthermore, they charged them with persuading the Corinthians likewise not to join in that campaign. Again, they recalled that they had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice at Aulis and had cast from the altar the victims already offered, and that they also would not join Agesilaus for the campaign in Asia. They also reasoned that it was a favourable time to lead forth an army against the Thebans and put a stop to their insolent behaviour toward them; for matters in Asia were in an excellent condition for them, Agesilaus being victorious, and in Greece there was no other war to hinder them. [6] The city of the Lacedaemonians being thus minded, the ephors called out the ban and sent Lysander to Phocis with orders to report at Haliartus, bringing with him the Phocians themselves and also the Oetaeans, Heracleots, Malians, and Aenianians. And Pausanias also, who was to have chief command, agreed to appear at Haliartus on an appointed day, with the troops of the Lacedaemonians and the other Peloponnesians. Now Lysander carried out all his orders and, besides, caused the Orchomenians to revolt from the Thebans. [7] And Pausanias, when his sacrifice at the

frontier proved favourable, sent out his officers to muster the allies, and waited for the troops from the outlying towns of Laconia, he meanwhile resting at Tegea. But when it became clear to the Thebans that the Lacedaemonians were going to invade their land, they sent ambassadors to Athens with the following message: [8]

“Men of Athens, as regards your complaints against us for having voted for harsh measures toward you at the conclusion of the war, your complaints are not justified; for it was not the state which voted for those measures, but only the one individual who proposed them, a man who chanced at that time to have a seat in the assembly of the allies. But when the Lacedaemonians summoned us to the attack upon Piraeus, then the whole state voted not to join them in the campaign. Therefore, since it is chiefly on your account that the Lacedaemonians are angry with us, we think it is fair that you should aid our state. [9] And we consider it in a far greater degree incumbent upon all those among you who belonged to the city party that you should zealously take the field against the Lacedaemonians. For the Lacedaemonians, after establishing you as an oligarchy and making you objects of hatred to the commons, came with a great force, ostensibly as your allies, and delivered you over to the democrats. Consequently, in so far as it depended upon them, you would certainly have perished, but the commons here saved you. [10] Furthermore, men of Athens, although we all understand that you would like to recover the dominion which you formerly possessed, we ask in what way this is more likely to come to pass than by your aiding those who are wronged by the Lacedaemonians? And do not be afraid because they rule over many, but much rather be of good courage on that account, keeping in mind your own case, that when the subjects over whom you ruled were the most numerous, then you had the most enemies. To be sure they concealed their enmity to you so long as they had no one to whom to revolt, but as soon as the Lacedaemonians offered themselves as leaders, then they showed what their feelings were toward you. [11] Even so now, if we and you are found in arms together against the Lacedaemonians, be well assured that those who hate them will appear in full numbers.

“That we speak truth you will see at once if you consider the matter. For who is now left that is friendly to them? Have not the

Argives been hostile to them from all time? [12] And now the Eleans, whom they have robbed of much territory and many cities, have been added to the number of their enemies. As for the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achaeans, what shall we say of them, who in the war against you, at the earnest entreaty of the Lacedaemonians, bore a share of all hardships and perils and expenses; but when the Lacedaemonians had accomplished what they desired, what dominion or honour or what captured treasure did they ever share with them? Nay, it is their Helots whom they deem it proper to appoint as governors, while toward their allies, who are free men, they have behaved themselves like masters since they have achieved success. [13] Furthermore, it is plain that they have deceived in like manner the peoples whom they won away from you; for instead of freedom they have given them a double servitude — they are under the tyrant rule both of the governors and of the decarchies which Lysander established in each city. Take the King of Asia also — although his contributions helped them most to win the victory over you, what better treatment is he now receiving than if he had joined with you and subdued them? [14] How, then, can it be doubtful that if you in your turn offer yourselves as leaders of those who are so manifestly wronged, you will now become by far the greatest of all the states that have ever been? For at the time when you held dominion you were the leaders, you recall, of those only who dwelt on the sea; but now you would become the leaders of all alike — of ourselves, of the Peloponnesians, of those whom you formerly ruled, and of the King himself with his vast power. And we certainly were valuable allies to the Lacedaemonians, as you so well know; but now we can be expected to support you altogether more stoutly than we supported the Lacedaemonians then; for it is by no means on behalf of islanders or Syracusans, or in fact of any alien people, that we shall be lending our aid as we were then, but on behalf of our own injured selves. [15] And this also is to be well understood, that the selfishly acquired dominion of the Lacedaemonians is far easier to destroy than the empire which was once yours. For you had a navy and ruled over men who had none, while they, being few, arrogate to themselves dominion over men who are many times their number and are fully as well armed. This, then, is our proposal; but be well

assured, men of Athens, that we believe we are inviting you to benefits far greater for your state than for our own.” [16]

With these words he ceased speaking. But as for the Athenians, very many spoke in support of him and they voted unanimously to aid the Thebans. And Thrasybulus, after giving the ambassadors the decree for an answer, pointed out also that, although Piraeus was without walls, they would nevertheless brave the danger of repaying to the Thebans a greater favour than they had received. “For whereas you,” he said, “did not join in the campaign against us, we are going to fight along with you against them, in case they march upon you.” [17] So the Thebans went away and made preparations for defending themselves, and the Athenians for aiding them. And in fact the Lacedaemonians did not longer delay, but Pausanias the king marched into Boeotia with the troops from home and those from Peloponnesus except the Corinthians, who refused to accompany them. And Lysander, at the head of the army from Phocis, Orchomenus, and the places in that region, arrived at Haliartus before Pausanias. [18] Having arrived, he did not keep quiet and wait for the army from Lacedaemon, but went up to the wall of the Haliartians with the troops which he had. And at first he tried to persuade them to revolt from the Thebans and become independent; but when some of the Thebans, who were within the wall, prevented them from doing so, he made an attack upon the wall. [19] And on hearing of this the Thebans came on the run to the rescue, both hoplites and cavalry. Whether it was that they fell upon Lysander unawares, or that he saw them coming and nevertheless stood his ground in the belief that he would be victorious, is uncertain; but this at any rate is clear, that the battle took place beside the wall; and a trophy stands at the gates of the Haliartians. Now when Lysander had been killed and his troops were fleeing to the mountain, the Thebans pursued stoutly. [20] But when they had reached the heights in their pursuit and came upon rough country and narrow ways, the hoplites of the enemy turned about and threw javelins and other missiles upon them. And when two or three of them who were in the van had been struck down, and the enemy began to roll stones down the hill upon the rest and to attack them with great spirit, the Thebans were driven in flight from the slope, and more than two hundred of them were

killed. [21]

On this day, therefore, the Thebans were despondent, thinking that they had suffered losses no less severe than those they had inflicted; on the following day, however, when they learned that the Phocians and the rest had all gone away in the night to their several homes, then they began to be more elated over their exploit. But when, on the other hand, Pausanias appeared with the army from Lacedaemon, they again thought that they were in great danger, and, by all accounts, there was deep silence and despondency in their army. [22] When, however, on the next day the Athenians arrived and formed in line of battle with them, while Pausanias did not advance against them nor offer battle, then the elation of the Thebans increased greatly; as for Pausanias, he called together the commanders of regiments and of fifties, and took counsel with them as to whether he should join battle or recover by means of a truce the bodies of Lysander and those who fell with him. [23] Accordingly Pausanias and the other Lacedaemonians who were in authority, considering that Lysander was dead and that the army under his command had been defeated and was gone, while the Corinthians had altogether refused to accompany them and those who had come were not serving with any spirit; considering also the matter of horsemen, that the enemy's were numerous while their own were few, and, most important of all, that the bodies lay close up to the wall, so that even in case of victory it would not be easy to recover them on account of the men upon the towers — for all these reasons they decided that it was best to recover the bodies under a truce. [24] The Thebans, however, said that they would not give up the dead except on condition that the Lacedaemonians should depart from their country. The Lacedaemonians welcomed these conditions, and were ready, after taking up their dead, to depart from Boeotia. When this had been done, the Lacedaemonians marched off despondently, while the Thebans behaved most insolently — in case a man trespassed never so little upon anyone's lands, chasing him back with blows into the roads. Thus it was that this campaign of the Lacedaemonians came to its end. [25] But when Pausanias reached home he was brought to trial for his life. He was charged with having arrived at Haliartus later than Lysander, though he had agreed to reach there on the same day,

with having recovered the bodies of the dead by a truce instead of trying to recover them by battle, and with having allowed the Athenian democrats to escape when he had got them in his power in Piraeus; and since, besides all this, he failed to appear at the trial, he was condemned to death. And he fled to Tegea, and there died a natural death. These, then, were the events which took place in Greece.

BOOK IV.

1. Now when Agesilaus arrived, at the beginning of autumn, in Pharnabazus' province of Phrygia, he laid the land waste with fire and sword and gained possession of cities, some by force, others by their voluntary surrender. [2] And when Spithridates said that if he would come to Paphlagonia with him, he would bring the king of the Paphlagonians to a conference and make him an ally, Agesilaus eagerly undertook the journey, since this was a thing he had long desired — to win some nation away from the Persian King. [3]

Upon his arriving in Paphlagonia, Otys came and concluded an alliance; for he had been summoned by the Persian King and had refused to go up to him. He also, by the persuasion of Spithridates, left behind for Agesilaus a thousand horsemen and two thousand peltasts. [4] And Agesilaus, feeling grateful to Spithridates for these things, said to him: "Tell me, Spithridates, would you not give your daughter to Otys?" "Far more willingly," said he, "than he would accept her, the daughter of an exile, while he is lord of a great land and power." So at that time nothing more was said about the marriage. [5] But when Otys was about to depart, he came to Agesilaus to bid him farewell. Then Agesilaus began conversation with him in the presence of the thirty Spartiatae, after asking Spithridates to withdraw. [6] "Tell me," he said, "Otys, to what sort of a family does Spithridates belong?" Otys replied that he was inferior in rank to no one of all the Persians. "And have you noticed his son," said Agesilaus, "how handsome he is?" "To be sure I have; for I dined with him last evening." "They say his daughter is handsomer than the son." [7] "Yes, by Zeus," said Otys, "she certainly is beautiful." "And I," said he, "since you have become a friend of ours, should like to advise you to take the girl as your wife, for she is very beautiful — and what is more pleasant to a husband than that? — and the daughter of a father very well born and possessed of so great power, a man who, when wronged by Pharnabazus, takes such vengeance upon him that he has, as you see, made him an exile from his whole country. [8] Be well assured, moreover," he said, "that even as he is able to take vengeance upon Pharnabazus, an enemy, so he

would also be able to benefit a friend I ask you also to take into consideration that, if this plan should be carried out, it would not be he alone that would be a connexion of yours, but I too and the rest of the Lacedaemonians, and, since we are the leaders of Greece, the rest of Greece as well. [9] And further, if you should do this, who could possibly have a more magnificent wedding than you? For what bride was ever escorted by so many horsemen and peltasts and hoplites as would escort your wife to your house?" [10] And Otys asked, "But is this," said he, "which you are proposing, Agesilaus, pleasing to Spithridates also?" "By the gods," said Agesilaus, "it was not he that bade me say this; but I for my own part, even though I rejoice exceedingly when I punish an enemy, believe that I am far more pleased when I discover some good thing for my friends." [11] "Why, then," said he, "do you not find out whether this is pleasing to him also?" And Agesilaus said: "Herippidas, do you men all go and persuade him to desire the same things that we do." [12] So they went and set about persuading him. And when they had spent some time away, Agesilaus said: "Do you wish, Otys, that we should call him in and talk with him ourselves?" "I do think that he would be far more likely to be persuaded by you than by all the rest put together." Thereupon Agesilaus called in both Spithridates and the others. [13] And as soon as they came in, Herippidas said: "Why, Agesilaus, need one make a long story about all that was said? The upshot of it is that Spithridates says he would be glad to do anything that you think best." [14] "Well, then," said Agesilaus, "I think it best that you, Spithridates, should give your daughter to Otys — and may good fortune attend upon the deed — and that you, Otys, should accept her. But we could not fetch the girl by land before spring." "But, by Zeus," said Otys, "she could be sent by sea at once, if you so desired." [15] Thereupon they gave and received pledges to ratify this agreement, and so sent Otys on his way.

And Agesilaus, being now assured that Otys was eager, immediately manned a trireme and ordered Callias the Lacedaemonian to fetch the girl, while he set off himself for Dascyleium, the place where the palace of Pharnabazus was situated, and round about it were many large villages, stored with provisions in abundance, and splendid wild animals, some of them in enclosed

parks, others in open spaces. [16] There was also a river, full of all kinds of fish, flowing by the palace. And, besides, there was winged game in abundance for those who knew how to take it. There he spent the winter, procuring provisions for his army partly on the spot, and partly by means of foraging expeditions. [17] But on one occasion, while the soldiers were getting their provisions in disdainful and careless fashion, because they had not previously met with any mishap, Pharnabazus came upon them, scattered as they were over the plain, with two scythe-bearing chariots and about four hundred horsemen. [18] Now when the Greeks saw him advancing upon them, they ran together to the number of about seven hundred; Pharnabazus, however, did not delay, but putting his chariots in front, and posting himself and the horsemen behind them, he gave orders to charge upon the Greeks. [19] And when the chariots dashed into the close-gathered crowd and scattered it, the horsemen speedily struck down about a hundred men, while the rest fled for refuge to Agesilaus; for he chanced to be near at hand with the hoplites. [20]

On the third or fourth day following this incident, Spithridates learned that Pharnabazus was encamped in a large village named Caue, about one hundred and sixty stadia away, and at once told Herippidas. [21] And Herippidas, eager to achieve a brilliant exploit, asked from Agesilaus hoplites to the number of two thousand, as many peltasts, and for horsemen, those of Spithridates, the Paphlagonians, and as many of the Greeks as he could persuade to join him. [22] When Agesilaus had promised him these troops Herippidas proceeded to sacrifice; and towards evening he obtained favourable omens and terminated his sacrifice. Thereupon he gave orders to his men to get their dinner, and then report in front of the camp. But by the time darkness had come on, not so much as the half of the several detachments had come out. [23] However, in order that the rest of the thirty Spartiatae might not laugh at him, as they would if he gave up his plan, he set out with the force that he had. [24] And when at daybreak he fell upon the encampment of Pharnabazus, many of his outposts, who were Mysians, were slain, the troops themselves scattered in flight, and the camp was captured, and with it many drinking-cups and other articles such as a man like Pharnabazus would naturally have, and besides these things a great

deal of baggage and many baggage animals. [25] For through fear that, if he took up a fixed position anywhere, he would be surrounded and besieged, Pharnabazus kept going first to one and then to another part of the country, even as the nomads do, very carefully concealing his encampments. [26] Now when the Paphlagonians and Spithridates had brought in the property they had captured, Herippidas posted commanders of divisions and companies to intercept them, and took everything away from both Spithridates and the Paphlagonians, merely in order that he might have a great quantity of booty to turn in to the officials who sold it. [27] They, however, would not stand being so treated, but, feeling that they had been wronged and dishonoured, packed up and went off during the night to Ariaeus at Sardis, putting their trust in Ariaeus because he also had revolted from the King and made war upon him. [28] And nothing happened during the campaign which was more distressing to Agesilaus than the desertion of Spithridates, Megabates, and the Paphlagonians. [29]

Now there was a certain Apollophanes of Cyzicus who chanced to be an old friend of Pharnabazus and at that time had become a friend of Agesilaus also. This man, accordingly, said to Agesilaus that he thought he could bring Pharnabazus to a conference with him in regard to establishing friendly relations. [30] And when Agesilaus heard what he had to say, Apollophanes, after obtaining a truce and a pledge, brought Pharnabazus with him to a place which had been agreed upon, where Agesilaus and the thirty Spartiatae with him were lying on the ground in a grassy spot awaiting them; Pharnabazus, however, came in a dress which was worth much gold. But when his attendants were proceeding to spread rugs beneath him, upon which the Persians sit softly, he was ashamed to indulge in luxury, seeing as he did the simplicity of Agesilaus; so he too lay down on the ground without further ado. [31] And first they gave each other greeting, then Pharnabazus held out his right hand and Agesilaus held out his to meet it. After this Pharnabazus began speaking, — for he was the elder: [32]

“Agesilaus and all you Lacedaemonians who are present, I became your friend and ally at the time when you were at war with the Athenians, and not only did I make your fleet strong by providing money, but on the land I myself fought on horseback with you and

drove your enemies into the sea. And you cannot accuse me, as you accused Tissaphernes, of any double-dealing toward you at any time, either in deed or word. [33] Such a friend I proved myself, and now I am brought to such a pass by you that I have not so much as a meal in my own land unless, like the beasts, I pick up a bit of what you may leave. And the beautiful dwellings and parks, full of trees and wild animals, which my father left me, in which I took delight, — all these parks I see cut down, all these dwellings burned to the ground. If it is I that do not understand either what is righteous or what is just, do you teach me how these are the deeds of men who know how to repay favours.” [34]

Thus he spoke. And all the thirty Spartiatae were filled with shame before him and fell silent; but Agesilaus at length said: “I think you know, Pharnabazus, that in the Greek states, also, men become guest-friends of one another. But these men, when their states come to war, fight with their fatherlands even against their former friends, and, if it so chance, sometimes even kill one another. And so we to-day, being at war with your king, are constrained to regard all that is his as hostile; as for yourself, however, we should prize it above everything to become friends of yours. [35] And if it were an exchange that you had to make, from the King as master to us as masters, I for my part should not advise you to make the exchange; but in fact it is within your power by joining with us to live in the enjoyment of your possessions without doing homage to anyone or having any master. And being free is worth, in my opinion, as much as all manner of possessions. [36] Yet it is not this that we urge upon you, to be free and poor, but rather by employing us as allies to increase, not the King’s empire, but your own, subduing those who are now your fellow-slaves so that they shall be your subjects. And if, being free, you should at the same time become rich, what would you lack of being altogether happy?” [37]

“Shall I, then,” said Pharnabazus, “tell you frankly just what I shall do?” “It surely becomes you to do so.” “Well, then,” said he, “if the King sends another as general and makes me his subordinate, I shall choose to be your friend and ally; but if he assigns the command to me, — so strong, it seems, is the power of ambition — you may be well assured that I shall war upon you to the best of my

ability.” [38] Upon hearing these words Agesilaus grasped his hand and said: “O that you, noble sir, a man of such a spirit, may come to be our friend. But at least,” he said, “be assured of one thing, that now I am going away from your land as speedily as I can, and in the future, even if war continues, we shall withhold our hands from you and yours so long as we can turn our attack against another.” [39]

With these words he broke up the meeting. And Pharnabazus mounted his horse and rode away, but his son by Parapita, who was still in the bloom of youth, remaining behind, ran up to Agesilaus and said to him: “Agesilaus, I make you my guest-friend.” “And I accept your friendship.” “Remember, then,” he said. And immediately he gave his javelin — it was a beautiful one — to Agesilaus. And he, accepting it, took off and gave to the boy in return a splendid trapping which Idaeus, his secretary, had round his horse’s neck. Then the boy leaped upon his horse and followed after his father. [40] And afterwards, when his brother had deprived the son of Parapita of his domain during the absence of Pharnabazus, and had made him an exile, Agesilaus not only cared for him in every way, but in particular, since he had become enamoured of the son of Eualces an Athenian, made every effort for his sake to have Eualces’ son, inasmuch as he was taller than any of the other boys, admitted to the stadium race at Olympia. [41]

So at that time Agesilaus immediately marched off out of the territory of Pharnabazus, just as he had told him he would; besides, spring was now almost at hand. And upon arriving in the plain of Thebe he encamped near the shrine of Artemis of Astyra, and there gathered together from all quarters a very great army in addition to that which he had. For he was preparing to march as far as he could into the interior, thinking that he would detach from the King all the nations which he could put in his rear.

2.

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. But the Lacedaemonians at home, when they found out definitely that the money had come to Greece, and that the largest states had united for war against them, believed that their state was in danger, and thought that it was necessary to undertake a campaign. [2] And while themselves making preparations for this, they also immediately sent

Epicydidas to fetch Agesilaus. And when Epicydidas arrived in Asia, he told Agesilaus the general condition of affairs, and that the state bade him come as speedily as possible to the aid of his fatherland. [3] Now when Agesilaus heard this, although he was disturbed, considering what honours and what hopes he was deprived of, nevertheless, calling together the allies, he made known to them what the state commanded, and said that it was necessary to go to the aid of the fatherland. "But if those matters turn out successfully, be well assured, my allies," he said, "that I shall not forget you, but shall return again to accomplish the things which you desire." [4] Upon hearing this many burst into tears, but they all voted to go with Agesilaus to the aid of Lacedaemon, resolved, if matters there should turn out successfully, to bring him back again with them to Asia. [5] Accordingly they made preparations to follow with him. As for Agesilaus, he left behind him in Asia Euxenus as governor, and with him a garrison of not less than four thousand men, so that he could keep the cities safe; and seeing that most of his own soldiers were more desirous of remaining than of undertaking a campaign against Greeks, in the desire to lead with him the best men and as many as possible he offered prizes to the cities, for the one which should send the best force, and to the captains of the mercenaries, for the one who should join the expedition with the best equipped company of hoplites, of bowmen, and of peltasts. He likewise announced to the commanders of cavalry that he would also give a prize of victory to the one who should furnish the best mounted and best equipped battalion. [6] And he said that he would make the decision in the Chersonese, when they had crossed from Asia to Europe, his purpose being to let them understand thoroughly that they must select their troops with care. [7] As for the prizes, most of them were beautifully wrought arms, both for hoplites and for horsemen; there were also wreaths of gold, and the prizes all told cost not less than four talents. As a result, however, of the expending of this sum, arms worth a vast sum of money were provided for the army. [8] And when he had crossed the Hellespont, Menascus, Herippidas, and Orsippus were appointed as judges from the side of the Lacedaemonians, and from that of the allies one from each city. Then Agesilaus, after he had made the decision, marched on with his army by the same route

which the Persian king followed when he made his expedition against Greece. [9]

Meanwhile the ephors called out the ban; and since Agesipolis was still a boy, the state commanded Aristodemus, who was of the royal family and the boy's guardian, to lead the army. [10] Now when the Lacedaemonians were marching forth and their enemies had gathered together, the latter met and took counsel as to how they might fight the battle with the greatest advantage to themselves. [11] Then Timolaus of Corinth spoke as follows: "It seems to me," he said, "fellow allies, that the case of the Lacedaemonians is much the same as that of rivers. For rivers at their sources are not large, but easy to cross, yet the farther on they go, other rivers empty into them and make their current stronger; [12] and just so the Lacedaemonians, at the place whence they come forth, are alone by themselves, but as they go on and keep attaching the cities to them, they become more numerous and harder to fight against. Again, I see," he said, "that all who wish to destroy wasps, in case they try to capture the wasps as they issue forth, are stung by many of them; but if they apply the fire while the wasps are still in their nests, they suffer no harm and subdue the wasps. Considering these things, therefore, I believe it is best to fight the battle in Lacedaemon itself if possible, but if not, as near there as we can." Since it was thought that his advice was good, they voted for this course. [13] But while they were negotiating about the leadership and trying to come to an agreement with one another as to the number of ranks in depth in which the whole army should be drawn up, in order to prevent the states from making their phalanxes too deep and thus giving the enemy a chance of surrounding them, — meanwhile the Lacedaemonians, having already picked up the Tegeans and Mantineans, were on their outward march, taking the road along the sea-shore. [14] And as the two armies marched on, the Corinthians and their allies were in the district of Nemea, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies at Sicyon, at almost the same time. Now when the latter had made their entry into Corinthian territory by way of Epieiceia, at first the light troops of their adversaries did them a great deal of harm by throwing missiles and discharging arrows upon them from the heights upon their right. [15] But when they had descended towards the sea, they

marched on by this route through the plain, devastating and burning the land. The enemy also, however, retired and encamped, getting the river-bed in front of them; and when, as they advanced, the Lacedaemonians were distant not so much as ten stadia from the enemy, they also encamped where they were and remained quiet. [16]

And now I will state the numbers on either side. As for hoplites, there had gathered together of the Lacedaemonians about six thousand, of the Eleans, Triphylians, Acrorians, and Lasionians almost three thousand, and of the Sicyonians one thousand five hundred, while of the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, and Halians there were not less than three thousand. Besides these there were horsemen of the Lacedaemonians to the number of about seven hundred, Cretan bowmen who accompanied the army, about three hundred, and, further, slingers of the Marganians, Letrinians, and Amphidolians, not less than four hundred. The Phliasians, however, would not join them; for they said that they were keeping a holy truce. This, then, was the force on the side of the Lacedaemonians. [17] But the force of the enemy which was gathered together included, of the Athenians about six thousand hoplites, of the Argives, according to all accounts, about seven thousand, of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) only about five thousand, of the Corinthians about three thousand, and, further, from the whole of Euboea not less than three thousand. This was the number of the hoplites; but as for horsemen, there were of the Boeotians (since the Orchomenians were not present) about eight hundred, of the Athenians about six hundred, of the Chalcidians from Euboea about one hundred, and of the Opuntian Locrians about fifty. And of light troops also there was a greater number with the party of the Corinthians; for the Ozolian Locrians, Malians, and Acarnanians were with them. [18]

This, then, was the force on either side. Now the Boeotians, so long as they occupied the left wing, were not in the least eager to join battle; but when the Athenians took position opposite the Lacedaemonians, and the Boeotians themselves got the right wing and were stationed opposite the Achaeans, they immediately said that the sacrifices were favourable and gave the order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle. And in the first place,

disregarding the sixteen-rank formation, they made their phalanx exceedingly deep, and, besides, they also veered to the right in leading the advance, in order to outflank the enemy with their wing; and the Athenians, in order not to be detached from the rest of the line, followed them towards the right, although they knew that there was danger of their being surrounded. [19] Now for a time the Lacedaemonians did not perceive that the enemy were advancing; for the place was thickly overgrown; but when the latter struck up the paean, then at length they knew, and immediately gave orders in their turn that all should make ready for battle. And when they had been drawn up together in the positions which the Lacedaemonian leaders of the allies assigned to the several divisions, they passed the word along to follow the van. Now the Lacedaemonians also veered to the right in leading the advance, and extended their wing so far beyond that of the enemy that only six tribes of the Athenians found themselves opposite the Lacedaemonians, the other four being opposite the Tegeans. [20] And when the armies were now not so much as a stadium apart, the Lacedaemonians sacrificed the goat to Artemis Agrotera, as is their custom, and led the charge upon their adversaries, wheeling round their overlapping wing in order to surround them. When they had come to close encounter, all the allies of the Lacedaemonians were overcome by their adversaries except the men of Pellene, who, being pitted against the Thespians, fought and fell in their places, — as did also many of the other side. [21] But the Lacedaemonians themselves overcame that part of the Athenians which they covered, and wheeling round with their overlapping wing killed many of them, and then, unscathed as they were, marched on with lines unbroken. They passed by the other four tribes of the Athenians before the latter had returned from the pursuit, so that none of these were killed except such as fell in the original encounter, at the hands of the Tegeans; [22] but the Lacedaemonians did come upon the Argives as they were returning from the pursuit, and when the first polemarch was about to attack them in front, it is said that some one shouted out to let their front ranks pass by. When this had been done, they struck them on their unprotected sides as they ran past, and killed many of them. The Lacedaemonians also attacked the Corinthians as they were returning. And, furthermore,

they likewise came upon some of the Thebans returning from the pursuit, and killed a large number of them. [23] These things having taken place, the defeated troops at first fled to the walls of Corinth; but afterwards, since the Corinthians shut them out, they encamped again in their old camp. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, returning to the place where they first engaged the enemy, set up a trophy. Such, then, was the issue of this battle.

3.

Meanwhile Agesilaus was hurrying from Asia to the rescue; and when he was at Amphipolis, Dercylidas brought him word that this time the Lacedaemonians were victorious, and that only eight of them had been killed, but of the enemy a vast number; he made it known to him, however, that not a few of the allies of the Lacedaemonians had also fallen. [2] And when Agesilaus asked: "Would it not be advantageous, Dercylidas, if the cities which are sending their troops with us should learn of the victory as speedily as possible?" Dercylidas replied: "It is certainly likely that they would be in better spirits if they heard of this." "Then are not you the man who could report it best, since you were present at the battle?" And Dercylidas, glad to hear this, for he was always fond of travel, replied: "If you should so order." "Well, I do," said Agesilaus, "and I bid you announce, further, that if the present undertaking also turns out well, we shall come back again, even as we said." [3] Accordingly Dercylidas set out at once for the Hellespont.

And Agesilaus, passing through Macedonia, arrived in Thessaly. Then the Larisaeans, Crannonians, Scotussaeans, and Pharsalians, who were allies of the Boeotians, and in fact all the Thessalians except those of them who chanced at that time to be exiles, followed after him and kept molesting him. [4] And for a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the horsemen in front and the other half at the rear; but when the Thessalians, by charging upon those who were behind, kept interfering with his progress, he sent along to the rear the vanguard of horsemen also, except those about his own person. [5] Now when the two forces had formed in line of battle against one another, the Thessalians, thinking that it was not expedient to engage as cavalry in a battle with hoplites, turned round and slowly retired. [6] And the Greeks very cautiously followed them.

Agesilaus, however, perceiving the mistakes which each side was making, sent the very stalwart horsemen who were about his person and ordered them not only to give word to the others to pursue with all speed, but to do likewise themselves, and not to give the Thessalians a chance to face round again. [7] And when the Thessalians saw them rushing upon them unexpectedly, some of them fled, others turned about, and others, in trying to do this, were captured while their horses were turned half round. [8] But Polycharmus the Pharsalian, who was the commander of the cavalry, turned round and fell fighting, together with those about him. When this happened, there followed a headlong flight on the part of the Thessalians, so that some of them were killed and others were captured. At all events they did not stop until they had arrived at Mount Nanthacium. [9] On that day, accordingly, Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Nanthacium and remained on the field of battle, greatly pleased with his exploit, in that he had been victorious, over the people who pride themselves particularly upon their horsemanship, with the cavalry that he had himself gathered together. And on the following day he crossed the Achaean mountains of Phthia and marched on through a friendly country all the rest of the way, even to the boundaries of the Boeotians. [10]

When he was at the entrance to Boeotia, the sun seemed to appear crescent-shaped, and word was brought to him that the Lacedaemonians had been defeated in the naval battle and the admiral, Peisander, had been killed. It was also stated in what way the battle had been fought. [11] For it was near Cnidos that the fleets sailed against one another, and Pharnabazus, who was admiral, was with the Phoenician ships, while Conon with the Greek fleet was posted in front of him. [12] And when Peisander, in spite of his ships being clearly fewer than the Greek ships under Conon, had formed his line of battle against them, his allies on the left wing immediately fled, and he himself, after coming to close encounter with the enemy, was driven ashore, his trireme damaged by the enemy's beaks; and all the others who were driven ashore abandoned their ships and made their escape as best they could to Cnidos, but he fell fighting on board his ship. [13] Now Agesilaus, on learning these things, at first was overcome with sorrow; but when he had considered that the

most of his troops were the sort of men to share gladly in good fortune if good fortune came, but that if they saw anything unpleasant, they were under no compulsion to share in it, — thereupon, changing the report, he said that word had come that Peisander was dead, but victorious in the naval battle. [14] And at the moment of saying these things he offered sacrifice as if for good news, and sent around to many people portions of the victims which had been offered; so that when a skirmish with the enemy took place, the troops of Agesilaus won the day in consequence of the report that the Lacedaemonians were victorious in the naval battle. [15]

Those who were now drawn up against Agesilaus were the Boeotians, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian peoples; while with Agesilaus was a regiment of Lacedaemonians which had crossed over from Corinth, half of the regiment from Orchomenus, furthermore the emancipated Helots from Lacedaemon who had made the expedition with him, besides these the foreign contingent which Herippidas commanded, and, furthermore, the troops from the Greek cities in Asia and from all those cities in Europe which he had brought over as he passed through them; and from the immediate neighbourhood there came to him hoplites of the Orchomenians and Phocians. As for peltasts, those with Agesilaus were far more numerous; on the other hand, the horsemen of either side were about equal in number. [16] This, then, was the force on both sides; and I will also describe the battle, and how it proved to be like no other of the battles of our time. They met on the plain of Coronea, those with Agesilaus coming from the Cephissus, and those with the Thebans from Mount Helicon. And Agesilaus occupied the right wing of the army under his command, while the Orchomenians were at the extreme end of his left wing. On the other side, the Thebans themselves were on the right and the Argives occupied their left wing. [17]

Now as the opposing armies were coming together, there was deep silence for a time in both lines; but when they were distant from one another about a stadium, the Thebans raised the war-cry and rushed to close quarters on the run. When, however, the distance between the armies was still about three plethra, the troops whom Herippidas commanded, and with them the Ionians, Aeolians, and

Hellespontines, ran forth in their turn from the phalanx of Agesilaus, and the whole mass joined in the charge and, when they came within spear thrust, put to flight the force in their front. As for the Argives, they did not await the attack of the forces of Agesilaus, but fled to Mount Helicon. [18] Thereupon some of the mercenaries were already garlanding Agesilaus, when a man brought him word that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were in among the baggage train. And he immediately wheeled his phalanx and led the advance against them; but the Thebans on their side, when they saw that their allies had taken refuge at Mount Helicon, wishing to break through to join their own friends, massed themselves together and came on stoutly. [19]

At this point one may unquestionably call Agesilaus courageous; at least he certainly did not choose the safest course. For while he might have let the men pass by who were trying to break through and then have followed them and overcome those in the rear, he did not do this, but crashed against the Thebans front to front; and setting shields against shields they shoved, fought, killed, and were killed. Finally, some of the Thebans broke through and reached Mount Helicon, but many were killed while making their way thither. [20] Now when the victory had fallen to Agesilaus and he himself had been carried, wounded, to the phalanx, some of the horsemen rode up and told him that about eighty of the enemy, still armed, had taken shelter in the temple of Athena, and asked him what they should do. And he, although he had received many wounds, nevertheless did not forget the deity, but ordered them to allow these men to go away whithersoever they wished, and would permit them to commit no wrong. Then — it was already late — they took dinner and lay down to rest. [21] And in the morning Agesilaus gave orders that Gylis, the polemarch, should draw up the army in line of battle and set up a trophy, that all should deck themselves with garlands in honour of the god, and that all the flute-players should play. And they did these things. The Thebans, however, sent heralds asking to bury their dead under a truce. In this way, accordingly, the truce was made, and Agesilaus went to Delphi and offered to the god a tithe of the amount derived from his booty, an offering of not less than one hundred talents; but Gylis, the polemarch, withdrew with the army to Phocis

and from there made an invasion of Locris. [22] And for most of the day the soldiers busied themselves in carrying off portable property and provisions from the villages; but when it was towards evening and they were withdrawing, the Lacedaemonians being in the rear, the Locrians followed after them throwing stones and javelins. And when the Lacedaemonians, turning about and setting out in pursuit, had struck down some of them, after that, although the Locrians no longer followed in their rear, they threw missiles upon them from the heights upon their right. [23] Then the Lacedaemonians again undertook to pursue them, even up the slope; but since darkness was coming on and, as they were retiring from the pursuit, some of them fell on account of the roughness of the country, others because they could not see what was ahead of them, and still others from the missiles of the enemy, under these circumstances Gylis, the polemarch, and Pelles, one of his comrades, were slain, and in all about eighteen of the Spartiatae, some by being stoned to death, some by javelin wounds. And if some of those who were in the camp at dinner had not come to their aid, all of them would have been in danger of perishing.

4.

After this the various contingents of the army were dismissed to their several cities and Agesilaus also sailed back home. And from that time on the Athenians, Boeotians, Argives, and their allies continued the war, making Corinth their base, and the Lacedaemonians and their allies from Sicyon. As the Corinthians, however, saw that their own land was being laid waste and that many of them were being killed because they were continually near the enemy, while the rest of the allies were living in peace themselves and their lands were under cultivation, the most and best of them came to desire peace, and uniting together urged this course upon one another. [2] But the Argives, Athenians, Boeotians, and those among the Corinthians who had received a share of the money from the King, as well as those who had made themselves chiefly responsible for the war, realizing that if they did not put out of the way the people who had turned toward peace, the state would be in danger of going over to the Lacedaemonians again, undertook, under these circumstances, to bring about a general massacre. And in the

first place, they devised the most sacrilegious of all schemes; for other people, even if a man is condemned by process of law, do not put him to death during a religious festival; but these men chose the last day of the Euclea, because they thought they would catch more people in the market-place, so as to kill them. [3] Then again, when the signal was given to those who had been told whom they were to kill, they drew their swords and struck men down, — one while standing in a social group, another while sitting in his seat, still another in the theatre, and another even while he was sitting as judge in a dramatic contest. Now when the situation became known, the better classes immediately fled, in part to the statues of the gods in the market-place, in part to the altars; then the conspirators, utterly sacrilegious and without so much as a single thought for civilized usage, both those who gave the orders and those who obeyed, kept up the slaughter even at the holy places, so that some even among those who were not victims of the attack, being right-minded men, were dismayed in their hearts at beholding such impiety. [4] In this way many of the older men were killed; for it was they especially who chanced to be in the market-place; while the younger men, since Pasimelus suspected what was going to happen, had remained quietly in the gymnasium of Craneium. But when they heard the outcry and some had come to them in flight from the massacre, thereupon, rushing up on the slopes of Acrocorinthus, they beat off an attack which the Argives and the rest made upon them. [5] While they were deliberating, however, as to what they should do, the capital fell from a column, although there had been neither earthquake nor wind. Likewise, when they sacrificed, the omens from the victims were such that the seers said it was better to descend from the place. And at first they retired beyond the territory of Corinth with the intention of going into exile; but when their friends and mothers and sisters kept coming to them and trying to dissuade them, and, further, some of the very men who were in power promised under oath that they should suffer no harm, under these circumstances some of them returned home. [6] They saw, however, that those who were in power were ruling like tyrants, and perceived that their state was being put out of existence, inasmuch as boundary stones had been removed and their fatherland was called Argos instead of Corinth; and, while they

were compelled to share in the rights of citizenship at Argos, for which they had no desire, they had less influence in their state than aliens. Some of them, accordingly, came to the belief that life under such conditions was not endurable; but if they endeavoured to make their fatherland Corinth again, even as it had been from the beginning, and to make it free, and not only pure of the stain of the murderers, but blest with an orderly government, they thought it a worthy deed, if they could accomplish these things, to become saviours of their fatherland, but if they could not do so, to meet a most praiseworthy death in striving after the fairest and greatest blessings. [7] Accordingly two men, Pasimelus and Alcimenes, undertook by wading through a torrent to effect a meeting with Praxitas, the Lacedaemonian polemarch, who chanced to be on garrison duty with his regiment at Sicyon, and told him that they could give him entrance to the walls which reached down to Lechaemum. And Praxitas, since even before this he had known the two men to be trustworthy, trusted them, and after arranging that the regiment which was about to depart from Sicyon should also remain, made plans for his entrance. [8] And when the two men, partly by accident and partly by contrivance, had been made sentinels at the very gate where the trophy stands, then Praxitas came with his regiment, the Sicyonians, and all the Corinthians who chanced to be exiles. But when he was at the gate, being afraid to make the entry, he wished to send in one of his trusted men to examine the situation inside. Then the two Corinthians led him in and showed him everything in so straightforward a manner that the man who went in reported that all was truly just as they said. Thereupon Praxitas entered. [9] The walls, however, are a long distance from each other; his troops, in consequence, when they formed in line for battle, thought themselves to be few in number, and therefore made a stockade and as good a trench as they could in front of them, to protect them until their allies should come to their aid. Besides, there was a garrison of Thebans in their rear, at the port.

Now the day after the night on which they entered they passed without a battle; but on the following day came the Argives, hurrying with all speed to the rescue; and finding the Lacedaemonians stationed on the right of their own line, the Sicyonians next to them,

and the Corinthian exiles, about one hundred and fifty in number, by the eastern wall, the enemy formed in line against them with the mercenaries under Iphicrates close to the eastern wall, and next to them the Argives; while the Corinthians from the city occupied their left wing. [10] Then the Argives, filled with overweening confidence on account of their numbers, advanced at once; and they defeated the Sicyonians, and breaking through the stockade pursued them to the sea and there killed many of them. But Pasimachus, the Lacedaemonian commander of horse, at the head of a few horsemen, when he saw the Sicyonians hard pressed, tied his horses to trees, took from the Sicyonians their shields, and advanced with a volunteer force against the Argives. The Argives, however, seeing the Sigmas upon the shields, did not fear these opponents at all, thinking that they were Sicyonians. Then, as the story goes, Pasimachus said: "By the twin gods, Argives, these Sigmas will deceive you," and came to close quarters with them; and fighting thus with a few against many he was slain, and likewise others of his party [11] Meanwhile the Corinthian exiles, being victorious over the troops opposed to them, pushed their way through in the inland direction and got near the wall which surrounded the city. As for the Lacedaemonians, when they perceived that the forces opposed to the Sicyonians were victorious, they issued forth from the stockade and went to the rescue, keeping the stockade on their left. But when the Argives heard that the Lacedaemonians were in their rear, they turned around and burst out of the stockade again on the run. And those upon their extreme right were struck on their unprotected sides by the Lacedaemonians and killed, but those who were near the wall, crowded together in a disorderly mass, continued their retreat towards the city. When, however, they came upon the Corinthian exiles and discovered that they were enemies, they turned back again. Thereupon some of them, climbing up by the steps to the top of the wall, jumped down on the other side and were killed, others perished around the steps, being shoved and struck by the enemy, and still others were trodden under foot by one another and suffocated. [12] And the Lacedaemonians were in no uncertainty about whom they should kill; for then at least heaven granted them an achievement such as they could never even have prayed for. For to

have a crowd of enemies delivered into their hands, frightened, panic-stricken, presenting their unprotected sides, no one rallying to his own defence, but all rendering all possible assistance toward their own destruction, — how could one help regarding this as a gift from heaven? On that day, at all events, so many fell within a short time that men accustomed to see heaps of corn, wood, or stones, beheld then heaps of dead bodies. Furthermore, the Boeotians of the garrison in the port were also killed, some upon the walls, and others after they had climbed up on the roofs of the ship-houses. [13] After this the Corinthians and Argives carried off their dead under a truce, and the allies of the Lacedaemonians came to their aid. And when they were gathered together, in the first place Praxitas decided to tear down a portion of the walls so as to make a passage through wide enough for an army, and secondly, putting himself at the head of his army, he advanced by the road to Megara and captured by storm, first Sidus and then Crommyon. And after stationing garrisons in these strongholds he marched back again; then he fortified Epieiceia, in order that it might serve as an outpost to protect the territory of his allies, and then disbanded his army and himself withdrew by the road to Lacedaemon. [14]

From this time on large armies of citizens were no longer employed on either side, for the states merely sent out garrisons, the one party to Corinth, the other to Sicyon, and guarded the walls of these cities. Each side, however, had mercenaries, and with these prosecuted the war vigorously. [15]

It was at this time also that Iphicrates invaded the territory of Phlius, set an ambush, meanwhile plundering with a few followers, and when the men from the city came out against him in an unguarded way, killed so many of them that the Phliasians, although before this they had refused to receive the Lacedaemonians within their wall, from fear that the latter would bring back to the city the people who said that they were in exile on account of their Lacedaemonian sympathies, were then seized with such panic fear of the men from Corinth that they sent for the Lacedaemonians and put the city and the citadel in their hands to guard. And the Lacedaemonians, although they were well minded toward the exiles, during all the time that they held their city made not so much as the

least mention of a restoration of exiles, but when the city seemed to have recovered its courage, they departed, after giving over to the Phliasians both their city and their laws unchanged, precisely as they were when they took the city in charge. [16] Again, Iphicrates and his troops invaded many districts of Arcadia also, where they plundered and made attacks upon the walled towns; for the hoplites of the Arcadians did not come out from their walls at all to meet them; such fear they had conceived of the peltasts. But the peltasts in their turn were so afraid of the Lacedaemonians that they did not approach within a javelin's cast of the hoplites; for it had once happened that the younger men among the Lacedaemonians, pursuing even from so great a distance as that, overtook and killed some of them. [17] But while the Lacedaemonians felt contempt for the peltasts, they felt even greater contempt for their own allies; for once, when the Mantineans went out against peltasts who had sallied forth from the wall that extends to Lechaeum, they had given way under the javelins of the peltasts and some of them had been killed as they fled; so that the Lacedaemonians were even so unkind as to make game of their allies, saying that they feared the peltasts just as children fear hobgoblins. As for themselves, setting out from Lechaeum as a base with one regiment and the Corinthian exiles, they made expeditions all round about the city of the Corinthians; [18] but the Athenians, on the other hand, fearing the power of the Lacedaemonians and thinking that they might come against them, now that the long walls of the Corinthians had been destroyed, decided that it was best to rebuild the walls destroyed by Praxitas. So they came with their full force, accompanied by masons and carpenters, and completed within a few days the wall toward Sicyon and the west, making a very excellent wall of it, and then went on to build the eastern wall in more leisurely fashion. [19]

The Lacedaemonians on their side, considering that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their lands at home and taking pleasure in the war, made an expedition against them. Agesilaus was in command, and after laying waste all their territory he proceeded straight from there across the mountains by way of Tenea to Corinth and captured the walls that had been rebuilt by the Athenians. And his brother Teleutias also came to his support by sea, with about

twelve triremes; so that their mother was deemed happy in that on the same day one of the sons whom she bore captured by land the walls of the enemy and the other by sea his ships and dock-yards. And at that time, after accomplishing these things, Agesilaus disbanded the army of the allies and led his citizen force back home.

5.

After this the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing from the Corinthian exiles that the people in the city had all their cattle in Piraeum and there kept them safe, and that many were being maintained from this supply, made another expedition to the territory of Corinth, Agesilaus being in command this time also. And first he came to the Isthmus; for it was the month during which the Isthmian games are celebrated, and the Argives chanced at the time to be offering the sacrifice there to Poseidon, as though Argos were Corinth. But when they learned that Agesilaus was approaching, they left behind both the victims that had been offered and the breakfast that was being made ready and retired to the city in very great fear, along the road leading to Cenchreae. [2] Agesilaus, however, did not pursue them, even though he saw them, but encamping in the sacred precinct offered sacrifice himself to the god and waited until the Corinthian exiles had conducted the sacrifice and the games in honour of Poseidon. But when Agesilaus had left the Isthmus, the Argives celebrated the Isthmian games all over again. In that year, accordingly, in some of the contests individual competitors were beaten twice, while in others the same competitors were twice proclaimed victors. [3]

On the fourth day Agesilaus led his army against Piraeum. But seeing that it was guarded by many, he withdrew after breakfast in the direction of the capital, as though the city were going to be betrayed to him; so that the Corinthians, in fear that the city was to be betrayed by some one, summoned Iphicrates with the greater part of his peltasts. Agesilaus, however, upon perceiving that they had passed by during the night, turned about, and at daybreak proceeded to lead his army to Piraeum. And he himself advanced by way of the hot springs, but he sent one regiment up the heights to proceed along the topmost ridge. On that night, accordingly, he was in camp at the hot springs, while the regiment bivouacked, holding possession of the heights. [4] It was then that Agesilaus won credit by a trifling but

timely expedient. For since no one among those who carried provisions for the regiment had brought fire, and it was cold, not only because they were at a high altitude, but also because there had been rain and hail towards evening — and besides, they had gone up in light clothing suitable to the summer season — and they were shivering and, in the darkness, had no heart for their dinner, Agesilaus sent up not less than ten men carrying fire in earthen pots. And when these men had climbed up by one way and another and many large fires had been made, since there was a great deal of fuel at hand, all the soldiers anointed themselves and many of them only then began their dinner. It was on this night also that the temple of Poseidon was seen burning; but no one knows by whom it was set on fire. [5] Now when the people in Piraeum perceived that the heights were occupied, they gave no further thought to defending themselves, but fled for refuge to the Heraeum, men and women, slaves and freemen, and the greater part of the cattle. And Agesilaus with the army proceeded along the sea shore; while the regiment, descending at the same time from the heights, captured Oenoe, the stronghold which had been fortified in Piraeum, and took possession of all that was within it, and in fact all the soldiers on that day possessed themselves of provisions in abundance from the farms. Meanwhile those who had taken refuge in the Heraeum came out, with the purpose of leaving it to Agesilaus to decide as he chose in regard to them. He decided to deliver over to the exiles all those who had a part in the massacre, and that all else should be sold. [6] Thereupon the prisoners came forth from the Heraeum, a very great number of them, together with their property; and many embassies from various states presented themselves, while from the Boeotians in particular ambassadors had come to ask what they should do in order to obtain peace. Agesilaus, however, in a very lofty way affected not even to see these ambassadors, although Pharax, diplomatic agent for the Thebans at Lacedaemon, was standing beside them for the purpose of presenting them to him; but sitting in the circular structure near the lake, he occupied himself in watching the great quantity of prisoners and property that was being brought out. And some Lacedaemonians from the camp followed with their spears to guard the prisoners, and were much regarded by the

bystanders; for somehow men who are fortunate and victorious seem ever to be a noteworthy spectacle. [7] But while Agesilaus was still sitting there in the attitude of a man who exulted in what had been accomplished, a horseman rode up, his horse sweating profusely. And being asked by many people what news he brought, he made no reply to anyone, but when he was near Agesilaus, he leaped down from his horse, ran up to him, and with a very gloomy face told him of the disaster to the regiment stationed in Lechaeum. When Agesilaus heard this, he immediately leaped up from his seat, seized his spear, and ordered the herald to summon the commanders of regiments and of fifties and the leaders of the allies. [8] When they came running together, he told the rest of them to follow along as quickly as possible after swallowing what they could — for they had not yet breakfasted — while he himself with his tent companions went on ahead breakfastless. And the spearmen of his body-guard, fully armed, accompanied him with all speed, he leading the way and his tent companions following after him. But when he had already passed the hot springs and come to the plain of Lechaeum, three horsemen rode up and reported that the bodies of the dead had been recovered. When he heard this, he gave the order to ground arms, and after resting the army for a short time, led it back again to the Heraeum; and on the following day he exposed the prisoners and captured property for sale. [9]

The ambassadors of the Boeotians were now summoned and asked for what purpose they had come. They made no further mention of peace, but said that if there were nothing to hinder, they desired to pass into the city to join their own soldiers. And Agesilaus said with a laugh, “On the contrary, I know that you are not desirous of seeing your soldiers, but of beholding the good fortune of your friends, that you may see how great it has been. Wait, therefore,” he said, “for I will conduct you myself, and by being with me you will find out better what manner of thing it is that has happened.” [10] And he did not belie his words, but on the next day, after offering sacrifice, he led his army to the city. He did not throw down the trophy, but by cutting down and burning any fruit-tree that was still left, he showed that no one wanted to come out against him. When he had done this, he encamped near Lechaeum; as for the ambassadors

of the Thebans, although he did not let them go into the city, yet he sent them home by sea to Creusis. Now inasmuch as such a calamity had been unusual with the Lacedaemonians, there was great mourning throughout the Laconian army, except among those whose sons, fathers, or brothers had fallen where they stood; they, however, went about like victors, with shining countenances and full of exultation in their own misfortune. [11]

Now it was in the following way that the disaster to the regiment happened. The Amyclaeans invariably go back home to the festival of the Hyacinthia for the paean to Apollo, whether they chance to be on a campaign or away from home for any other reason. Accordingly Agesilaus had on this occasion left behind at Lechaeum all the Amyclaeans in the army. Now the polemarch in command of the garrison there detailed the garrison troops of the allies to guard the wall, and himself with the regiment of hoplites and the regiment of horsemen conducted the Amyclaeans along past the city of the Corinthians. [12] And when they were distant from Sicyon about twenty or thirty stadia, the polemarch with the hoplites, who were about six hundred in number, set out to return to Lechaeum, and ordered the commander of horse to follow after him with the regiment of horsemen after they had escorted the Amyclaeans as far as they themselves directed. Now they were by no means unaware that there were many peltasts and many hoplites in Corinth; but on account of their previous successes they contemptuously thought that no one would attack them. [13] But those in the city of the Corinthians, both Callias, the son of Hipponicus, commander of the Athenian hoplites, and Iphicrates, leader of the peltasts, when they descried the Lacedaemonians and saw that they were not only few in number, but also unaccompanied by either peltasts or cavalry, thought that it was safe to attack them with their force of peltasts. For if they should proceed along the road, they could be attacked with javelins on their unprotected side and destroyed; and if they should undertake to pursue, they with their peltasts, the nimblest of all troops, could easily escape the hoplites. [14] Having come to this conclusion, they led forth their troops. And Callias formed his hoplites in line of battle not far from the city, while Iphicrates with his peltasts attacked the Lacedaemonian regiment. Now when the

Lacedaemonians were being attacked with javelins, and several men had been wounded and several others slain, they directed the shield-bearers to take up these wounded men and carry them back to Lechaem; and these were the only men in the regiment who were really saved. Then the polemarch ordered the first ten year-classes to drive off their assailants. [15] But when they pursued, they caught no one, since they were hoplites pursuing peltasts at the distance of a javelin's cast; for Iphicrates had given orders to the peltasts to retire before the hoplites got near them; and further, when the Lacedaemonians were retiring from the pursuit, being scattered because each man had pursued as swiftly as he could, the troops of Iphicrates turned about, and not only did those in front again hurl javelins upon the Lacedaemonians, but also others on the flank, running along to reach their unprotected side. Indeed, at the very first pursuit the peltasts shot down nine or ten of them. And as soon as this happened, they began to press the attack much more boldly. [16] Then, as the Lacedaemonians continued to suffer losses, the polemarch again ordered the first fifteen year-classes to pursue. But when these fell back, even more of them were shot down than at the first retirement. And now that the best men had already been killed, the horsemen joined them, and with the horsemen they again undertook a pursuit. But when the peltasts turned to flight, at that moment the horsemen managed their attack badly; for they did not chase the enemy until they had killed some of them, but both in the pursuit and in the turning backward kept an even front with the hoplites. And what with striving and suffering in this way again and again, the Lacedaemonians themselves kept continually becoming fewer and fainter of heart, while their enemies were becoming bolder, and those who attacked them continually more numerous. [17] Therefore in desperation they gathered together on a small hill, distant from the sea about two stadia, and from Lechaem about sixteen or seventeen stadia. And the men in Lechaem, upon perceiving them, embarked in small boats and coasted along until they came opposite the hill. Then the troops, being now desperate, because they were suffering and being slain, while unable to inflict any harm themselves, and, besides this, seeing the Athenian hoplites also coming against them, took to flight. And some of them plunged

into the sea, and some few made their escape with the horsemen to Lechaem. But in all the battles and in the flight about two hundred and fifty of them were killed. [18] Thus it was that these events took place.

After this Agesilaus departed with the defeated regiment, and left another behind him in Lechaem. And as he passed along homeward, he led his troops into the cities as late in the day as he could and set out again in the morning as early as he could. When he approached Mantinea, by leaving Orchomenus before dawn he passed by that city while it was still dark: so hard, he thought, would the soldiers find it to see the Mantineans rejoicing at their misfortune. [19] After this, Iphicrates was very successful in his other undertakings also. For although garrisons had been stationed in Sidus and Crommyon by Praxitas when he captured these strongholds, and in Oenoe by Agesilaus at the time when Piraeum was taken, Iphicrates captured all these places. In Lechaem, however, the Lacedaemonians and their allies maintained their garrison. And the Corinthian exiles, no longer proceeding by land from Sicyon past Corinth, on account of the disaster to the regiment, but sailing along the coast to Lechaem and sallying forth from there, caused annoyance to the people in the city even as they suffered annoyance themselves.

6.

After this the Achaeans, who were in possession of Calydon — in ancient times an Aetolian town — and had made the people of Calydon Achaean citizens, were compelled to keep a garrison there. For the Acarnanians made an expedition against the city, and some of the Athenians and Boeotians joined with them, because the Acarnanians were their allies. Therefore, being hard pressed by them, the Achaeans sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon. And upon reaching there the ambassadors said that they were not receiving fair treatment from the Lacedaemonians. [2] “For, gentlemen,” they said, “we serve with you howsoever you direct and follow whithersoever you lead; but now that we are besieged by the Acarnanians and their allies, the Athenians and Boeotians, you take no thought for us. Now we cannot hold out if these things go on in this way, but either we shall abandon the war in Peloponnesus and all of us cross over and make war against the Acarnanians and their allies, or else we shall make peace

on whatever terms we can.” [3] Now they said this by way of covertly threatening to withdraw from their alliance with the Lacedaemonians unless the latter should help them in return. In view of this statement, it seemed to the ephors and the assembly that it was necessary to undertake a campaign with the Achaeans against the Acarnanians. And they sent out Agesilaus, with two Lacedaemonian regiments and the corresponding contingent of the allies. The Achaeans, however, joined in the campaign with their entire force. [4] Now when Agesilaus crossed over, all the Acarnanians of the country districts fled to the walled towns, and all their cattle were driven off to remote parts to prevent their being captured by the army. But when Agesilaus arrived at the borders of the enemy’s country, he sent to the general assembly of the Acarnanians at Stratus and said that unless they discontinued their alliance with the Boeotians and Athenians and chose his people and the Achaeans as allies, he would lay waste their whole territory, one portion after another, and would not spare any portion of it. [5] Then, upon their refusing to obey him, he proceeded to do so, continually devastating the land as he went and hence advancing not more than ten or twelve stadia a day. The Acarnanians, therefore, deeming it safe on account of the slow progress of the army, brought down their cattle from the mountains and continued to till the greater part of their land. [6] But when it seemed to Agesilaus that they were now very bold, on the fifteenth or sixteenth day from the time when he entered the country, he offered sacrifice in the morning and accomplished before evening a march of one hundred and sixty stadia to the lake on whose banks were almost all the cattle of the Acarnanians, and he captured herds of cattle and droves of horses in large numbers besides all sorts of other stock and great numbers of slaves. And after effecting this capture and remaining there through the ensuing day, he made public sale of the booty. [7] Now, however, many peltasts of the Acarnanians came up, and, inasmuch as Agesilaus was encamped on the mountain-side, by throwing stones and discharging their slings from the ridge of the mountain they succeeded, without suffering any harm themselves, in forcing the army to descend to the plain, even though the men were already making preparations for dinner. But at night the Acarnanians departed, and the troops posted sentinels and lay down to rest. [8]

On the next day Agesilaus undertook to lead his army away. Now the road which led out from the meadow and plain surrounding the lake was narrow on account of the mountains which encircled it round; and the Acarnanians, taking possession of these mountains, threw stones and javelins upon the Lacedaemonians from the heights upon their right, and descending gradually to the spurs of the mountains pressed the attack and caused trouble to such an extent that the army was no longer able to proceed. [9] And when the hoplites and the horsemen left the phalanx and pursued their assailants, they could never do them any harm; for when the Acarnanians fell back, they were speedily in safe places. Then Agesilaus, thinking it a difficult matter for his troops to go out through the narrow pass under these attacks, decided to pursue the men who were attacking them on the left, very many in number; for the mountain on this side was more accessible both for hoplites and horses. [10] Now while he was sacrificing, the Acarnanians pressed them very hard with throwing stones and javelins, and coming close up to them wounded many. But when he gave the word, the first fifteen year-classes of the hoplites ran forth, the horsemen charged, and he himself with the other troops followed. [11] Then those among the Acarnanians who had come down the mountains and were throwing missiles quickly gave way and, as they tried to escape uphill, were killed one after another; on the summit, however, were the hoplites of the Acarnanians, drawn up in line of battle, and the greater part of the peltasts, and there they stood firm, and not only discharged their other missiles, but by hurling their spears struck down horsemen and killed some horses. But when they were now almost at close quarters with the Lacedaemonian hoplites, they gave way, and there fell on that day about three hundred of them. [12] When these things had taken place, Agesilaus set up a trophy. And afterwards, going about through the country, he laid it waste with axe and fire; he also made assaults upon some of the cities, being compelled by the Achaeans to do so, but did not capture any one of them. And when at length autumn was coming on, he set about departing from the country. [13]

The Achaeans, however, thought that he had accomplished nothing because he had gained possession of no city, with or without

its consent, and they begged him, even if he did nothing else, at least to stay long enough to prevent the Acarnanians from sowing their seed. He replied that what they were proposing was the opposite of the advantageous course. "For," he said, "I shall again lead an expedition hither next summer; and the more these people sow, the more they will desire peace." [14] Having said this, he departed overland through Aetolia by such roads as neither many nor few could traverse against the will of the Aetolians; they allowed him, however, to pass through; for they hoped that he would aid them to recover Naupactus. And when he reached the point opposite Rhium, he crossed over at that point and returned home; for the Athenians barred the passage from Calydon to Peloponnesus with their triremes, using Oeniadae as a base.

7.

When the winter had passed, at the very beginning of spring Agesilaus again called out the ban against the Acarnanians, in accordance with his promise to the Achaeans. But the Acarnanians, learning of this and thinking that inasmuch as their cities were in the interior they would be just as truly besieged by the people who destroyed their corn as if they were besieged by an army encamped around them, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and concluded peace with the Achaeans and an alliance with the Lacedaemonians. Thus ended the affair of the Acarnanians. [2]

After this it seemed to the Lacedaemonians that it was not safe for them to undertake a campaign against the Athenians or against the Boeotians while leaving in their rear a hostile state bordering upon Lacedaemon and one so large as that of the Argives; they accordingly called out the ban against Argos. Now when Agesipolis learned that he was to lead the ban, and when the sacrifices which he offered at the frontier proved favourable, he went to Olympia and consulted the oracle of the god, asking whether it would be consistent with piety if he did not acknowledge the holy truce claimed by the Argives; for, he urged, it was not when the appointed time came, but when the Lacedaemonians were about to invade their territory, that they pleaded the sacred months. And the god signified to him that it was consistent with piety for him not to acknowledge a holy truce which was pleaded unjustly. Then Agesipolis proceeded

straight from there to Delphi and asked Apollo in his turn whether he also held the same opinion as his father Zeus in regard to the truce. And Apollo answered that he did hold quite the same opinion. [3] Under these circumstances Agesipolis led forth his army from Phlius — for it had been assembling for him there while he was away visiting the holy places — and entered the territory of Argos by way of Nemea. And when the Argives realized that they would not be able to hinder the invasion, they sent, as they were wont to do, two heralds, garlanded, pleading a holy truce. But Agesipolis in reply said that the gods did not think they were making this plea justly, and so he refused to acknowledge the truce, but advanced into their territory and caused great distress and terror both in the country and in the city. [4]

Now while he was at dinner in the land of the Argives, on the first evening of his stay there, and when the after-dinner libations had just been made, the god sent an earthquake; and all the Lacedaemonians, those in the royal tent taking the lead, struck up the paean to Poseidon; and the rest of the soldiers expected to retire from the country, because Agis likewise, on an occasion when an earthquake took place, had withdrawn his army from Elis. But Agesipolis said that if the god had sent an earthquake when he was about to invade, he should have thought that he was forbidding the invasion; but since he sent it after he had invaded, he believed that he was urging him on; [5] accordingly, on the next day, after offering sacrifices to Poseidon, he again led on his forces, advancing far into the country. And inasmuch as Agesilaus had lately made an expedition into Argos, Agesipolis, finding out from the soldiers how far Agesilaus had led his army in the direction of the wall, and how far he had laid waste the land, endeavoured, like an athlete in the pentathlum, to go beyond him at every point. [6] On one occasion it was only when he was being pelted with missiles from the towers that he recrossed the trenches around the city wall; and once, when most of the Argives were away in Laconia, he approached so near the gates that the Argives who were at the gates shut out the horsemen of the Boeotians who wanted to enter, through fear that the Lacedaemonians would rush in at the gates along with them; so that the horsemen were compelled to cling, like bats, tight to the walls

beneath the battlements. And if it had not chanced that the Cretans were off on a plundering expedition to Nauplia at that time, many men and horses would have been shot down by their arrows. [7] After this, while Agesipolis was encamping near the enclosed space, a thunderbolt fell into his camp; and some men were killed by being struck, others by the shock. After this, desiring to fortify a garrison post at the entrance to the Argive country which leads past Mount Celusa, he offered sacrifice; and the livers of the victims were found to be lacking a lobe. When this happened, he led his army away and disbanded it, having inflicted very great harm upon the Argives because he had invaded their land unexpectedly.

8.

As for the war by land, it was being waged in the manner described. I will now recount what happened by sea and in the cities on the coast while all these things were going on, and will describe such of the events as are worthy of record, while those which do not deserve mention I will pass over. In the first place, then, Pharnabazus and Conon, after defeating the Lacedaemonians in the naval battle, made a tour of the islands and the cities on the sea coast, drove out the Laconian governors, and encouraged the cities by saying that they would not establish fortified citadels within their walls and would leave them independent. [2] And the people of the cities received this announcement with joy and approval, and enthusiastically sent gifts of friendship to Pharnabazus. Conon, it seems, was advising Pharnabazus that if he acted in this way, all the cities would be friendly to him, but if it should be evident that he wanted to enslave them, he said that each single city was capable of making a great deal of trouble and that there was danger that the people of Greece also, if they learned of this, would become united. [3] Pharnabazus was accordingly accepting this counsel. Then, disembarking at Ephesus, he gave Conon forty triremes and told him to meet him at Sestus, while he himself proceeded by land along the coast to his own province. For Dercylidas, who had long been an enemy of his, chanced to be in Abydus at the time when the naval battle took place, and he did not, like the other Lacedaemonian governors, quit the city, but took possession of Abydus and was keeping it friendly to the Lacedaemonians. For he called together the

people of the town and spoke as follows: [4]

“Gentlemen, at this moment it is possible for you, who even in former days have been friends of our state, to show yourselves benefactors of the Lacedaemonians. For showing loyalty in the midst of prosperity calls for no particular admiration, but always, if men show themselves steadfast when friends have fallen upon misfortunes, this is remembered for all time. Do not suppose that just because we have been defeated in the naval battle, we are therefore ever afterward to be counted for naught. Nay, even in former times, you recall, when the Athenians were rulers of the sea, our state was able both to confer benefit upon friends and to inflict harm upon enemies. And the greater the extent to which the other cities have, along with fortune, turned away from us, by so much the greater in reality would your fidelity be made manifest. But if anyone is afraid that we may be besieged here both by land and by sea, let him reflect that there is not yet a Greek fleet on the sea, and if the barbarians shall undertake to rule the sea, Greece will not tolerate this; so that in helping herself she will also become your ally.” [5]

Upon hearing these words, the Abydenes yielded compliance, not unwillingly, but with enthusiasm, and they received kindly the Lacedaemonian governors who came to Abydus and sent for those who were elsewhere. Then, after many good men had been collected in the city, Dercylidas crossed over to Sestus, which is opposite Abydus and distant not more than eight stadia, gathered together all who had obtained land in the Chersonese through the Lacedaemonians, and received also all those governors who had been driven out in like fashion from the cities on the European side, saying to them that they ought not to be discouraged, either, when they reflected that even in Asia, which had belonged from all time to the King, there was Temnus — not a large city — and Aegae and other places in which people were able to dwell without being subject to the King. “In any event,” he said, “what stronger place could you find than Sestus, what place harder to capture by siege? For it is a place which requires both ships and troops if it is to be besieged.” By such words he kept these men also from being panic-stricken. [6]

Now when Pharnabazus found both Abydus and Sestus in this condition, he made proclamation to their inhabitants that if they did

not expel the Lacedaemonians he would make war upon them. And upon their refusing to obey, he directed Conon to prevent them from sailing the sea, while he himself proceeded to lay waste the territory of the Abydenes. But failing to make any progress toward subduing them, he himself went back home, ordering Conon to try to win over the cities along the Hellespont, to the end that as large a fleet as possible might be gathered together by the coming of the spring. For he was angry with the Lacedaemonians on account of what he had suffered at their hands, and therefore desired above all things to go to their country and take what vengeance upon them he could. [7] In such occupations, accordingly, they passed the winter; but at the opening of spring, having fully manned a large number of ships and hired a force of mercenaries besides, Pharnabazus, and Conon with him, sailed through the islands to Melos, and making that their base, went on to Lacedaemon. And first Pharnabazus put in at Pherae and laid waste this region; then he made descents at one point and another of the coast and did whatever harm he could. But being fearful because the country was destitute of harbours, because the Lacedaemonians might send relief forces, and because provisions were scarce in the land, he quickly turned about, and sailing away, came to anchor at Phoenicus in the island of Cythera. [8]

And when those who held possession of the city of the Cytherians abandoned their walls through fear of being captured by storm, he allowed them to depart to Laconia under a truce, and having repaired the wall of the Cytherians, left in Cythera a garrison of his own and Nicophemus, an Athenian, as governor. After doing these things and sailing to the Isthmus of Corinth and there exhorting the allies to carry on the war zealously and show themselves men faithful to the King, he left them all the money that he had and sailed off homeward. [9] But when Conon said that if he would allow him to have the fleet, he would maintain it by contributions from the islands and would meanwhile put in at Athens and aid the Athenians in rebuilding their long walls and the wall around Piraeus, adding that he knew nothing could be a heavier blow to the Lacedaemonians than this. "And by this act, therefore," he said, "you will have conferred a favour upon the Athenians and have taken vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians, inasmuch as you will undo for them the

deed for whose accomplishment they underwent the most toil and trouble.” Pharnabazus, upon hearing this, eagerly dispatched him to Athens and gave him additional money for the rebuilding of the walls. [10]

Upon his arrival Conon erected a large part of the wall, giving his own crews for the work, paying the wages of carpenters and masons, and meeting whatever other expense was necessary. There were some parts of the wall, however, which the Athenians themselves, as well as volunteers from Boeotia and from other states, aided in building. The Corinthians, on the other hand, manned ships with the money which Pharnabazus left, appointed Agathinus as admiral, and established their mastery of the sea in the gulf around Achaëa and Lechaëum. And the Lacedaemonians on their side manned ships, which Podanemus commanded. [11] But when he was killed in an attack which took place, and Pollis in his turn, who was vice-admiral, was wounded and went home, Herippidas took command of these ships. Proaenus, the Corinthian, however, who had succeeded to the command of the ships of Agathinus, abandoned Rhium, and the Lacedaemonians took it over. After this Teleutias came to assume charge of the ships of Herippidas, and he in his turn was now master of the gulf. [12]

Now the Lacedaemonians, upon hearing that Conon was not only rebuilding their wall for the Athenians out of the King’s money, but was also, while maintaining his fleet from the latter’s funds, engaged in winning over the islands and the coast cities on the mainland to the Athenians, conceived the idea that if they informed Tiribazus, who was the King’s general, of these things, they could either bring Tiribazus over entirely to their side or at least put an end to his maintaining Conon’s fleet. Having come to this conclusion, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus with instructions to inform Tiribazus of these facts, and to endeavour to make peace between the state and the King. [13] But when the Athenians learned of this, they likewise sent ambassadors, — Conon at their head, and Hermogenes, Dion, Callisthenes, and Callimedon. They also invited ambassadors from their allies to go with them; and ambassadors did come from the Boeotians, from Corinth, and from Argos. [14] When they had reached their destination, Antalcidas said to Tiribazus that he had come

desiring peace between his state and the King, and, furthermore, just such a peace as the King had wished for. For the Lacedaemonians, he said, urged no claim against the King to the Greek cities in Asia and they were content that all the islands and the Greek cities in general should be independent. "And yet," he said, "if we are ready to agree to such conditions, why should the King be at war with us or be spending money? Indeed, if such terms were made, we could not take the field against the King, either; the Athenians could not unless we assumed the leadership, and we could not if the cities were independent." [15]

Now Tiribazus was mightily pleased at hearing the words of Antalcidas; but to the opponents of Antalcidas these proposals went no further than words. For the Athenians were afraid to agree that the cities and the islands should be independent lest they should be deprived of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and the Thebans, lest they should be compelled to leave the Boeotian cities independent; while the Argives thought that they could not keep Corinth as Argos, a thing which they desired, if such an agreement and peace were concluded. So it was that this project of peace came to naught, and the ambassadors returned to their several homes. [16]

As for Tiribazus, he thought that it was not safe for him to take the side of the Lacedaemonians without the King's approval; in secret, however, he gave money to Antalcidas, to the end that a fleet might be manned by the Lacedaemonians and thus the Athenians and their allies be made more desirous of peace, and he also imprisoned Conon, on the ground that he was wronging the King and that the charges made by the Lacedaemonians were true. After doing these things he proceeded to go up to the King for the purpose of telling him not only the proposals of the Lacedaemonians, but also that he had arrested Conon as a wrong-doer, and likewise to ask the King what he should do about all these matters. [17] Now the King, when Tiribazus had arrived at his capital in the interior, sent down Struthas to take charge of affairs on the coast. Struthas, however, devoted himself assiduously to the Athenians and their allies, remembering all the harm which the King's country had suffered at the hands of Agesilaus. The Lacedaemonians accordingly, when they saw that Struthas was hostile to them and friendly to the Athenians, sent

Thibron to make war upon him. And Thibron, crossing over to Asia and employing as a base of operations not only Ephesus, but also the cities in the plain of the Maeander — Priene, Leucophrys, and Achilleum, — proceeded to plunder the territory of the King. [18]

As time went on, however, Struthas, who had observed that the raiding expeditions of Thibron were in every case carried out in a disorderly and disdainful fashion, sent horsemen to the plain and ordered them to rush upon the enemy and surround and carry off whatever they could. Now it chanced that Thibron, having finished breakfast, was engaged in throwing the discus with Thersander, the flute-player. For Thersander was not only a good flute-player, but he also laid claim to physical strength, inasmuch as he was an imitator of things Lacedaemonian. [19] Then Struthas, upon seeing that the enemy were making their raid in disorder, and that the foremost of them were few in number, appeared upon the scene with a large force of horsemen, drawn up in good order. And the first whom they killed were Thibron and Thersander; and when these men fell they put to flight the rest of the army also, and in the pursuit struck down a very great many. Some of Thibron's men, however, made their escape to the friendly cities and a larger number had been left in camp because they had learned of the expedition too late. For frequently, as in this case also, Thibron undertook his expeditions without even sending out orders. Thus ended these events. [20]

Now when those of the Rhodians who had been banished by the democratic faction came to Lacedaemon, they set forth that it was not expedient for the Lacedaemonians to allow the Athenians to subdue Rhodes and thus gain for themselves so great a power. The Lacedaemonians, therefore, realizing that if the commons should prevail, all Rhodes would belong to the Athenians, while if the wealthier classes should prevail, it would be their own possession, manned for them eight ships and appointed Ecdicus as admiral to command them. [21] They sent out Diphridas also on board these ships, and ordered him to cross over into Asia and to keep safe the cities which had received Thibron, and then, after assuming command of that part of Thibron's army which was left alive, and after gathering another army from wherever he could, to make war upon Struthas. Diphridas accordingly set about these things, and he

was successful not only in his other undertakings, but particularly in capturing Tigranes, the husband of Struthas' daughter, and his wife also, as they were journeying to Sardis, and in obtaining a large ransom for their release, so that he was at once able to hire mercenaries with the money thus obtained. [22] This Diphridas was as a man no less attractive than Thibron, and as a general he was more self-controlled and enterprising. For the pleasures of the body did not hold the mastery over him, but in whatever task he was engaged, he always gave himself wholly to it.

As for Ecdicus, after sailing to Cnidos and learning that the commons in Rhodes were in possession of everything, and were masters both by land and by sea, having twice as many triremes as he had himself, he remained quiet in Cnidos. [23] The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, when they found that he had too small a force to be of service to their friends, ordered Teleutias, with the twelve ships which he had under his command in the gulf round Achaea and Lechaenum, to sail around to Ecdicus, send him back home, and himself look after the interests of those who wished to be their friends, and do whatever harm he could to their enemies. And when Teleutias arrived at Samos he obtained from there seven more ships and sailed on to Cnidos, while Ecdicus returned home. [24] Then Teleutias continued his voyage to Rhodes, having now twenty-seven ships; and while sailing thither he fell in with Philocrates, the son of Ephialtes, sailing with ten triremes from Athens to Cyprus for the purpose of aiding Euagoras, and captured all ten. Both parties were acting in this affair in a manner absolutely opposed to their own interests; for the Athenians, although they had the King for a friend, were sending aid to Euagoras who was making war upon the King, and Teleutias, although the Lacedaemonians were at war with the King, was destroying people who were sailing to make war upon him. Then Teleutias, after sailing back to Cnidos and selling there the booty which he had captured, arrived at Rhodes on his second voyage and proceeded to aid those who held to the side of the Lacedaemonians. [25]

Meanwhile the Athenians, coming to the belief that the Lacedaemonians were again acquiring power on the sea, sent out against them Thrasybulus, of the deme Steiria, with forty ships.

When he had sailed out, he gave up his plan of an expedition to Rhodes, thinking on the one hand that he could not easily punish the friends of the Lacedaemonians, since they held a fortress and Teleutias was there with a fleet to support them, and, on the other hand, that the friends of his own state would not fall under the power of the enemy, since they held the cities, were far more numerous, and had been victorious in battle. [26] Accordingly he sailed to the Hellespont, and, since there was no adversary there, thought that he could accomplish some useful service for his state. In the first place, therefore, learning that Amedocus, the king of the Odrysians, and Seuthes, the ruler of the coast region, were at variance, he reconciled them to one another and made them friends and allies of the Athenians, thinking that if they were friendly, the Greek cities situated on the Thracian coast would also show a greater inclination towards the Athenians. [27] Then, with this matter successfully arranged, and the cities in Asia in a favourable attitude on account of the King's being a friend of the Athenians, he sailed to Byzantium and farmed out the tithe-duty on vessels sailing out of the Pontus. He also changed the government of the Byzantines from an oligarchy to a democracy, so that the commons of Byzantium were not sorry to see the greatest possible number of Athenians present in their city. [28]

Now after he had accomplished these things and had won over the Calchedonians also as friends, he sailed back out of the Hellespont. And finding that all the cities in Lesbos except Mytilene were on the side of the Lacedaemonians, he went against none of them until he had marshalled in Mytilene the four hundred hoplites from his own ships and all the exiles from the Lesbian cities who had fled for refuge to Mytilene, and had also added to this force the stoutest of the Mytilenaeans themselves; nor, furthermore, until he had suggested hopes, firstly to the Mytilenaeans, that if he captured the cities they would be the leaders of all Lesbos, secondly to the exiles, that if they proceeded all together against each single one of the cities, they would be able, acting in unison, to accomplish their restoration to their native states, and again to his marines, that by making Lesbos likewise friendly to their state they would at once obtain a great abundance of money. Then, after giving them this encouragement and marshalling them in line of battle, he led them

against Methymna. [29] Therimachus, however, who chanced to be the Lacedaemonian governor, on hearing that Thrasybulus was coming against him, took the marines from his own ships, the Methymnaeans themselves, and all the Mytilenaeans who chanced to be there, and went to meet the enemy at the borders. A battle was fought in which Therimachus was killed on the spot and many of the others were killed as they fled. [30] After this Thrasybulus brought over some of the cities, and was busy collecting money for his soldiers by plundering from those which refused to come over; meanwhile he was eager to arrive at Rhodes. But to the end that there also he might make his army as strong as possible, he collected money from various cities, and came to Aspendus in particular and anchored in the Eurymedon river. And after he had already received money from the Aspendians, his soldiers wrongfully did some plundering from their lands; the Aspendians therefore in anger fell upon him during the night and cut him down in his tent. [31]

This, then, was the end of Thrasybulus, who was esteemed a most excellent man. And the Athenians chose Agyrrhius in his place, and sent him out to take command of the ships. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, learning that the tithe-duty on the vessels sailing out of the Pontus had been sold at Byzantium by the Athenians, that they were in possession of Calchedon, and that the other Hellespontine cities were in a favourable attitude toward them because Pharnabazus was their friend, concluded that they must attend to this situation. [32] They did not, indeed, find any fault with Dercylidas; but Anaxibius, inasmuch as the ephors had become friends of his, succeeded in having himself sent out to Abydus as governor. And he promised that if he received money and ships, he would also make war upon the Athenians, so that matters might not stand so well with them in the Hellespont. [33] Accordingly the ephors gave Anaxibius three triremes and money enough for a thousand mercenaries, and sent him out. When he had reached Abydus, his operations by land were as follows: after collecting a mercenary force, he proceeded to detach some of the Aeolian cities from Pharnabazus, take the field in retaliatory expeditions against the cities which had made expeditions against Abydus, march upon them, and lay waste their territory. On the naval side, in addition to the ships which he had he fully manned

three others from Abydus, and brought into port whatever merchant vessel he found anywhere belonging to the Athenians or their allies. [34] The Athenians, however, learning of these things, and fearing that the results of all Thrasybulus' work in the Hellespont might be ruined for them, sent out against Anaxibius Iphicrates, with eight ships and about one thousand two hundred peltasts. The greater part of these were the men whom he had commanded at Corinth. For when the Argives had incorporated Corinth in Argos, they said that they had no need of them; for Iphicrates had put to death some of the partisans of Argos; accordingly he had returned to Athens and chanced to be at home at this time. [35] Now when he reached the Chersonese, at first Anaxibius and he made war upon one another by sending out raiding parties; but as time went on Iphicrates found out that Anaxibius had gone to Antandrus with his mercenaries, the Lacedaemonians who were with him, and two hundred hoplites from Abydus, and heard that he had brought Antandrus into relations of friendship with him. Whereupon, suspecting that after he had also established his garrison there he would return again and bring the Abydenes back home, Iphicrates crossed over by night to the most deserted portion of the territory of Abydus, and going up into the mountains, set an ambush. Furthermore, he ordered the triremes which had brought him across the strait to sail at daybreak along the coast of the Chersonese, up the strait, in order that it might seem that he had sailed up the Hellespont to collect money, as he was wont to do. [36] Having done all these things he was not disappointed, for Anaxibius did come marching back, even though — at least, as the story ran — his sacrifices on that day had not proved favourable; but despite that fact, filled with disdainful confidence because he was proceeding through a friendly country and to a friendly city, and because he heard from those who met him that Iphicrates had sailed up in the direction of Proconnesus, he was making his march in a rather careless fashion. [37] Nevertheless, Iphicrates did not rise from ambush so long as the army of Anaxibius was on the level ground; but when the Abydenes, who were in the van, were now in the plain of Cremaste, where their gold mines are, and the rest of the army as it followed along was on the downward slope, and Anaxibius with his Lacedaemonians was just beginning the descent, at this moment

Iphicrates started his men up from their ambush and rushed upon him on the run. [38] Then Anaxibius, judging that there was no hope of safety, inasmuch as he saw that his army extended over a long and narrow way, and thought that those who had gone on ahead would clearly be unable to come to his assistance up the hill, and since he also perceived that all were in a state of terror when they saw the ambush, said to those who were with him: "Gentlemen, it is honourable for me to die here, but do you hurry to safety before coming to close engagement with the enemy." [39] Thus he spoke, and taking his shield from his shieldbearer, fell fighting on that spot. His favourite youth, however, remained by his side, and likewise from among the Lacedaemonians about twelve of the governors, who had come from their cities and joined him, fought and fell with him. But the rest of the Lacedaemonians fled and fell one after another, the enemy pursuing as far as the city. Furthermore, about two hundred of the other troops of Anaxibius were killed, and about fifty of the Abydene hoplites. And after accomplishing these things Iphicrates went back again to the Chersonese.

BOOK V.

1. Such, then, were the doings of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians in the region of the Hellespont. Meanwhile Eteonicus was again in Aegina, and although previously the Aeginetans had been maintaining commercial intercourse with the Athenians, still, now that the war was being carried on by sea openly, he, with the approval of the ephors, urged on everybody who so wished, to plunder Attica. [2] Thereupon the Athenians, being cut off from supplies by the plunderers, sent to Aegina a force of hoplites and Pamphilus as their general, built a fortress as a base of attack upon the Aeginetans, and besieged them both by land and by sea with ten triremes. Teleutias, however, who chanced to have arrived on one of the islands in quest of a grant of money, upon hearing of this (that is, in regard to the building of the fortress) came to the aid of the Aeginetans; and he drove off the Athenian fleet, but Pamphilus succeeded in holding the fortress. [3]

After this Hierax arrived from Lacedaemon as admiral. And he took over the fleet, while Teleutias, under the very happiest circumstances, set sail for home. For when he was going down to the sea as he set out for home, there was no one among the soldiers who did not grasp his hand, and one decked him with a garland, another with a fillet, and others who came too late, nevertheless, even though he was now under way, threw garlands into the sea and prayed for many blessings upon him. [4] Now I am aware that I am not describing in these incidents any enterprise involving money expended or danger incurred or any memorable stratagem; and yet, by Zeus, it seems to me that it is well worth a man's while to consider what sort of conduct it was that enabled Teleutias to inspire the men he commanded with such a feeling toward himself. For to attain to this is indeed the achievement of a true man, more noteworthy than the expenditure of much money and the encountering of many dangers. [5]

As for Hierax, on the other hand, he sailed back to Rhodes with the bulk of the ships, but left behind him in Aegina twelve triremes and Gorgopas, his vice-admiral, as governor. And after this it was the

Athenians in the fortress who were besieged rather than the Aeginetans in the city; insomuch that the Athenians, by a formal decree, manned a large number of ships and brought back from Aegina in the fifth month the troops in the fortress. But when this had been done, the Athenians were again molested by the bands of raiders and by Gorgopas, and they manned against these enemies thirteen ships and chose Eunomus as admiral to command them. [6] Now while Hierax was at Rhodes the Lacedaemonians sent out Antalcidas as admiral, thinking that by doing this they would most please Tiribazus also. And when Antalcidas arrived at Aegina, he took with him the ships of Gorgopas and sailed to Ephesus, then sent Gorgopas back again to Aegina with his twelve ships, and put Nicolochus, his vice-admiral, in command of the rest. Thereupon Nicolochus, seeking to aid the people of Abydus, proceeded to sail thither; he turned aside, however, to Tenedos and laid waste its territory, and having obtained money there, sailed on to Abydus. [7] Then the generals of the Athenians gathered together from Samothrace, Thasos, and the places in that region, and set out to aid the people of Tenedos. But upon learning that Nicolochus had put in at Abydus they then, setting out from the Chersonese as a base, blockaded him and his twenty-five ships with the thirty-two ships under their command. As for Gorgopas, on his voyage back from Ephesus he fell in with Eunomus, and for the moment took refuge in Aegina, reaching there a little before sunset. Then he at once disembarked his men and gave them dinner. [8] Meanwhile Eunomus, after waiting a short time, sailed off. And when night came on he led the way, carrying a light, as the custom is, so that the ships which were following him might not go astray. Then Gorgopas immediately embarked his men and followed on in the direction of the light, keeping behind the enemy so that he should not be visible or give them a chance to notice him; while his boatswains gave the time by clicking stones together instead of with their voices, and made the men employ a sliding motion of the oars. [9] But when the ships of Eunomus were close to the shore near Cape Zoster in Attica, Gorgopas gave the order by the trumpet to sail against them. And as for Eunomus, the men on some of his ships were just disembarking, others were still occupied in coming to anchor, and others were even

yet on their way toward the shore. Then, a battle being fought by moonlight, Gorgopas captured four triremes, and taking them in tow, carried them off to Aegina; but the other ships of the Athenians made their escape to Piraeus. [10]

After this Chabrias set out on a voyage to Cyprus to aid Euagoras, with eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes, to which force he had also added more ships and a body of hoplites obtained from Athens; and during the night he himself, with his peltasts, landed in Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow place beyond the Heracleium. Then at daybreak, just as had been agreed, the hoplites of the Athenians came, under the command of Demaenetus, and ascended to a point about sixteen stadia beyond the Heracleium, where the so-called Tripyrgia is. [11] On hearing of this Gorgopas sallied forth to the rescue with the Aeginetans, the marines from his ships, and eight Spartiatae who chanced to be there. He also made proclamation that all freemen among the crews of the ships should come with him, so that many of these also joined the relief force, each man with whatever weapon he could get. [12] Now when those in the van had passed by the ambush, Chabrias and his followers rose up and immediately threw javelins and stones upon the enemy. And the hoplites who had disembarked from the ships also advanced upon them. Then those in the van, inasmuch as they were not a compact mass, were quickly killed, among whom were Gorgopas and the Lacedaemonians; and when these had fallen the rest also were put to flight. And there fell about one hundred and fifty Aeginetans and not less than two hundred foreigners, aliens resident in Aegina, and sailors who had hurriedly rushed ashore. [13] After this the Athenians sailed the sea just as in time of peace, for the Lacedaemonian sailors refused to row for Eteonicus, even though he tried to compel them to do so, because he did not give them pay.

After this the Lacedaemonians sent out Teleutias again to take command of these ships as admiral. And when the sailors saw that he had come, they were delighted beyond measure. And he called them together and spoke as follows: [14] "Fellow soldiers, I have come without money; yet if God be willing and you perform your part zealously, I shall endeavour to supply you with provisions in the greatest abundance. And be well assured that, whenever I am in

command of you, I pray just as earnestly for your lives as for my own. As to provisions, you would be surprised, perhaps, if I should say that I am more desirous of your being supplied than of being supplied myself; indeed, by the gods, I should prefer to go without food myself for two days than to have you go without for one. And just as my door was open in days past, as you know, for him to enter who had any request to make of me, so likewise it shall be open now.

[15] Therefore, when you have provisions in abundance, then you will see me also living bounteously; but if you see me submitting to cold and heat and night-watching, expect to endure all these things yourselves. For I do not bid you do any of these things that you may suffer discomfort, but that from them you may gain something good.

[16] And Sparta too," he added, "that Sparta of ours, fellow soldiers, which is accounted so prosperous — she be well assured, won her prosperity and her glory, not by careless idling, but by being willing to undergo both toils and dangers whenever there was need. Now you in like manner were in former days, as I know, good men; but now you must strive to prove yourselves even better men, in order that, just as we gladly undergo toils together, so we may gladly enjoy good fortune together. [17] For what greater gladness can there be than to have to flatter no one in the world, Greek or barbarian, for the sake of pay, but to be able to provide supplies for oneself, and what is more, from the most honourable source? For be well assured that abundance gained in war from the enemy yields not merely sustenance, but at the same time fair fame among all men." [18]

Thus he spoke, and they all set up a shout, bidding him give whatever order was needful, in the assurance that they would obey. Now he chanced to have finished sacrificing, and he said: "Come, my men, get dinner, just as you were intending to do anyway; and provide yourselves, I beg you, with food for one day. Then come to the ships right speedily, that we may sail to the place where God wills that we go, and may arrive in good time." [19] And when they had come he embarked them upon the ships and sailed during the night to the harbour of the Athenians, now letting the men rest and bidding them get a little sleep, and now setting them at the oars. But if anyone supposes that it was madness for him to sail with twelve triremes against men who possessed many ships, let such a one

consider Teleutias' calculations. [20] He conceived that the Athenians were more careless about their fleet in the harbour now that Gorgopas was dead; and even if there were triremes at anchor there, he believed that it was safer to sail against twenty ships which were at Athens than against ten elsewhere. For in the case of ships that were abroad he knew that the sailors would be quartered on board their several ships, while with ships at Athens he was aware that the captains would be sleeping at home and the sailors quartered here and there. [21] These, then, were the considerations which he had weighed before he sailed; and when he was distant from the harbour five or six stadia, he remained quiet and let his men rest. Then, as day was dawning, he led on and they followed. Now he forbade them to sink or harm any merchant vessel with their own ships; but if they saw a trireme at anchor anywhere, he ordered them to try to make her unseaworthy, and furthermore, to bring out in tow the merchant ships which were loaded, and to board the larger ones wherever they could and take off their people. Indeed, there were some of his men who even leaped ashore on to the Deigma, seized merchants and owners of trading vessels, and carried them aboard the ships. [22] He, then, succeeded in accomplishing these things. But as for the Athenians, some of them, upon hearing the uproar, ran from their houses into the streets to see what the shouting meant, others ran from the streets to their homes to get their weapons, and still others to the city to carry the news. Then all the Athenians, hoplites and horsemen, rushed to the rescue, thinking that Piraeus had been captured. [23] But Teleutias sent off the captured merchant vessels to Aegina and gave orders that three or four of the triremes should convoy them thither, while with the rest of the triremes he coasted along the shore of Attica and, inasmuch as he was sailing out of the harbour, captured great numbers of fishing craft and ferryboats full of people as they were sailing in from the islands. And on coming to Sunium he captured trading vessels also, some of them full of corn, others of merchandise. [24] Having done all these things he sailed back to Aegina, and when he had sold his booty he gave the soldiers a month's pay in advance. He likewise from that time forth cruised round and captured whatever he could. And by doing these things he maintained his ships with full complements of sailors, and kept his

soldiers in a state of glad and prompt obedience. [25]

And now Antalcidas returned with Tiribazus from the Persian capital, having effected an agreement that the King should be an ally of the Lacedaemonians if the Athenians and their allies refused to accept the peace which he himself directed them to accept. But when Antalcidas heard that Nicolochus with his ships was being blockaded at Abydus by Iphicrates and Diotimus, he went overland to Abydus. And from there he set out during the night with the fleet, after spreading a report that the Calchedonians were sending for him; then he came to anchor at Percote and remained quiet there. [26] Now the Athenian forces under Demaenetus, Dionysius, Leontichus, and Phanias, upon learning of his departure, followed after him in the direction of Proconnesus; and when they had sailed past him, Antalcidas turned about and came back to Abydus, for he had heard that Polyxenus was approaching with the ships from Syracuse and Italy, twenty in number, and he wished to join these also to his command. But soon after this Thrasybulus, of the deme Collytus, came sailing from Thrace with eight ships, desiring to unite with the other Athenian ships. [27] And Antalcidas, when his scouts signalled to him that eight triremes were approaching, embarked the sailors on twelve of his fastest ships, gave orders that if anyone was lacking men, he should fill up his crew from the ships left behind, and lay in wait with the utmost possible concealment. Then, as the enemy were sailing past him, he pursued; and they, upon seeing him, fled. Now he speedily succeeded in overhauling the slowest of the enemy's ships with his fastest; but giving orders to the leaders of his own fleet not to attack the hindmost ships, he continued the pursuit of those which were ahead. And when he had captured them, those who were behind, upon seeing that the leaders of their fleet were being taken, out of discouragement were themselves taken even by the slower ships of Antalcidas; and the result was that all the ships were captured. [28] And after the twenty ships from Syracuse had come and joined Antalcidas, and the ships from all that part of Ionia of which Tiribazus was master had also come, and more still had been manned from the territory of Ariobarzanes — for Antalcidas was an old friend of Ariobarzanes, and Pharnabazus had at this time gone up to the capital in response to a summons, this being the occasion when

he married the King's daughter — then Antalcidas, the whole number of his ships amounting to more than eighty, was master of the sea, so that he also prevented the ships from the Pontus from sailing to Athens, and compelled them to sail to the ports of his people's allies. [29] The Athenians, therefore, seeing that the enemy's ships were many, fearing that they might be completely subdued, as they had been before, now that the King had become an ally of the Lacedaemonians, and being beset by the raiding parties from Aegina, for these reasons were exceedingly desirous of peace. On the other hand the Lacedaemonians, what with maintaining a garrison of one regiment at Lechaeum and another at Orchomenus, keeping watch upon their allied states — those which they trusted, to prevent their being destroyed, and those which they distrusted, to prevent their revolting — and suffering and causing trouble around Corinth, were out of patience with the war. As for the Argives, knowing that the Lacedaemonian ban had been called out against them, and being aware that their plea of the sacred months would no longer be of any help to them, they also were eager for peace. [30] So that when Tiribazus ordered those to be present who desired to give ear to the peace which the King had sent down, all speedily presented themselves. And when they had come together, Tiribazus showed them the King's seal and then read the writing. It ran as follows: [31]

“King Artaxerxes thinks it just that the cities in Asia should belong to him, as well as Clazomenae and Cyprus among the islands, and that the other Greek cities, both small and great, should be left independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; and these should belong, as of old, to the Athenians. But whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, upon them I will make war, in company with those who desire this arrangement, both by land and by sea, with ships and with money.” [32]

Upon hearing these words the ambassadors from the various states reported them to their own several states. And all the others swore that they would steadfastly observe these provisions, but the Thebans claimed the right to take the oath in the name of all the Boeotians. Agesilaus, however, refused to accept their oaths unless they swore, just as the King's writing directed, that every city, whether small or great, should be independent. But the ambassadors of the Thebans

said that these were not the instructions which had been given them. "Go then," said Agesilaus, "and ask your people; and report to them this also, that if they do not so act, they will be shut out from the treaty." The Thebans ambassadors accordingly departed. [33] Agesilaus, however, on account of his hatred for the Thebans, did not delay, but after winning over the ephors proceeded at once to perform his sacrifices. And when the offering at the frontier proved favourable, upon his arrival at Tegea he sent horsemen hither and thither among the Perioeci to hasten their coming, and likewise sent mustering officers to the various cities of the allies. But before he had set out from Tegea, the Thebans arrived with word that they would leave the cities independent. And so the Lacedaemonians returned home and the Thebans were forced to accede to the treaty, allowing the Boeotian cities to be independent. [34] But the Corinthians, on the other hand, would not dismiss the garrison maintained in their city by the Argives. Agesilaus, however, made proclamation to these peoples also, saying to the Corinthians that if they did not dismiss the Argives, and to the Argives that if they did not depart from Corinth, he would make war upon them. And when, as a result of the fear which seized both peoples, the Argives departed and the state of the Corinthians regained its self-government, the authors of the massacre and those who shared the responsibility for the deed withdrew of their own accord from Corinth, while the rest of the citizens willingly received back the former exiles. [35]

When these things had been accomplished and the states had sworn that they would abide by the treaty which the King had proposed, thereupon the armies were disbanded and the naval armaments were likewise disbanded. Thus it was that this peace was established between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians and their allies, the first since the outbreak of the war which followed the destruction of the walls of Athens. [36] Now while in the war the Lacedaemonians were no more than holding their own with their antagonists, yet as a result of the so-called Peace of Antalcidas they gained a far more distinguished position. For by having become champions of the treaty proposed by the King and by establishing the independence of the cities they gained an additional ally in Corinth,

made the Boeotian cities independent of the Thebans, a thing which they had long desired, and also put a stop to the doings of the Argives in appropriating Corinth as their own, by threatening to call out the ban against them if they did not depart from Corinth.

2.

Since in all this matters had proceeded as they desired, the Lacedaemonians resolved, in the case of all among their allies who had been hostile during the war and more favourably inclined toward the enemy than toward Lacedaemon, to chastise them and put them in such a situation that they could not be disloyal. Firstly, therefore, they sent to the Mantineans and ordered them to tear down their wall, saying that they could not trust them in any other way not to take sides with their enemies. [2] For they said they had noted not only that the Mantineans had been sending corn to the Argives when they themselves were making war upon that people, but also that sometimes, on the pretext of a holy truce, they had not served in the Lacedaemonian armies at all, and when they had fallen into line, had served badly. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians said they were aware that they were envious if any good fortune came to them, and delighted if any disaster befel them. It was also common talk that the thirty years' truce, concluded after the battle of Mantinea, had expired this year, so far as the Mantineans were concerned. [3] When, accordingly, they now refused to tear down their walls, the Lacedaemonians called out the ban against them.

Now Agesilaus requested the state to relieve him of the command of this expedition, saying that the city of the Mantineans had rendered his father many services in the wars against Messene; Agesipolis, therefore, led forth the ban, even though his father, Pausanias, was on exceedingly friendly terms with the leaders of the popular party in Mantinea. [4] And when he had entered Mantinean territory, he first laid waste the land; but since even then they would not tear down the walls, he proceeded to dig a trench round about the city, with one half of the soldiers sitting under arms in front of the diggers to protect them, and the other half working. And after the trench had been completed, he then without risk built a wall round about the city. Learning, however, that the corn supply in the city was abundant, since there had been a good harvest the previous year,

and thinking that it would be a grievous thing if it should prove necessary to burden both his state and its allies for a long period with campaigns, he dammed up the river which flowed through the city; and it was a very large one. [5] Its outflow being thus checked, the water rose not only above the foundations of the houses but above those of the city wall. Then as the lower bricks became soaked and failed to support those above them, the wall began first to crack and then to give way. And the Mantineans for a time tried to prop it up with timbers, and sought contrivances to prevent the tower from falling; but when they were no longer able to resist the water, being seized with the fear that if any portion of the encircling wall fell they would become prisoners of war, they offered to agree to tear down their walls. The Lacedaemonians, however, said that they would not make peace with them except on condition that they should also dwell apart in villages. And they for their part, coming to the conclusion that it was necessary, agreed that they would do this also. [6] Now the partisans of Argos and the leaders of the popular party expected that they would be put to death, but the father of Agesipolis obtained from him the promise that safety should be granted them as they departed from the city, being sixty in number. So on both sides of the road, beginning at the city gates, stood the Lacedaemonians with their spears, watching those who were coming out. And although they hated them, nevertheless they kept their hands off them more easily than did the Mantineans belonging to the aristocratic party. Let this, then, stand recorded as a striking example of good discipline. [7]

After this the wall was torn down and Mantinea was divided into four separate villages, just as the people had dwelt in ancient times. And at first they were displeased, because they were compelled to tear down the houses which they had and to build others; but the owners of the landed property, since they not only dwelt nearer to their estates, which were round about the villages, but also enjoyed an aristocratic government and were rid of the troublesome demagogues, were pleased with what had been done. And the Lacedaemonians sent mustering officers to them, not singly, but one for each village. Moreover, they came from their villages for service in the Lacedaemonian army far more zealously than when they were

under a democratic government. Thus ended the affair of the Mantineans, whereby men were made wiser in this point at least — not to let a river run through city walls. [8]

And now the exiles from Phlius, as they observed that the Lacedaemonians were investigating to see what sort of friends their several allies had proved to be to them during the war, thinking that it was an opportune time, proceeded to Lacedaemon and set forth that so long as they were at home in Phlius, the city had received the Lacedaemonians within its walls, and its people had gone with them on their campaigns wherever they led the way; but that after the Phliasians had driven them into exile, they had declined to follow anywhere, and had refused to receive the Lacedaemonians — and them alone of all men — within their gates. [9] When the ephors heard these things, they decided that the matter deserved attention. Accordingly they sent to the city of the Phliasians and said that the exiles were friends of the Lacedaemonian state and had been exiled for no wrong-doing. They said further that they deemed it proper to effect their return from banishment, not by compulsion, but by voluntary consent of the Phliasians. Upon hearing this the Phliasians conceived the fear that if the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against them, some of the people within the walls would let them into the city. For not only were there many kinsmen of the exiles in the city, and people who were friendly to them for other reasons, but also, as is indeed usual in most cities, some desired a change of government and therefore wanted to bring back the exiles. [10] On account, then, of such fears, the Phliasians voted to take back the exiles and to restore to them their undisputed property, those who had purchased such property to recover the price of it from the public treasury; and if any dispute should arise in any case between these purchasers and the exiles, it was to be settled by legal process. Thus ended, in its turn, this incident of the Phliasian exiles at that time. [11]

Then there came ambassadors to Lacedaemon from Acanthus and Apollonia, which are the largest of the cities in the neighbourhood of Olynthus. And when the ephors heard with what object they had come, they brought them before the Lacedaemonian assembly and the allies. [13] Thereupon Cleigenes of Acanthus spoke as follows: “Men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, we think you are

unaware that a great danger is springing up in Greece. To be sure, almost all of you know that Olynthus is the largest of the cities on the coast of Thrace. These Olynthians, in the first place, attached to themselves some of the cities with the provision that all should live under the same laws and be fellow-citizens, and then they took over some of the larger cities also. After this they undertook, further, to free the cities of Macedonia from Amyntas, king of the Macedonians. [13] And when the nearest of them gave their allegiance, they speedily proceeded against those which were farther away and larger; and we left them already in possession of a great number of Macedonian cities, including especially Pella, which is the largest of the cities in Macedonia. We also had information that Amyntas was withdrawing from his cities and had already been all but driven out of all Macedonia. The Olynthians, furthermore, sent to us and to the Apollonians and announced to us that if we did not present ourselves to join them in their campaigns, they would come against us. [14]

“As for ourselves, however, men of Lacedaemon, we desire to live under the laws of our fathers and to be citizens of our own city; but unless some one shall come to our aid, it will be necessary for us also to be united with them. And yet at this moment they already have not less than eight hundred hoplites and far more than that number of peltasts; while as for horsemen, if we also become united with them, they will have more than one thousand. [15] Again, we left ambassadors both of the Athenians and of the Boeotians already there. And we heard reports that the Olynthians on their side had voted to send ambassadors with them to these states in regard to the matter of an alliance. Now if so great a power is to be added to the present strength of the Athenians and Thebans, take care,” he said, “lest you find that situation no longer easy to handle. Furthermore, since the Olynthians are in possession of Potidaea, which is on the isthmus of Pallene, be sure that the cities included within Pallene will also be subject to them. And let this fact also be a further evidence to you that these cities have come to fear the Olynthians mightily — that although they feel the utmost hatred toward the Olynthians, nevertheless they did not dare to send ambassadors with us to set forth these things. [16] You should consider this question also, how

you can consistently, after having taken care in the case of Boeotia to prevent its being united, nevertheless disregard the gathering of a much greater power, and what is more, a power which is becoming strong not by land only, but also by sea. For what indeed is there to hinder such expansion, seeing that the country itself possesses ship-timber and has revenues from many ports and many trading-places, and likewise an abundant population on account of the abundance of food? [17] And further, mark you, they have for neighbours those Thracians who are under no king. They even now are paying court to the Olynthians; and if they should come under their sway, this also would be a great power added to the Olynthians. Then, if the Thracians were their followers, straightway the gold mines of Mount Pangaeum also would beckon to them. And there is not one of these things which we say which is not also said thousands of times among the people of Olynthus. [18] As for their pride, how could one describe it? For the deity, perhaps, has so ordered it that men's pride should increase with their power.

“We, then, men of Lacedaemon and of the allied states, report that such are the conditions there; it is for you to deliberate as to whether they seem to deserve attention. But you must understand this also, that the power which we have described as great is not yet hard to wrestle with. For such of the cities as share in the citizenship of Olynthus unwillingly, these, I say, will quickly fall away if they see any opposing force presenting itself; [19] if, however, they once become closely connected by reciprocal rights of intermarriage and of property, which have already been voted, and find that it is profitable to be on the side of the conqueror — even as the Arcadians when they go with you keep their own possessions safe and plunder those of others — then, it may be, this confederacy will no longer be so easy to break up.” [20]

When these things had been said, the Lacedaemonians gave their allies permission to speak and bade them advise whatever course anyone of them deemed best both for Peloponnesus and for the allies. Thereupon many, especially those who desired to gratify the Lacedaemonians, advocated raising an army, and it was decided that each state should send its proportionate contingent for an army of ten thousand. [21] Proposals were also made that any state which so

desired should be allowed to give money instead of men, three Aeginetan obols per day for each man, while if any state normally furnished horsemen, pay equal to that of four hoplites should be given for each horseman; [22] and if any one of the states should fail to send its contingent to the army, the Lacedaemonians were to be permitted to fine such state a stater per day for each man. [23] When these things had been decided upon, the Acanthians rose again and declared that while these measures were excellent, it nevertheless was not possible for them to be speedily carried out. They said it was better, therefore, that while this expedition was gathering, a commander should set out with all possible speed with a force from Lacedaemon, of such size as could take the field quickly, and likewise from the other states; for if this were done, the cities which had not yet gone over to the Olynthians would take no step in that direction, and those which had been coerced would be less likely to continue in alliance with them. [24] This plan also was adopted, and the Lacedaemonians sent out Eudamidas, and with him emancipated Helots and men of the Perioeci and the Sciritans to the total number of about two thousand. Now Eudamidas on setting out requested the ephors to allow Phoebidas, his brother, to gather together all the troops assigned to him which were left behind and to follow after him; as for himself, when he reached the region of the Thracian coast, he sent garrisons to such of the cities as desired them, gained possession of Potidaea, which came over voluntarily, although it was already an ally of the Olynthians, and making that city his base of operations, carried on war in the way one naturally would who had an inferior force. [25]

Then Phoebidas, after he had gathered together the remaining portion of Eudamidas' troops, took them under his command and began his march. And when they arrived in the district of Thebes, they encamped outside the city, near the gymnasium. Now since the Thebans were divided by factions, it chanced that Ismenias and Leontiades, who were polemarchs, were at variance with one another, and both of them leaders of their respective political clubs. Hence Ismenias, on account of his hatred for the Lacedaemonians, did not even go near Phoebidas. Leontiades, however, not only paid court to him in various ways, but when he had become intimate with

him, spoke to him as follows: [26] “Phoebidas, it is within your power this day to render the greatest service to your fatherland; for if you will follow me with your hoplites, I will lead you into the Acropolis. And this once accomplished, be sure that Thebes will be completely under the control of the Lacedaemonians and of us who are your friends; [27] whereas now, as you see, proclamation has been made forbidding any Theban from serving with you against the Olynthians. But if you join with us and accomplish this deed, we will at once send with you many hoplites and many horsemen; so that you will go to the aid of your brother with a large force, and while he is getting ready to subdue Olynthus, you will already have subdued Thebes, a far greater state than Olynthus.” [28] When Phoebidas heard this, he was filled with bouyant hopes; for he was a man with a far greater passion for performing some brilliant achievement than for life itself, although, on the other hand, he was not regarded as one who weighed his acts or had much practical wisdom. And when he had agreed to the plan, Leontiades directed him to set out on his way, prepared as he was to depart from Thebes. “And when the proper time arrives,” said Leontiades, “I will return to you and act as your guide myself.” [29] Accordingly, while the senate was in session in the portico in the market-place, for the reason that the women were celebrating the festival of the Thesmophoria in the Cadmea, and while, inasmuch as it was summer and midday, the streets were entirely deserted, at this time Leontiades rode out on horseback to overtake Phoebidas, turned him back, and led him straight to the Acropolis. And after establishing Phoebidas there with the troops under his command, giving him the key to the gates, and telling him to let no one into the Acropolis unless he himself so ordered, he proceeded at once to the meeting of the senate. And when he had arrived there, he spoke as follows: [30] “Be not at all despondent, gentlemen, because the Lacedaemonians are in possession of the Acropolis; for they say that they have not come as enemies to anyone who is not eager for war; as for me, since the law directs that a polemarch shall have power to arrest any man who seems to be doing deeds which deserve death, I arrest Ismenias here, as an instigator of war. Therefore do you captains, and you who have been detailed with them, arise, seize this man, and lead him away to the place where

you have been directed to take him.” [31] Now those who knew of the plan were of course present, obeyed the order, and seized Ismenias; but of those who did not know about it and were opponents of Leontiades and his party, some fled at once out of the city, fearing that they would be put to death; others withdrew at first to their homes; when they learned, however, that Ismenias was imprisoned in the Cadmea, then all those who held the same views as Androcleidas and Ismenias retired to Athens, to the number of about three hundred. [32]

When these things had been accomplished, they chose another polemarch in place of Ismenias, but Leontiades proceeded at once to Lacedaemon. There he found the ephors and the majority of the citizens angry with Phoebidas because he had acted in this matter without authorization by the state. Agesilaus, however, said that if what he had done was harmful to Lacedaemon, he deserved to be punished, but if advantageous, it was a time-honoured custom that a commander, in such cases, had the right to act on his own initiative. “It is precisely this point, therefore,” he said, “which should be considered, whether what has been done is good or bad for the state.” [33]

Then Leontiades came before the assembly and spoke as follows: “Men of Lacedaemon, that the Thebans were hostile to you before what has now been done came to pass, you were wont to say yourselves; for you saw that they were always friendly to your enemies, and enemies to your friends. Did they not refuse to join you in the campaign against the Athenian commons in Piraeus, who were bitter enemies of yours, and did they not, on the other hand, march against the Phocians because they saw that you were well disposed towards them? [34] Again, knowing that you were making war upon the Olynthians, they undertook to conclude an alliance with them, and you in those past days were always uneasily watching for the time when you should hear that they were forcing Boeotia to be under their sway; but now that this stroke has been accomplished, there is no need of your fearing the Thebans; on the contrary, a brief message from you will suffice to secure from that quarter all the support that you may desire, provided only you show as much concern for us as we have shown for you.” [35] Upon hearing these

words the Lacedaemonians resolved, so long as the Acropolis had been seized, to keep it garrisoned, and to bring Ismenias to trial. Accordingly they sent out as judges three Lacedaemonians and one from each of the allied states, whether small or great. And it was not until the court held its sitting that charges were brought against Ismenias, — that he was a supporter of the barbarians, that he had become a guest-friend of the Persian satrap to the hurt of Greece, that he had received a share of the money which came from the King, and that he and Androcleidas were chiefly responsible for all the trouble and disorder in Greece. [36] To all these charges he did indeed make a defence, but he failed to persuade the court that he was not a man of great and evil undertakings. So he was pronounced guilty and put to death; as for Leontiades and his party, they held possession of Thebes and gave the Lacedaemonians their support in even more than was demanded of them. [37]

After these things had been accomplished, the Lacedaemonians with much more spirit set about dispatching the joint army to Olynthus. They sent out Teleutias as governor, and not only sent with him their own full contingent of the total ten thousand men, but also transmitted official dispatches to the various allied states, directing them to follow Teleutias in accordance with the resolution of the allies. And all the states gave their hearty support to Teleutias, — for he was regarded as a man not ungrateful to those who performed any service, — while the Theban state in particular, inasmuch as he was a brother of Agesilaus, eagerly sent with him both hoplites and horsemen. [38] Now he prosecuted his march with no great speed, his concern being rather to make the journey without doing any harm to the friends of his state and to collect as large a force as possible. He also sent word on ahead to Amyntas and asked him not only to hire mercenaries, but likewise to give money to the kings in his neighbourhood, that they might become allies, if he really wanted to recover his dominions. Furthermore, he sent to Derdas, the ruler of Elimia, pointing out to him that the Olynthians had already subdued the greater power, Macedonia, and would not let the lesser escape unless someone put a stop to their presumption. [39] As a result of his doing these things he had a very large army when he arrived in the territory of his state's allies. And when he had come to Potidaea, he

proceeded from there with his army in order of battle into the enemy's country. Now on his way toward the city of Olynthus he neither burned nor cut down, believing that anything of this sort he should do would prove so many obstacles in his way both as he approached and as he withdrew; but he believed that when he should retire from the city it would be right to cut down the trees and put them in the way of anyone who might come against him from behind. [40]

And when he was distant from the city not so much as ten stadia, he halted the army, himself occupying the left wing, — for in this way it fell to him to advance in the direction of the gate where the enemy issued forth, — while the rest of the phalanx, made up of the allies, stretched away to the right. As for the horsemen, he likewise posted upon the right wing the Laconians, the Thebans, and all the Macedonians who were present, while he kept by his own side Derdas and his horsemen, numbering about four hundred, not only because he admired this troop, but also to do honour to Derdas, so that he should be glad he had joined the expedition. [41] But when the enemy came and formed in opposing line beneath the city wall, their horsemen, massing themselves together, charged upon the Laconians and Boeotians. And they not only struck down from his horse Polycharmus, the Lacedaemonian commander of cavalry, and inflicted very many wounds upon him as he lay, but they also killed others, and finally put to flight the cavalry upon the right wing. Now as the cavalry fled, the infantry next them also gave way, and the whole army, indeed, would have been in danger of being defeated had not Derdas with his troop dashed straight for the gates of the Olynthians. And Teleutias also advanced to the attack with his troops in battle order. [42] When the Olynthian horsemen perceived these movements, being seized with fear lest they should be shut out from the gates, they turned about and retired in great haste. Then Derdas killed very many of them as they rode past him. And the foot-soldiers of the Olynthians also retired into the city; but not many of them were killed, because the wall was near. [43] And when a trophy had been set up and this victory had fallen to Teleutias, then as he withdrew he proceeded to cut down the trees. Now after continuing the campaign through this summer he dismissed both the

Macedonian army and the horsemen of Derdas; the Olynthians, however, on their side made frequent raids into the territory of the cities allied with the Lacedaemonians, and carried off booty and killed men.

3.

At the very beginning of the following spring the Olynthian horsemen, about six hundred in number, had made a raid into the district of Apollonia at midday and were scattered about pillaging; and it chanced that on that day Derdas had arrived with his horsemen and was breakfasting at Apollonia. When he saw the raid, he kept quiet, keeping his horses saddled and bridled and their riders fully armed. But when the Olynthians came riding disdainfully not only into the suburbs, but to the very gates of the city, then he dashed forth with his men in good order. [2] And upon seeing him the enemy took to flight. But he, when once he had turned them to flight, did not stop pursuing and killing for ninety stadia, until he had chased them to the very wall of the Olynthians. It was said, indeed, that Derdas killed in this action about eighty horsemen. And from this day forth the enemy stayed more closely within their wall and cultivated only an exceedingly small portion of their land. [3] As time went on, however, and Teleutias had led his army up to the city of the Olynthians in order to destroy whatever tree was left or whatever field had been cultivated by the enemy, the Olynthian horsemen issued forth and, proceeding quietly, crossed the river which flows by the city and held on their way towards the opposing army. And when Teleutias saw them, being irritated at their audacity, he immediately ordered Tlemonidas, the leader of the peltasts, to charge against them on the run. [4] Now when the Olynthians saw the peltasts sallying forth, they turned about, retired quietly, and crossed the river again. The peltasts, on the other hand, followed very rashly and, with the thought that the enemy were in flight, pushed into the river after them to pursue them. Thereupon the Olynthian horsemen, at the moment when they thought that those who had crossed the river were still easy to handle, turned about and dashed upon them, and they not only killed Tlemonidas himself, but more than one hundred of the others. [5] But Teleutias, filled with anger when he saw what was going on, snatched up his arms and led the hoplites swiftly forward,

while he ordered the peltasts and the horsemen to pursue and not stop pursuing. Now in many other instances those who have pressed a pursuit too close to a city's wall have come off badly in their retreat, and in this case also, when the men were showered with missiles from the towers, they were forced to retire in disorder and to guard themselves against the missiles. [6] At this moment the Olynthians sent out their horsemen to the attack, and the peltasts also came to their support; finally, their hoplites likewise rushed out, and fell upon the Lacedaemonian phalanx when it was already in confusion. There Teleutias fell fighting. And when this happened, the troops about him at once gave way, and in fact no one stood his ground any longer, but all fled, some for Spartolus, others for Acanthus, others to Apollonia, and the majority to Potidaea. As they fled in all directions, so likewise the enemy pursued in all directions, and killed a vast number of men, including the most serviceable part of the army. [7]

From such disasters, however, I hold that men are taught the lesson, chiefly, indeed, that they ought not to chastise anyone, even slaves, in anger — for masters in anger have often suffered greater harm than they have inflicted; but especially that, in dealing with enemies, to attack under the influence of anger and not with judgment is an absolute mistake. For anger is a thing which does not look ahead, while judgment aims no less to escape harm than to inflict it upon the enemy. [8]

When the Lacedaemonians heard of this affair, it seemed to them as they deliberated that they must send out no small force, in order that the pride of the victors might be quenched and that the efforts already made might not go for nothing. Having come to this conclusion, they sent out Agesipolis, the king, as commander, and with him, as they had sent with Agesilaus to Asia, thirty Spartiatae. [9] There followed with him also many of the Perioeci as volunteers, men of the better class, and aliens who belonged to the so-called foster-children of Sparta, and sons of the Spartiatae by Helot women, exceedingly finelooking men, not without experience of the good gifts of the state. Furthermore, volunteers from the allied states joined the expedition and horsemen of the Thessalians, who wished to become known to Agesipolis, while Amyntas and Derdas took part with even greater eagerness than before. Under these circumstances

it was that Agesipolis marched against Olynthus. [10]

Meanwhile the people of Phlius, partly because they had been commended by Agesipolis for giving him a large sum of money for his campaign and giving it speedily, partly because they thought that with Agesipolis abroad Agesilaus would not take the field against them, and that it never would happen that both the kings would be outside of Sparta at the same time, boldly refused to grant any of their rights to the restored exiles. For while the exiles demanded that the questions in dispute should be brought to trial before an impartial court, their policy was to compel them to plead their cases in the city itself. And when the exiles asked what manner of trial that was, where the wrong-doers were themselves the judges, they refused to listen to them at all. [11] Consequently these restored exiles came to Lacedaemon to present their charge against the state, and other people from home came with them, saying that many even among the citizens thought that the exiles were not receiving just treatment. But the state of Phlius, angered at this, fined all who had gone to Lacedaemon without being sent by the state. [12] And those who were thus fined were afraid to return home, but remained and protested to the Lacedaemonians, saying: "These men, who are engaged in these high-handed proceedings, are the men who have banished us and have also excluded you from their city, these are the men who are buying our property and resorting to high-handed measures so as not to give it back, and now these same men have contrived to have a fine inflicted upon us for coming here, so that in the future no one shall dare to come for the purpose of revealing what is going on in the state." [13] And since it seemed that the Phliasians were really acting insolently, the ephors called out the ban against them. Now this was not displeasing to Agesilaus; for the followers of Podanemus had been friends of his father Archidamus and were at this time among the restored exiles; while the partisans of Procles, the son of Hipponicus, were friends of his own. [14] And when, after the sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, he made no delay but proceeded on the march, many embassies met him and offered him money not to invade the country of Phlius. He replied, however, that he was not taking the field to do wrong, but to aid those who were suffering wrong. [15] Finally they said that they would do

anything whatsoever, and begged him not to invade. He answered again that he could not trust to words, for they had proved false to their word in the previous case, but he said there was need of some deed that one could trust. And when he was asked what manner of deed this would be, he replied again: "The same thing," said he, "that you did before, and in doing which you suffered no wrong whatever at our hands." By this he meant giving over their Acropolis. [16] As they refused to do this, he invaded their land and quickly built a wall of circumvallation around the city and besieged them. And when many Lacedaemonians said that merely for the sake of a few individuals they were making themselves hated by a state of more than five thousand men — for the Phliasians held their assemblies in plain sight of the people outside the city just for the purpose of making the fact of their numbers evident — Agesilaus devised a scheme to meet this situation. [17] Whenever any Phliasians came out of the city either from friendship or kinship with the exiles, he instructed the latter to form common messes of their own with such of the new-comers as were ready to undertake the army training, and to supply money enough for provisions; he also urged them to provide arms for all these people and not to hesitate to borrow money for this purpose. The exiles accordingly carried out his injunctions, and showed as a result more than a thousand men in splendid condition of body, well disciplined, and extremely well armed; so that the Lacedaemonians finally said that they had need of such fellow-soldiers. [18]

Agesilaus, then, was occupied with these things. As for Agesipolis, he advanced straight from Macedonia and halted near the city of the Olynthians. And when no one ventured to come out against him, he then laid waste whatever part of the Olynthian country was left unravaged, and proceeding into the territory of their allied cities, destroyed the corn; but Torone he attacked and captured by storm. [19] While he was engaged in these operations, at midsummer a burning fever seized him. And since he had previously seen the sanctuary of Dionysus at Aphytis, a longing took possession of him at this time for its shady resting-places and its clear, cool waters. He was therefore carried thither, still living, but, nevertheless, on the seventh day from the time when he fell sick, he came to his

end outside the sanctuary. And he was placed in honey and carried home, and received the royal burial. [20]

When Agesilaus heard of this, he did not, as one might have expected, rejoice over it, as over the death of an adversary, but he wept, and mourned the loss of his companionship; for the kings of course lodge together when they are at home. And Agesipolis was a man well fitted to converse with Agesilaus about youthful days, hunting exploits, horses, and love affairs; besides this he also treated Agesilaus with deference in their association together in their common quarters, as one would naturally treat an elder. In the place, then, of Agesipolis the Lacedaemonians sent out Polybiades to Olynthus as governor. [21]

Now Agesilaus had already gone beyond the time for which the food-supply in Phlius was said to suffice; for self-restraint in appetite differs so much from unrestrained indulgence that the Phliasians, by voting to consume half as much food as before and carrying out this decision, held out under siege for twice as long a time as was to have been expected. [22] Furthermore, courage sometimes differs so much from cowardice that a certain Delphion, who was regarded as a brilliant man, taking to himself three hundred of the Phliasians, was able to hold in check those who desired to make peace, was able to shut up and keep under guard those whom he distrusted, and had the power to compel the masses of the people to go to their posts and by putting sentinels over them to keep these people faithful. Frequently also he would sally forth with the three hundred picked men and beat off the troops on guard at one point and another of the wall of circumvallation. [23] When, however, these picked men with searching in every way could not find food in the city, thereupon they sent to Agesilaus and asked him to give them safe conduct for going on an embassy to Lacedaemon; for they said that they had resolved to leave it to the authorities of the Lacedaemonians to do whatever they would with the city. [24] Agesilaus, however, angered because they treated him as one without authority, sent to his friends at home and arranged that the decision about Phlius should be left to him, but nevertheless he gave safe conduct to the embassy. Then he kept guard with a force even stronger than before, in order that no one of the people in the city might escape. In spite of this, however,

Delphion, and with him a branded desperado who had many times stolen away weapons from the besiegers, escaped by night. [25] But when messengers arrived from Lacedaemon with word that the state left it to Agesilaus to decide as he thought best upon matters in Phlius, Agesilaus decided in this way — that fifty men from the restored exiles and fifty from the people at home should, in the first place, make inquiry to determine who ought justly to be left alive in the city and who ought to be put to death, and, secondly, should draw up a constitution under which to conduct the government; and until such time as these matters should be settled, he left behind him a garrison and six months' pay for those who composed it. After doing all this he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. And thus the affair of Phlius in its turn came to a conclusion, after a year and eight months. [26]

At this time also Polybiades compelled the Olynthians, who were in an exceedingly wretched state from famine, inasmuch as they got no food from their own land and none was brought in to them by sea, to send to Lacedaemon to treat for peace; and those who went thither, being ambassadors with full powers, concluded a compact to count the same people enemies and friends as the Lacedaemonians did, to follow wherever they led the way, and to be their allies. Then after taking an oath that they would abide by this compact, they went back home. [27]

And now that success had to such an extent attended the efforts of the Lacedaemonians that the Thebans and the rest of the Boeotians were completely in their power, the Corinthians had become absolutely faithful, the Argives had been humbled for the reason that their plea of the sacred months was no longer of any help to them, and the Athenians were left destitute of allies, while on the other hand those among the allies of the Lacedaemonians who had been unfriendly to them had been chastised, it seemed that they had at length established their empire most excellently and securely.

4.

Now one could mention many other incidents, both among Greeks and barbarians, to prove that the gods do not fail to take heed of the wicked or of those who do unrighteous things; but at present I will speak of the case which is before me. The Lacedaemonians, namely,

who had sworn that they would leave the states independent, after seizing possession of the Acropolis of Thebes were punished by the very men, unaided, who had been thus wronged, although before that time they had not been conquered by any single one of all the peoples that ever existed; while as for those among the Theban citizens who had led them into the Acropolis and had wanted the state to be in subjection to the Lacedaemonians in order that they might rule despotically themselves, just seven of the exiles were enough to destroy the government of these men. How all this came to pass I will proceed to relate. [2]

There was a certain Phillidas, who acted as secretary to Archias and his fellow polemarchs and in other ways served them, as it seemed, most excellently. Now this man went to Athens on a matter of business, and there met Melon, one of the Thebans in exile at Athens and a man who had been an acquaintance of his even before this time. Melon, after learning of the doings of the polemarch Archias and the tyrannous rule of Philippos, and finding out that Phillidas hated the conditions that existed at home even more than he himself did, exchanged pledges with him and came to an agreement as to how everything should be managed. [3] After this Melon took with him six of the fittest men among the exiles, armed with daggers and no other weapon, and in the first place proceeded by night into the territory of Thebes; then after spending the day in a deserted spot they came to the city gates, as if on their way back from the country, at just the time when the last returning labourers came in. When they had entered the city, they spent that night at the house of a certain Charon, and likewise spent the following day there. [4] As for Phillidas, since the polemarchs always celebrate a festival of Aphrodite upon the expiration of their term of office, he was making all the arrangements for them, and in particular, having long ago promised to bring them women, and the most stately and beautiful women there were in Thebes, he said he would do so at that time. And they — for they were that sort of men — expected to spend the night very pleasantly. [5] Now when they had dined and with his zealous help had quickly become drunk, after they had long urged him to bring in their mistresses he went out and brought Melon and his followers, having dressed up three of them as matrons and the

others as their attendants. [6] He conducted them all to the anteroom adjoining the treasury of the polemarchs' building, and then came in himself and told Archias and his colleagues that the women said they would not enter if any of the servants were in the room. At that the polemarchs speedily ordered them all to withdraw, while Phillidas gave them wine and sent them off to the house of one of their number. Then he led in the supposed courtesans and seated them one beside each man. And the agreement was, that when they were seated, they should unveil themselves and strike at once. [7] It was in this way, then, as some tell the story, that the polemarchs were killed, while others say that Melon and his followers came in as though they were revellers and killed them. After this Phillidas took three of his men and proceeded to the house of Leontiades and knocking at the door he said that he wished to give him a message from the polemarchs. Now it chanced that Leontiades had dined by himself and was still reclining on his couch after dinner, while his wife sat beside him, working with wool. And believing Phillidas trustworthy he bade him come in. When the party had entered, they killed Leontiades and frightened his wife into silence. And as they went out, they ordered that the door should remain shut; and they threatened that if they found it open, they would kill all who were in the house. [8] When these things had been done, Phillidas took two of the men and went to the prison, and told the keeper of the prison that he was bringing a man from the polemarchs who was to be shut up. And as soon as the keeper opened the door, they immediately killed him and released the prisoners. Then they speedily armed these men with weapons which they took down from the portico, and, leading them to the Ampheum, ordered them to stand under arms. [9] After this they immediately made proclamation to all the Thebans, both horsemen and hoplites, to come forth from their houses, saying that the tyrants were dead. The citizens, however, so long as night lasted, remained quiet out of distrust; but when day came, and what had taken place was evident, then both the hoplites and the horsemen speedily rushed forth with their arms to lend aid. The returned exiles also sent horsemen to fetch the troops of the Athenians who were on the borders under two of the generals. And the latter, knowing the purpose for which they had sent out the horsemen, came to their aid.

[10]

Now when the Lacedaemonian governor in the Acropolis heard the proclamation of the night, he at once sent to Plataea and Thespieae for help. And the Theban horsemen, upon perceiving that the Plataeans were approaching, went out to meet them and killed more than twenty of them; then as soon as they had re-entered the city after this achievement, and the Athenians from the borders had arrived, they made an attack upon the Acropolis. [11] Now when those in the Acropolis realized that they were few in number, and saw the spirit of all who were coming against them, — for there were also offers of large prizes to those who should first ascend the Acropolis — being frightened in consequence of these things, they said that they would withdraw if the Thebans would allow them to do so in safety, keeping their arms. And the Thebans gladly granted what they asked, and after making a truce and giving their oaths let them go forth on these terms. [12] As they were on their way out, however, the citizens seized and killed all whom they recognized as belonging to the number of their political foes. There were some, indeed, who were spirited away and saved by the Athenians who had come from the borders with their supporting force. But the Thebans even seized the children of those who had been killed, whenever they had children, and slaughtered them. [13]

When the Lacedaemonians learned of these events, they put to death the governor who had abandoned the Acropolis instead of waiting for the relief force, and called out the ban against the Thebans. Now Agesilaus said that it was more than forty years since he had come of military age, and pointed out that just as other men of his age were no longer bound to serve outside their own country, so the same law applied to kings also. He, then, on this plea would not undertake the campaign. It was not, however, for this reason that he stayed at home, but because he well knew that if he was in command the citizens would say that Agesilaus was making trouble for the state in order that he might give assistance to tyrants. Therefore he let them decide as they would about this matter. [14] But the ephors, hearing the stories of those who had been banished after the slaughter in Thebes, sent out Cleombrotus, — this being the first time that he had a command, — in the dead of winter. Now the road which leads

through Eleutheræ was guarded by Chabrias with peltasts of the Athenians; but Cleombrotus climbed the mountain by the road leading to Plataea. And at the summit of the pass his peltasts, who were leading the advance, found the men who had been released from the prison, about one hundred and fifty in number, on guard. And the peltasts killed them all, except for one or another who may have escaped; whereupon Cleombrotus descended to Plataea, which was still friendly. [15] Then after he had arrived at Thespieæ, he went on from there to Cynoscephalæ, which belonged to the Thebans, and encamped. But after remaining there about sixteen days he retired again to Thespieæ. There he left Sphodrias as governor and a third part of each contingent of the allies; he also gave over to Sphodrias all the money which he chanced to have brought from home and directed him to hire a force of mercenaries besides. [16] Sphodrias, then, set about doing this. Meanwhile Cleombrotus proceeded to conduct the soldiers under his command back homeward by the road which leads through Creusis, the troops being vastly puzzled to know whether there was really war between them and the Thebans, or peace; for he had led his army into the country of the Thebans and then departed after doing just as little damage as he could. [17] While he was on the homeward way, however, an extraordinary wind beset him, which some indeed augured was a sign foreshadowing what was going to happen. For it not only did many other violent things, but when he had left Creusis with his army and was crossing the mountain ridge which runs down to the sea, it hurled down the precipice great numbers of packasses, baggage and all, while very many shields were snatched away from the soldiers and fell into the sea. [18] Finally many of the men, unable to proceed with all their arms, left their shields behind here and there on the summit of the ridge, putting them down on their backs and filling them with stones. On that day, then, they took dinner as best they could at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara; and on the following day they went back and recovered their shields. After this all returned at once to their several homes; for Cleombrotus dismissed them. [19]

Now the Athenians, seeing the power of the Lacedaemonians and that the war was no longer in Corinthian territory, but that the Lacedaemonians were now going past Attica and invading the

country of Thebes, were so fearful that they brought to trial the two generals who had been privy to the uprising of Melon against Leontiades and his party, put one of them to death, and, since the other did not remain to stand trial, exiled him. [20]

The Thebans, for their part, being also fearful in case no others except themselves should make war upon the Lacedaemonians, devised the following expedient. They persuaded Sphodrias, the Lacedaemonian governor at Thespieae, — by giving him money, it was suspected, — to invade Attica, that so he might involve the Athenians in war with the Lacedaemonians. And he in obedience to their persuasions, professing that he would capture Piraeus, inasmuch as it still had no gates, led forth his troops from Thespieae after they had taken an early dinner, saying that he would finish the journey to Piraeus before daybreak. [21] But he was still at Thria when daylight came upon him, and then he made no effort to escape observation, but on the contrary, when he had turned about, seized cattle and plundered houses. Meanwhile some of those who fell in with him during the night fled to the city and reported to the Athenians that a very large army was coming against them. So they speedily armed themselves, both horsemen and hoplites, and kept guard over the city. [22] Now it chanced also that there were ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians in Athens at the house of Callias, their diplomatic agent, — Etymocles, Aristolochus, and Ocyllus; and when the matter of the invasion was reported, the Athenians seized these men and kept them under guard, in the belief that they too were concerned in the plot. But they were utterly dismayed over the affair and said in their defence that if they had known that an attempt was being made to seize Piraeus, they would never have been so foolish as to put themselves in the power of the Athenians in the city, and, still less, at the house of their diplomatic agent, where they would most speedily be found. [23] They said, further, that it would become clear to the Athenians also that the Lacedaemonian state was not cognizant of this attempt, either. For as to Sphodrias, they said they well knew that they would hear that he had been put to death by the state. They accordingly were adjudged to be without any knowledge of the affair and were released. [24] But the ephors recalled Sphodrias and brought capital charges against him. He, however, out of fear did not obey the

summons; but nevertheless, although he did not obey and present himself for the trial, he was acquitted. And it seemed to many that the decision in this case was the most unjust ever known in Lacedaemon. The reason for it was as follows. [25]

Sphodrias had a son Cleonymus, who was at the age just following boyhood and was, besides, the handsomest and most highly regarded of all the youths of his years. And Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, chanced to be extremely fond of him. Now the friends of Cleombrotus were political associates of Sphodrias, and were therefore inclined to acquit him, but they feared Agesilaus and his friends, and likewise those who stood between the two parties; for it seemed that he had done a dreadful deed. [26] Therefore Sphodrias said to Cleonymus: "It is within your power, my son, to save your father by begging Archidamus to make Agesilaus favourable to me at my trial." Upon hearing this Cleonymus gathered courage to go to Archidamus and begged him for his sake to become the saviour of his father. [27] Now when Archidamus saw Cleonymus weeping, he wept with him as he stood by his side; and when he heard his request, he replied: "Cleonymus, be assured that I cannot even look my father in the face, but if I wish to accomplish some object in the state, I petition everyone else rather than my father; yet nevertheless, since you so bid me, believe that I will use every effort to accomplish this for you." [28] At that time, accordingly, he went from the public mess-room to his home and retired to rest; then he arose at dawn and kept watch, so that his father should not leave the house without his notice. But when he saw him going out, in the first place, if anyone among the citizens was present, he gave way to allow them to converse with Agesilaus, and again, if it was a stranger, he did the same, and again he even made way for any one of his attendants who wished to address him. Finally, when Agesilaus came back from the Eurotas and entered his house, Archidamus went away without even having approached him. On the next day also he acted in the very same way. [29] And Agesilaus, while he suspected for what reason he kept going to and fro with him, nevertheless asked no question, but let him alone. But Archidamus, on the other hand, was eager, naturally enough, to see Cleonymus; still, he did not know how he could go to him without first having talked with his father

about the request that Cleonymus had made. And the partisans of Sphodrias, since they did not see Archidamus coming to visit Cleonymus, whereas formerly he had come often, were in the utmost anxiety, fearing that he had been rebuked by Agesilaus. [30] Finally, however, Archidamus gathered courage to approach Agesilaus and say: "Father, Cleonymus bids me request you to save his father; and I make the same request of you, if it is possible." And Agesilaus answered: "For yourself, I grant you pardon; but how could I obtain my own pardon from the state if I failed to pronounce guilty of wrong-doing a man who made traffic for himself to the hurt of the state, I do not see." [31] Now at the time Archidamus said nothing in reply to these words, but yielding to the justice of them, went away. Afterwards, however, whether because he had conceived the idea himself or because it had been suggested to him by some one else, he went to Agesilaus and said: "Father, I know that if Sphodrias had done no wrong, you would have acquitted him; but as it is, if he has done something wrong, let him for our sakes obtain pardon at your hands." And Agesilaus said: "Well, if this should be honourable for us, it shall be so." Upon hearing these words Archidamus went away in great despondency. [32] Now one of the friends of Sphodrias in conversation with Etymocles, said to him: "I suppose," said he, "that you, the friends of Agesilaus, are all for putting Sphodrias to death." And Etymocles replied: "By Zeus, then we shall not be following the same course as Agesilaus, for he says to all with whom he has conversed the same thing, — that it is impossible that Sphodrias is not guilty of wrong-doing; but that when, as child, boy, and young man, one has continually performed all the duties of a Spartan, it is a hard thing to put such a man to death; for Sparta has need of such soldiers." [33] The man, then, upon hearing this, reported it to Cleonymus. And he, filled with joy, went at once to Archidamus and said: "We know now that you have a care for us; and be well assured, Archidamus, that we in our turn shall strive to take care that you may never have cause to be ashamed on account of our friendship." And he did not prove false to his words, for not only did he act in all ways as it is deemed honourable for a citizen of Sparta to act while he lived, but at Leuctra, fighting in defence of his king with Deinon the polemarch, he fell three times and was the first of the citizens to lose

his life in the midst of the enemy. And while his death caused extreme grief to Archidamus, still, as he promised, he did not bring shame upon him, but rather honour. It was in this way, then, that Sphodrias was acquitted. [34]

As for the Athenians, those among them who favoured the Boeotians pointed out to the people that the Lacedaemonians had not only not punished Sphodrias, but even commended him, for plotting against Athens. Therefore the Athenians furnished Piraeus with gates, set about building ships, and gave aid to the Boeotians with all zeal. [35] The Lacedaemonians on their side called out the ban against the Thebans, and believing that Agesilaus would lead them with more judgment than Cleombrotus, requested him to act as commander of the army. And he, saying that he would offer no objection to whatever the state thought best, made his preparations for the campaign. [36] Now he knew that unless one first gained possession of Mount Cithaeron, it would not be easy to effect an entrance into the country of Thebes; he therefore, upon learning that the Cleitorians were at war with the Orchomenians and were maintaining a force of mercenaries, came to an agreement with them that their mercenary force should be turned over to him if he had any need of it. [37] And when his sacrifices at the frontier had proved favourable, before he had himself reached Tegea he sent to the commander of the mercenaries at Cleitor, gave them pay for a month, and ordered them to occupy Cithaeron in advance. Meanwhile he directed the Orchomenians to cease from war so long as his campaign lasted; indeed, if any state undertook an expedition against any other while his army was in the field, he said that his first act would be to go against that state, in accordance with the resolution of the allies. [38]

After Agesilaus had crossed Cithaeron and had arrived at Thespieae, he made that his base of operations and proceeded against the country of the Thebans. When he found, however, that the plain and the most valuable portions of their territory had been surrounded by a protecting trench and stockade, he encamped now here and now there, and, leading forth his army after breakfast, laid waste those parts of the country which were on his side of the stockade and trench. For wherever Agesilaus appeared, the enemy moved along

within the stockade and kept in his front, for the purpose of offering resistance. [39] And once, when he was already withdrawing in the direction of his camp, the cavalry of the Thebans, up to that moment invisible, suddenly dashed out through the exits which had been made in the stockade, and inasmuch as the peltasts of Agesilaus were going away to dinner or were making their preparations for doing so, while the horsemen were some of them still dismounted and others in the act of mounting, the Thebans charged upon them; and they not only struck down a large number of the peltasts, but among the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas, who were Spartiatae, one of the Perioeci, Eudicus, and some Theban exiles, such as had not yet mounted their horses. [40] But when Agesilaus turned about and came to the rescue with the hoplites, his horsemen charged against the enemy's horsemen and the first ten year-classes of the hoplites ran along with them to the attack. The Theban horsemen, however, acted like men who had drunk a little at midday; for although they awaited the oncoming enemy in order to throw their spears, they threw before they were within range. Still, though they turned about at so great a distance, twelve of them were killed. [41] But when Agesilaus had noted that it was always after breakfast that the enemy also appeared, he offered sacrifice at daybreak, led his army forward as rapidly as possible, and passed within the stockade at an unguarded point. Then he devastated and burned the region within the enclosure up to the walls of the city. After doing this and withdrawing again to Thespieae, he fortified their city for the Thespians. There he left Phoebidas as governor, while he himself crossed the mountain again to Megara, disbanded the allies, and led his citizen troops back home. [42]

After this Phoebidas plundered the Thebans by sending out bands of freebooters, while by making raids he devastated their land. The Thebans, on their side, desiring to avenge themselves, made an expedition with their entire force against the country of the Thespians. But when they were within the territory of Thespieae, Phoebidas pressed them close with his peltasts and did not allow them to stray at any point from their phalanx; so that the Thebans in great vexation proceeded to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced, and their mule-drivers also threw away the produce which they had seized and pushed for home; so dreadful a panic had fallen

upon the army. [43] Meanwhile Phoebidas pressed upon them boldly, having with him his peltasts and giving orders to the hoplites to follow in battle order. Indeed, he conceived the hope of putting the Thebans to rout; for while he himself was leading on stoutly, he was exhorting the others to attack the enemy and ordering the hoplites of the Thespians to follow. [44] But when the horsemen of the Thebans as they retired came to an impassable ravine, they first gathered together and then turned to face him, not knowing where they could cross. Now the peltasts were few in number; the foremost of them were therefore seized with fear of the horsemen and took to flight; but when the horsemen, in their turn, saw this, they applied the lesson they had learned from the fugitives and attacked them. [45] So then Phoebidas and two or three with him fell fighting, and when this happened the mercenaries all took to flight. And when as they fled they came to the hoplites of the Thespians, these also, though previously they had been quite proudly confident that they would not give way before the Thebans, took to flight without so much as being pursued at all. For by this time it was too late in the day for a pursuit. Now not many of the Thespians were killed, but nevertheless they did not stop until they got within their wall. [46] As a result of this affair the spirits of the Thebans were kindled again, and they made expeditions to Thespieae and to the other cities round about them. The democratic factions, however, withdrew from these cities to Thebes. For in all of them oligarchical governments had been established, just as in Thebes; the result was that the friends of the Lacedaemonians in these cities were in need of aid. But after the death of Phoebidas the Lacedaemonians merely sent over by sea a polemarch and one regiment, and thus kept Thespieae garrisoned. [47]

When the spring came, however, the ephors again called out the ban against Thebes and, just as before, requested Agesilaus to take command. Now since he held the same views as before about invading Boeotia, he sent to the polemarch at Thespieae before even offering the sacrifice at the frontier and ordered him to occupy in advance the summit overlooking the road which leads over Cithaeron and to guard it until he himself arrived. [48] And when he had passed this point and arrived at Plataea, he pretended that he was again going to Thespieae first, and sending thither he gave orders that a

market should be made ready and that the embassies should await him there; so that the Thebans guarded strongly the pass leading from Thespieae into their country. [49] But on the following day at daybreak, after offering sacrifices, Agesilaus proceeded by the road to Erythrae. And after accomplishing in one day a two days' march for an army, he passed the line of the stockade at Scolus before the Thebans returned from keeping guard at the place where he had entered on the previous occasion. Having done this, he laid waste the region to the east of the city of the Thebans, as far as the territory of the Tanagraeans; for at that time Hypatodorus and his followers, who were friends of the Lacedaemonians, still held possession of Tanagra. After this he proceeded to retire, keeping the wall of Tanagra on his left. [50] Meanwhile the Thebans came up quietly and formed in line of battle against him on the hill called Old Woman's Breast, with the trench and the stockade in their rear, believing that this was a good place to risk a battle; for the ground at this point was a rather narrow strip and hard to traverse. When Agesilaus observed this, he did not lead his army against them, but turned aside and proceeded in the direction of the city. [51] The Thebans, on the other hand, being seized with fear for their city, because it was empty of defenders, abandoned the place where they were drawn up and hurried toward the city on the run, by the road which leads to Potniae; for this was the safer route. And it really seemed that Agesilaus' expedient proved a clever one, for though he led his army directly away from the enemy, he caused the latter to retire on the run, and while the enemy ran past, some of his polemarchs with their regiments nevertheless succeeded in charging upon them. [52] The Thebans, however, hurled their spears from the hill-tops, so that Alypetus, one of the polemarchs, was struck and killed; but in spite of that the Thebans were put to flight from this hill also. Consequently the Sciritans and some of the horsemen climbed the hill and showered blows upon the hind-most of the Thebans as they rushed past them toward the city. [53] As soon as they got near the wall, however, the Thebans turned about; and the Sciritans, upon seeing them, fell back at a faster pace than a walk. Now not one of them was killed; nevertheless, the Thebans set up a trophy, because after climbing the hill the Sciritans had retired. [54] As for Agesilaus, when it was time for him to do so, he withdrew and

encamped at the very spot where he had seen the enemy drawn up; then on the following day he led his army away by the road to Thespieae. But since the peltasts who were mercenaries in the service of the Thebans clung boldly at his heels, and kept calling out to Chabrias because he was not doing the same, the horsemen of the Olynthians — for they were now serving with the Lacedaemonians in accordance with their sworn agreement — wheeled about and, once in pursuit of the peltasts, chased them on up a slope and killed very many of them; for when going up a hill where the riding is good foot-soldiers are quickly overtaken by horsemen. [55] Now when Agesilaus had arrived at Thespieae, finding that the citizens were involved in factional strife, and that those who said they were supporters of Lacedaemon wanted to put to death their opponents, of whom Menon was one, he did not allow this proceeding; but he reconciled them and compelled them to give oaths to one another, and then, this being accomplished, he came back again by way of Cithaeron, taking the road leading to Megara. From there he dismissed the allies and led his citizen troops back home. [56]

The Thebans were now greatly pinched for want of corn, because they had got no crops from their land for two years; they therefore sent men and two triremes to Pagasae after corn, giving them ten talents. But while they were buying up the corn, Alcetas, the Lacedaemonian who was keeping guard in Oreus, manned three triremes, taking care that the fact should not be reported. And when the corn was on its way from Pagasae, Alcetas captured both corn and triremes, and made prisoners of the men, who were not fewer than three hundred in number. These men he then shut up in the Acropolis, where he himself had his quarters. [57] Now since, as the story ran, there was a boy of Oreus, an extremely fine lad too, who was always in attendance upon him, Alcetas went down from the Acropolis and occupied himself with this boy. Accordingly the prisoners, observing his carelessness, seized the Acropolis, and the city revolted; so that thereafter the Thebans brought in supplies of corn easily. [58]

As the spring came on again, Agesilaus was confined to his bed. For when he was leading his army back from Thebes, and, in Megara, was ascending from the Aphrodisium to the government

building, some vein or other was ruptured, and the blood from his body poured into his sound leg. Then as the lower part of his leg became immensely swollen and the pain unendurable, a Syracusan surgeon opened the vein at his ankle. But when once the blood had begun to flow, it ran night and day, and with all they could do they were unable to check the flow until he lost consciousness; then, however, it stopped. So it came about that after being carried back to Lacedaemon he was ill the rest of the summer and throughout the winter. [59]

The Lacedaemonians, however, when spring was just beginning, again called out the ban and directed Cleombrotus to take command. Now when he arrived at Cithaeron with the army, his peltasts went on ahead for the purpose of occupying in advance the heights above the road. But some of the Thebans and Athenians who were already in possession of the summit allowed the peltasts to pursue their ascent for a time, but when they were close upon them, rose from their concealment, pursued them, and killed about forty. After this had happened, Cleombrotus, in the belief that it was impossible to cross over the mountain into the country of the Thebans, led back and disbanded his army. [60]

When the allies gathered together at Lacedaemon, speeches were forthcoming from them to the effect that, through slackness in prosecuting the war, they were going to be worn out by it. For they said it was within their power to man far more ships than the Athenians had and to capture their city by starvation; and it was also within their power to transport an army across to Thebes in these same ships, steering for Phocis if they chose, or, if they chose, for Creusis. [61] Influenced by these considerations they manned sixty triremes, and Pollis was made admiral of them. And those who had conceived these views were not disappointed, for the Athenians were in fact as good as besieged; for while their corn ships got as far as Gerastus, they would not now venture to sail along the coast from that point, since the Lacedaemonian fleet was in the neighbourhood of Aegina, Ceos, and Andros. Then the Athenians, realizing the necessity that was upon them, went on board their ships themselves, joined battle with Pollis under the leadership of Chabrias, and were victorious in the battle. Thus the corn was brought in for the

Athenians. [62] Again, while the Lacedaemonians were preparing to transport an army across the gulf to proceed against the Boeotians, the Thebans requested the Athenians to send an expedition around Peloponnesus, believing that if this were done it would not be possible for the Lacedaemonians at one and the same time to guard their own country and likewise the allied cities in their neighbourhood, and also to send across an army large enough to oppose themselves, the Thebans. [63] And the Athenians, angry as they were with the Lacedaemonians on account of Sphodrias' act, did eagerly dispatch the expedition around Peloponnesus, manning sixty ships and choosing Timotheus as their commander. Now since the enemy had not invaded the territory of Thebes in the year when Cleombrotus was in command of the army and did not do so in the year when Timotheus made his voyage, the Thebans boldly undertook expeditions against the neighbouring cities of Boeotia and recovered them a second time. [64] As for Timotheus, after he had sailed round Peloponnesus he brought Corcyra at once under his control; he did not, however, enslave the inhabitants or banish individuals or change the government. As a result of this he made all the states in that region more favourably inclined to him. The [65] Lacedaemonians, however, manned a fleet to oppose him, and sent out Nicolochus, a very daring man, as admiral; and as soon as he sighted the ships under Timotheus, he did not delay, even though six of his ships, those from Ambracia, were not with him, but with fifty-five ships he joined battle with those under Timotheus, which numbered sixty. And at that time he was defeated, and Timotheus set up a trophy at Alyzeia. [66] But when the ships of Timotheus had been hauled up and were being refitted, and meanwhile the six Ambraciot triremes had joined Nicolochus, he sailed to Alyzeia, where Timotheus was. And since the latter did not put out against him, he in his turn set up a trophy on the nearest islands. When, however, Timotheus finished refitting the ships which he had and had manned, besides, others from Corcyra, the whole number of his ships now amounting to more than seventy, he was far superior to the enemy in the size of his fleet. But he kept sending for money from Athens; for he needed a great deal, inasmuch as he had a great many ships.

BOOK VI.

1. The Athenians and Lacedaemonians, then, were occupied with these things. As for the Thebans, after they had subdued the cities in Boeotia they made an expedition into Phocis also. And when the Phocians, on their side, sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon and said that unless the Lacedaemonians came to their assistance they would not be able to escape yielding to the Thebans, thereupon the Lacedaemonians sent Cleombrotus, the king, across to Phocis by sea, and with him four regiments of their own and the corresponding contingents of the allies. [2]

At about this time Polydamas of Pharsalus also arrived from Thessaly and presented himself before the general assembly of the Lacedaemonians. This man was not only held in very high repute throughout all Thessaly, but in his own city was regarded as so honourable a man that, when the Pharsalians fell into factional strife, they put their Acropolis in his hands and entrusted to him the duty of receiving the revenues, and of expending, both for religious purposes and for the administration in general, all the sums which were prescribed in their laws. [3] And he did, in fact, use these funds to guard the Acropolis and keep it safe for them, and likewise to administer their other affairs, rendering them an account yearly. And whenever there was a deficit he made it up from his own private purse, and whenever there was a surplus of revenue he paid himself back. Besides, he was hospitable and magnificent, after the Thessalian manner. Now when this man arrived at Lacedaemon he spoke as follows: [4]

“Men of Lacedaemon, I am your diplomatic agent and ‘benefactor,’ as all my ancestors have been of whom we have any knowledge; I therefore deem it proper, if I am in any difficulty, to come to you, and if any trouble is gathering for you in Thessaly, to make it known to you. Now you also, I am very sure, often hear the name of Jason spoken, for the man has great power and is famous. This man, after concluding a truce with my city, had a meeting with me and spoke as follows: [5] ‘Polydamas, that I could bring over your city, Pharsalus, even against its will, you may conclude from the

following facts. You know,' he said, 'that I have as allies the greater number and the largest of the cities of Thessaly; and I subdued them when you were with them in the field against me. Furthermore, you are aware that I have men of other states as mercenaries to the number of six thousand, with whom, as I think, no city could easily contend. As for numbers,' he said, 'of course as great a force might march out of some other city also; but armies made up of citizens include men who are already advanced in years and others who have not yet come to their prime. Furthermore, in every city very few men train their bodies, but among my mercenaries no one serves unless he is able to endure as severe toils as I myself.' [6] And he himself — for I must tell you the truth — is exceedingly strong of body and a lover of toil besides. Indeed, he makes trial every day of the men under him, for in full armour he leads them, both on the parade-ground and whenever he is on a campaign anywhere. And whomsoever among his mercenaries he finds to be weaklings he casts out, but whomsoever he sees to be fond of toil and fond of the dangers of war he rewards, some with double pay, others with triple pay, others even with quadruple pay, and with gifts besides, as well as with care in sickness and magnificence in burial; so that all the mercenaries in his service know that martial prowess assures to them a life of greatest honour and abundance. [7]

"He pointed out to me, further, although I knew it before, that he already had as subjects the Maracians, the Dolopians, and Alcetas, the ruler in Epirus. 'Therefore,' he said, 'what have I to fear that I should not expect to subdue you easily? To be sure, one who did not know me might perhaps retort, "Then why do you delay, instead of prosecuting your campaign against the Pharsalians at once?" Because, by Zeus, it seems to me to be altogether better to bring you over to my side willingly rather than unwillingly. For if you were constrained by force, you, on the one hand, would be planning whatever harm you could against me, and I, on the other, should be wanting to keep you as weak as I could; but if it was through persuasion that you joined with me, it is clear that we should advance one another's interests to the best of our ability. [8] Now I know, Polydamas, that your city looks to you, and if you make her friendly to me I promise you,' he said, 'that I will make you the greatest, next

to myself, of all the men in Greece; and what manner of fortune it is wherein I offer you the second place, hear from me, and believe nothing that I say unless upon consideration it appears to you true. Well, then, this is plain to us, that if Pharsalus and the cities which are dependent upon you should be added to my power, I could easily become Tagus of all the Thessalians; and, further, that whenever Thessaly is under a Tagus, her horsemen amount to six thousand and more than ten thousand men become hoplites. [9] And when I see both their bodies and their high spirit, I think that if one should handle them rightly, there would be no people to whom the Thessalians would deign to be subject. Again, while Thessaly is an exceedingly flat land, all the peoples round about are subject to her as soon as a Tagus is established here; and almost all who dwell in these neighbouring regions are javelin-men, so that it is likely that our force would be far superior in peltasts also. [10] Furthermore, the Boeotians and all the others who are at war with the Lacedaemonians are my allies, and they are ready to be my followers, too, if only I free them from the Lacedaemonians. The Athenians also, I know very well, would do anything to become allies of ours, but I do not think it best to establish a friendship with them; for I believe that I could obtain empire by sea even more easily than by land. [11]

“To see whether my calculations are reasonable, he said, ‘consider these points also. With Macedonia in our possession, the place from which the Athenians get their timber, we shall of course be able to construct far more ships than they. Again, who are likely to be better able to supply these ships with men, the Athenians or ourselves, who have so many serfs of so excellent a sort? And who are likely to be better able to maintain the sailors, we, who on account of our abundance even have corn to export to other lands, or the Athenians, who have not even enough for themselves unless they buy it? [12] Then as for money, we surely should be likely to enjoy a greater abundance of it, for we should not be looking to little islands for our revenues, but drawing upon the resources of peoples of the continent. For of course all who are round about us pay tribute as soon as Thessaly is under a Tagus. And you certainly know that it is by drawing upon the resources, not of islands, but of a continent, that the King of the Persians is the richest of mortals; and yet I think that

it is even easier to reduce him to subjection than to reduce Greece. For I know that everybody there, save one person, has trained himself to servitude rather than to prowess, and I know what manner of force it was — both that which went up with Cyrus and that which went up with Agesilaus — that brought the King to extremities.’ [13]

“Now in answer to these statements I replied that while the other matters which he mentioned were worth considering, nevertheless for people who were friends of the Lacedaemonians to secede and go over to their enemies without having any charge to bring against them — this, I said, seemed to me to be impracticable. He thereupon, after commending me and saying that he must cling to me the more because I was that sort of a man, permitted me to come to you and say the truth, that he was intending to undertake a campaign against the Pharsalians if we did not yield to him. Therefore he bade me ask assistance from you. ‘And if,’ said he, ‘the gods grant that you persuade them to send a supporting force large enough to make war with me, so be it,’ he said, ‘and let us abide by whatever may be the result of the war; but if it seems to you that they do not give you adequate assistance, would you not justly be blameless thenceforth if you should follow the course that is best for your city, which honours you?’ [14]

“It is about these matters, then, that I have come to you, and I tell you the whole situation there as I myself see it and have heard it from his lips. And I believe that this is the case, men of Lacedaemon, that if you send thither a force such as shall seem, not to me only, but also to the rest of the Thessalians, large enough to make war upon Jason, the cities will revolt from him; for all of them are afraid of the lengths to which the man’s power will go. But if you imagine that emancipated Helots and a private individual as commander will suffice, I advise you to remain quiet. [15] For, be well assured, the war will be against strong forces and against a man who is so sagacious a general that whatsoever he undertakes to accomplish, whether it be by secrecy, or by getting ahead of an enemy, or by sheer force, he is not very apt to fail of his object. For he is able to make as good use of night as of day, and when he is in haste, to take breakfast and dinner together and go on with his labours. And he thinks it is proper to rest only after he has reached the goal for which he had set out and

has accomplished the things that are needful; moreover, he has accustomed his followers also to the same habits. Yet he also knows how to satisfy the wishes of his soldiers when by added toils they have achieved some success; so that all who are with him have learned this lesson too, that from toils come indulgences. [16] Again, he has greater self-control than any man I know as regards the pleasures of the body, so that he is not prevented by such things, either, from doing always what needs to be done. Consider, therefore, and tell me, as beseems you, what you will be able to do and intend to do.” [17]

Thus he spoke. As for the Lacedaemonians, at the time they deferred their answer; but after reckoning up on the next day and on the third their regiments abroad, to see how many they numbered, and the regiments which were in the vicinity of Lacedaemon to be employed against the triremes of the Athenians and for the war upon their neighbours, they replied that at present they could not send him an adequate supporting force, and told him to go home and arrange his own affairs and those of his city as best he could. [18] He, then, after commending the straightforwardness of the state, departed. And he begged Jason not to force him to give over the Acropolis of the Pharsalians, his wish being that he might still keep it safe for those who had put it into his hands; but he gave his own children to Jason as hostages, with the promise not only to win over the city and make it his willing ally, but also to help in establishing him as Tagus. When, accordingly, they had exchanged pledges with one another, the Pharsalians at once observed peace, and Jason was speedily established by common consent as Tagus of the Thessalians. [19] Having become Tagus, he assessed the contingents of cavalry and hoplites that the cities were to furnish, according to the ability of each. And the result was that he had more than eight thousand horsemen, including the allies, his hoplites were reckoned at not fewer than twenty thousand, and there were peltasts enough to be set in array against the whole world; for it is a task even to enumerate the cities which furnished them. Further, he sent orders to all who dwelt round about to pay the same tribute as had been fixed in the time of Scopas. Thus these events were proceeding to their issue; I now return to the point at which I digressed when I took up the story

of Jason.

2.

The Lacedaemonians, then, and their allies were gathering together in Phocis, and the Thebans had withdrawn to their own country and were guarding the passes. As for the Athenians, since they saw that the Thebans were growing in power through their help and still were not contributing money for their fleet, while they were themselves being worn out by extraordinary taxes, by plundering expeditions from Aegina, and by guarding their territory, they conceived a desire to cease from the war, and sending ambassadors to Lacedaemon, concluded peace. [2]

Two of the Athenian ambassadors, acting in accordance with a decree of the state, sailed directly from there and gave orders to Timotheus to sail back home, inasmuch as there was peace; as he was sailing back, however, he landed in their country the exiles of the Zacynthians. [3] And when the Zacynthians in the city sent to the Lacedaemonians and told them the sort of treatment they had received at the hands of Timotheus, the Lacedaemonians immediately deemed the Athenians guilty of wrong-doing, set about preparing a fleet again, and fixed the proportionate contingents, for a total of sixty ships, from Lacedaemon itself, Corinth, Leucas, Ambracia, Elis, Zacynthus, Achaea, Epidaurus, Troezen, Hermion, and Haliae. [4] Then they put Mnasippus in command of this fleet as admiral and directed him to look after all their interests in that part of the sea, and especially to make an expedition against Corcyra. They likewise sent to Dionysius, pointing out that it was advantageous to him also that Corcyra should not be under the Athenians. [5]

Mnasippus, accordingly, as soon as his fleet had been gathered together, set sail to Corcyra; and besides the troops from Lacedaemon who served with him he also had no fewer than one thousand five hundred mercenaries. [6] Now when he had disembarked he was master of the country, laid waste the land, which was most beautifully cultivated and planted, and destroyed magnificent dwellings and wine-cellars with which the farms were furnished; the result was, it was said, that his soldiers became so luxurious that they would not drink any wine unless it had a fine bouquet. Furthermore, very many slaves and cattle were captured on

the farms. [7] Afterwards he encamped with his land forces on a hill which was distant from the city about five stadia and situated between the city and the country, so that he might from there intercept any of the Corcyraeans who might try to go out to their lands; then he had the sailors from his ships encamp on the other side of the city, at a point from which he thought they would observe in good time any vessels that approached and prevent their coming in. In addition he also maintained a blockade at the mouth of the harbour when the weather did not interfere. [8] In this way, then, he held the city besieged.

When the Corcyraeans found themselves unable to get anything from their farms because they were overmastered by land, while on the other hand nothing was brought in to them by water because they were overmastered by sea, they were in great straits. [9] Accordingly, sending to the Athenians, they begged them to come to their assistance, and pointed out that they would lose a great advantage if they were deprived of Corcyra, and would add great strength to their enemies; for from no other state, they said, except Athens, could come a greater number of ships or a greater amount of money. Further, Corcyra was situated in a favourable position with respect to the Corinthian Gulf and the states which reach down to its shores, in a favourable position for doing damage to the territory of Laconia, and in an extremely favourable position with respect to Epirus across the way and the coastwise route from Sicily to Peloponnesus. [10] When the Athenians heard these things they came to the conclusion that they must give serious care to the matter, and they sent out Ctesicles as general with about six hundred peltasts and requested Alcetas to help to convey them across. [11] Accordingly these troops were brought across by night to a place in the country of Corcyra, and made their way into the city. The Athenians also voted to man sixty ships, and elected Timotheus as commander of them. [12] But he was unable to man his ships at Athens, and therefore set sail for the islands and endeavoured to complete his crews there, thinking that it was a serious matter to sail light-heartedly around Peloponnesus to attack ships with well-trained crews. [13] The Athenians, however, believing that he was using up the time of the year which was favourable for his voyage, did not pardon him, but deposed him from

his office and chose Iphicrates in his place. [14] As soon as he assumed office, he proceeded to man his ships expeditiously, and compelled his captains to do their duty. He also obtained from the Athenians whatever war-ships were cruising here or there in the neighbourhood of Attica, as well as the Paralus and the Salaminia, saying that if matters in Corcyra turned out successfully, he would send them back many ships. And his ships amounted in all to about seventy. [15]

Meanwhile the Corcyraeans were suffering so greatly from hunger that on account of the number of the deserters Mnasippus issued a proclamation directing that whoever deserted should be sold into slavery. And when they kept on deserting none the less, at last he even tried to drive them back with the scourge. Those in the city, however, would not admit the slaves within the wall again, and many died outside. [16] Now Mnasippus, seeing these things, and believing that he all but had possession of the city already, was trying innovations with his mercenaries. He had before this dismissed some of them from his service, and he now owed those who remained as much as two months' pay. This was not, so it was said, because he lacked money, for most of the states had sent him money instead of men, because it was an overseas expedition. [17] Now the people in the city, observing from their towers that the enemy's posts were less carefully guarded than formerly, and that the men were scattered through the country, made a sally, capturing some of them and cutting down others. [18] When Mnasippus perceived this, he put on his armour and went to the rescue himself, with all the hoplites he had, and at the same time ordered the captains and commanders of divisions to lead forth the mercenaries. [19] And when some captains replied that it was not easy to keep men obedient unless they were given provisions, he struck one of them with a staff and another with the spike of his spear. So it was, then, that when his forces issued from the city with him they were all dispirited and hostile to him — a situation that is by no means conducive to fighting. [20]

Now after he had formed the troops in line, Mnasippus himself turned to flight those of the enemy who were in front of the gates, and pursued them. When, however, these came near the wall, they turned about, and from the tombstones threw spears and javelins

upon the Lacedaemonians; meanwhile others sallied out by the other gates and in mass formation attacked those who were at the extreme end of the line. [21] These latter, who were drawn up only eight deep, thinking that the outer end of the phalanx was too weak, undertook to swing it around upon itself. But as soon as they began the backward movement, the enemy fell upon them, in the belief that they were in flight, and they did not go on and swing forward; furthermore, those who were next to them also began to flee. [22] As for Mnasippus, while he was unable to aid the troops which were hard pressed, because the enemy was attacking him in front, he was left with an ever smaller number of men. Finally, all of the enemy massed themselves together and charged upon Mnasippus and his troops, which were by this time very few. And the citizens, seeing what was going on, came out to join in the attack. [23] Then after they had killed Mnasippus, all straightway joined in the pursuit. And they probably would have captured the very camp, along with its stockade, had not the pursuers turned back upon seeing the crowd of camp-followers, of attendants, and of slaves, imagining that there was some fighting ability in them. [24] At this time, accordingly, the Corcyraeans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies of the dead under a truce. And after this the people in the city were stouter of heart, while those outside were in the utmost despondency. For there was not only a report that Iphicrates was already practically at hand, but the Corcyraeans were in fact also manning ships. [25] Then Hypermenes, who chanced to be vice-admiral under Mnasippus, manned fully the entire fleet which he had there, and after sailing round to the stockade and filling all his transports with the slaves and the captured property, sent them off; he himself, however, with his marines and such of the soldiers as had been left alive, kept guard over the stockade; [26] but finally they, too, embarked upon the triremes in great confusion and went sailing off, leaving behind them a great deal of corn, much wine, and many slaves and sick soldiers; for they were exceedingly afraid that they would be caught on the island by the Athenians. And so they reached Leucas in safety. [27]

As for Iphicrates, when he began his voyage around Peloponnesus he went on with all needful preparations for a naval battle as he sailed; for at the outset he had left his large sails behind him at

Athens, since he expected to fight, and now, further, he made but slight use of his smaller sails, even if the wind was favourable; by making his voyage, then, with the oar, he kept his men in better condition of body and caused the ships to go faster. [28] Furthermore, whenever the expedition was going to take the noonday or the evening meal at any particular spot, he would often draw back the head of the column from the shore opposite the place in question; then he would turn the line around again, cause the triremes to head toward the land, and start them off at a signal to race to the shore. It was counted a great prize of victory to be the first to get water or anything else they needed, and the first to get their meal. On the other hand, those who reached the shore last incurred a great penalty in that they came off worse in all these points, and in the fact that they had to put to sea again at the same time as the rest when the signal was given; for the result was that those who came in first did everything at their leisure, while those who came in last had to hurry. [29] Again, in setting watches, if he chanced to be taking the midday meal in a hostile country, he posted some on the land, as is proper, but besides he hoisted the masts on the ships and had men keep watch from their tops. These men, therefore, could see much farther, from their higher point of view, than those on the level. Further, wherever he dined or slept, he would not have a fire inside the camp during the night, but kept a light burning in front of his forces, so that no one could approach unobserved. Frequently, however, if it was good weather, he would put to sea again immediately after dining; and if there was a favourable breeze, they sailed and rested at the same time, while if it was necessary to row, he rested the sailors by turns. [30] Again, when he sailed by day, he would lead the fleet, by signals, at one time in column and at another in line of battle; so that, while still pursuing their voyage, they had at the same time practised and become skilled in all the manoeuvres of battle before they reached the sea which, as they supposed, was held by the enemy. And although for the most part they took both their noonday and their evening meals in the enemy's country, nevertheless, by doing only the necessary things, he always got to sea before the enemy's forces arrived to repel him and speedily got under way again. [31]

At the time of Mnasippus' death Iphicrates chanced to be near the

Sphagiae. Then, after reaching Elis and sailing past the mouth of the Alpheus, he anchored beneath the promontory called Ichthys. From there he put to sea on the following day for Cephallenia, having his fleet in such order and making the voyage in such a way that, if it should be necessary to fight, he should be ready in all essential respects to do so. For he had not heard the news of Mnasippus' death from any eyewitness, but suspected that it was told to deceive him, and hence was on his guard; when he arrived at Cephallenia, however, he there got definite information, and so rested his forces. [32]

Now I am aware that all these matters of practice and training are customary whenever men expect to engage in a battle by sea, but that which I commend in Iphicrates is this, that when it was incumbent upon him to arrive speedily at the place where he supposed he should fight with the enemy, he discovered a way to keep his men from being either, by reason of the voyage they had made, unskilled in the tactics of fighting at sea, or, by reason of their having been trained in such tactics, any the more tardy in arriving at their destination. [33]

After subduing the cities in Cephallenia he sailed to Corcyra. There, upon hearing that ten triremes were sailing thither from Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians, he first went in person and looked over the ground to find a point from which any who approached the island could be seen and the men stationed there to send signals to the city would be visible; he then stationed his watchers at that point. [34] He also agreed with them as to how they were to signal when the enemy were approaching and when they were at anchor. Then he gave his orders to twenty of the captains, whose duty it should be to follow him when the herald gave the word; and in case anyone failed to follow, he warned him that he would not have occasion to find fault with his punishment. Now when the signal came that the triremes were approaching, and when the word was given by the herald, the ardour of all was a sight worth seeing; for there was no one among those who were to sail who did not run to get aboard his ship. [35] When Iphicrates had reached the place where the enemy's triremes were, he found the crews of all save one already disembarked on the shore, but Melanippus, the Rhodian, had not only advised the others not to remain there, but had

manned his own ship and was sailing out to sea. Now although he met the ships of Iphicrates, he nevertheless escaped, but all the ships from Syracuse were captured, along with their crews. [36] Thereupon Iphicrates cut off the beaks and towed the triremes into the harbour of Corcyra; as for the crews, he concluded an agreement that each man should pay a fixed ransom, with the exception of Crinippus the commander, whom he kept under guard, intending either to exact a very large ransom or to sell him. Crinippus, however, was so mortified that he died by a self-inflicted death, and Iphicrates let the rest go, accepting Corcyraeans as sureties for the ransoms. [37] Now he maintained his sailors for the most part by having them work for the Corcyraeans on their lands; the peltasts, however, and the hoplites from his ships he took with him and crossed over to Acarnania. There he gave aid to the cities which were friendly, in case any of them needed aid, and made war upon the Thyrians, who were very valiant men and were in possession of a very strong fortress. [38] Furthermore, he took over the fleet which was at Corcyra, and with almost ninety ships first sailed to Cephallenia and collected money, in some cases with the consent of the people, in other cases against their will. Then he made preparations to inflict damage upon the territory of the Lacedaemonians, and to bring over to his side such of the other hostile states in that region as were willing and to make war upon such as would not yield. [39]

Now for my part I not only commend this campaign in particular among all the campaigns of Iphicrates, but I commend, further, his directing the Athenians to choose as his colleagues Callistratus, the popular orator, who was not very favourably inclined toward him, and Chabrias, who was regarded as a very good general. For if he thought them to be able men and hence wished to take them as advisers, he seems to me to have done a wise thing, while on the other hand if he believed them to be his adversaries and wished in so bold a way to prove that he was neither remiss nor neglectful in any point, this seems to me to be the act of a man possessed of great confidence in himself. He, then, was occupied with these things.

3.

Meanwhile the Athenians, seeing that the Plataeans, who were their friends, had been expelled from Boeotia and had fled to them

for refuge, and that the Thespians were beseeching them not to allow them to be left without a city, no longer commended the Thebans, but, on the contrary, while they were partly ashamed to make war upon them and partly reckoned it to be inexpedient, they nevertheless refused any longer to take part with them in what they were doing, inasmuch as they saw that they were campaigning against the Phocians, who were old friends of the Athenians, and were annihilating cities which had been faithful in the war against the barbarian and were friendly to Athens. [2] For these reasons the Athenian people voted to make peace, and in the first place sent ambassadors to Thebes to invite the Thebans to go with them to Lacedaemon to treat for peace if they so desired; then they sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon themselves. Among those who were chosen were Callias, the son of Hipponicus; Autocles, the son of Strombichides; Demostratus, the son of Aristophon; Aristocles, Cephisodotus, Melanopus, and Lycaethus. [3] Callistratus, the popular orator, also went with the embassy; for he had promised Iphicrates that if he would let him go home, he would either send money for the fleet or bring about peace, and consequently he had been at Athens and engaged in efforts to secure peace; and when the ambassadors came before the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and the representatives of their allies, the first of them who spoke was Callias, the torch-bearer. He was the sort of man to enjoy no less being praised by himself than by others, and on this occasion he began in about the following words: [4]

“Men of Lacedaemon, as regards the position I hold as your diplomatic agent, I am not the only member of our family who has held it, but my father’s father received it from his father and handed it on to his descendants; and I also wish to make clear to you how highly esteemed we have been by our own state. For whenever there is war she chooses us as generals, and whenever she becomes desirous of tranquillity she sends us out as peacemakers. I, for example, have twice before now come here to treat for a termination of war, and on both these embassies I succeeded in achieving peace both for you and for ourselves; now for a third time I am come, and it is now, I believe, that with greater justice than ever before I should obtain a reconciliation between us. For [5] I see that you do not think

one way and we another, but that you as well as we are distressed over the destruction of Plataea and Thespieae. How, then, is it not fitting that men who hold the same views should be friends of one another rather than enemies? Again, it is certainly the part of wise men not to undertake war even if they should have differences, if they be slight; but if, in fact, we should actually find ourselves in complete agreement, should we not be astounding fools not to make peace? , while the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux, were putative sons of Tyndareus of Sparta. [6] The right course, indeed, would have been for us not to take up arms against one another in the beginning, since the tradition is that the first strangers to whom Triptolemus, our ancestor, revealed the mystic rites of Demeter and Core were Heracles, your state's founder, and the Dioscuri, your citizens; and, further, that it was upon Peloponnesus that he first bestowed the seed of Demeter's fruit. How, then, can it be right, either that you should ever come to destroy the fruit of those very men from whom you received the seed, or that we should not desire those very men, to whom we gave the seed, to obtain the greatest possible abundance of food? But if it is indeed ordered of the gods that wars should come among men, then we ought to begin war as tardily as we can, and, when it has come, to bring it to an end as speedily as possible." [7]

After him Autocles, who had the reputation of being a very incisive orator, spoke as follows: "Men of Lacedaemon, that what I am about to say will not be said to your pleasure, I am not unaware; but it seems to me that men who desire the friendship which they may establish to endure for the longest possible time, ought to point out to one another the causes of their wars. Now you always say, 'The cities must be independent,' but you are yourselves the greatest obstacle in the way of their independence. For the first stipulation you make with your allied cities is this, that they follow wherever you may lead. And yet how is this consistent with independence? [8] And you make for yourselves enemies without taking counsel with your allies, and against those enemies you lead them; so that frequently they who are said to be independent are compelled to take the field against men most friendly to themselves. Furthermore — and there can be nothing in the world more opposed to independence — you establish governments of ten here and governments of thirty

there; and in the case of these rulers your care is, not that they shall rule according to law, but that they shall be able to hold possession of their cities by force. So that you manifestly take pleasure in despotisms rather than in free governments. [9] Again, when the King directed that the cities be independent, you showed yourselves strongly of the opinion that if the Thebans did not allow each one of their cities, not only to rule itself, but also to live under whatever laws it chose, they would not be acting in accordance with the King's writing; but when you had seized the Cadmea, you did not permit even the Thebans themselves to be independent. The right thing, however, is that those who are going to be friends should not insist upon obtaining their full rights from others, and then show themselves disposed to grasp the most they can." [10]

By these words he caused silence on the part of all, while at the same time he gave pleasure to those who were angry with the Lacedaemonians. After him Callistratus said: "Men of Lacedaemon, that mistakes have not been made, both on our side and on yours, I for one do not think I could assert; but I do not hold to the opinion that one ought never again to have any dealings with people who make mistakes. For I see that no one in the world remains always free from error. And it seems to me that through making mistakes men sometimes become even easier to deal with, especially if they have incurred punishment in consequence of their mistakes, as we have. [11] In your own case, also, I see that sometimes many reverses result from the things you have done with too little judgment, among which was, in fact, the seizure of the Cadmea in Thebes; now, at any rate, the cities which you were eager to make independent have all, in consequence of the wrong done to the Thebans, fallen again under their power. Hence I hope that now, when we have been taught that to seek selfish advantage is unprofitable, we shall again be reasonable in our friendship with each other. [12] Now touching the slanderous allegations of certain people who wish to defeat the peace, to the effect that we have come here, not because we desire friendship, but rather because we fear that Antalcidas may arrive with money from the King, consider how foolishly they are talking. For the King directed, as you know, that all the cities in Greece were to be independent; why then should we, who agree with the King in

both word and deed, be afraid of him? Or does anyone imagine that the King prefers to spend money and make others great, rather than, without expense, to have those things accomplished for him which he judged to be best? [13]

“So much for that. Why, then, have we come? That it surely is not because we are in straits, you could discover, if you please, by looking at the situation by sea or, if you please, at the situation by land at the present time. What, then, is the reason? Manifestly that some of our allies are doing what is not pleasing to us. And perhaps we also should like to show you the gratitude we rightly conceived toward you because you preserved us. [14] Furthermore, to mention also the matter of expediency, there are, of course, among all the cities of Greece, some that take your side and others that take ours, and in each single city some people favour the Lacedaemonians and others the Athenians. If, therefore, we should become friends, from what quarter could we with reason expect any trouble? For who could prove strong enough to vex us by land if you were our friends? And who could do you any harm by sea if we were favourably inclined toward you? [15] Moreover, we all know that wars are forever breaking out and being concluded, and that we — if not now, still at some future time — shall desire peace again. Why, then, should we wait for the time when we shall have become exhausted by a multitude of ills, and not rather conclude peace as quickly as possible before anything irremediable happens? [16] Again, I for my part do not commend those men who, when they have become competitors in the games and have already been victorious many times and enjoy fame, are so fond of contest that they do not stop until they are defeated and so end their athletic training; nor on the other hand do I commend those dicers who, if they win one success, throw for double stakes, for I see that the majority of such people become utterly impoverished. [17] We, then, seeing these things, ought never to engage in a contest of such a sort that we shall either win all or lose all, but ought rather to become friends of one another while we are still strong and successful. For thus we through you, and you through us, could play even a greater part in Greece than in times gone by.” [18]

Since these men were adjudged to have spoken rightly, the

Lacedaemonians voted to accept the peace, with the provision that all should withdraw their governors from the cities, disband their armaments both on sea and on land, and leave the cities independent. And if any state should act in violation of this agreement, it was provided that any which so desired might aid the injured cities, but that any which did not so desire was not under oath to be the ally of those who were injured. [19] On these terms the Lacedaemonians took the oath for themselves and their allies, while the Athenians and their allies took the oath severally, city by city. The Thebans also signed their names among the cities which had sworn, but on the following day their ambassadors came in again and demanded that the writing be changed to read that “the Boeotians” instead of “the Thebans” had sworn. Agesilaus, however, replied that he would change no part of what they had sworn to and signed in the first place; but if they did not wish to be included in the treaty, he said that he would strike out their names if they so directed. [20] When, accordingly, under these circumstances the others had concluded peace, while the only controversy was with the Thebans, the Athenians were of the opinion that now there was hope that the Thebans would be decimated, as the common saying puts it, and as for the Thebans themselves, they went home utterly despondent.

4.

After this the Athenians, on their side, proceeded to withdraw their garrisons from the cities and to send after Iphicrates and his ships, and they compelled him to give back everything which he had captured after the time when the oaths were taken at Lacedaemon. [2] But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, while they withdrew both their governors and their garrisons from all the other cities, did not follow this course in the case of Cleombrotus, who was at the head of the army in Phocis and now asked the authorities at home what he should do. Prothous did indeed say that it seemed to him they ought first to disband the army in accordance with their oaths and send round word to the various cities to make contributions, as large as each city chose to make, to the temple of Apollo, and afterwards, in case anyone tried to prevent the cities from being independent, to call together again at that time all who wished to support the cause of independence and lead them against those who

opposed it; for he thought, he continued, that in this way the gods would be most favourably inclined toward them and the cities would be least annoyed. [3] The Lacedaemonian assembly, however, upon hearing these words, came to the conclusion that he was talking nonsense; for at this moment, as it seems, Fate was leading them on; and they sent orders to Cleombrotus not to disband his army, but to lead it at once against the Thebans if they did not leave the cities independent. When, therefore, he learned that, so far from leaving the cities independent, the Thebans were not even disbanding their army, in order that they might marshal themselves against him, under these circumstances he undertook to lead his troops into Boeotia.

Now Cleombrotus did not enter Boeotia from Phocis at the point where the Thebans expected him to enter and where they were keeping guard at a narrow pass; but proceeding by way of Thisbae along a mountainous and unexpected route, he arrived at Creusis, captured its wall, and took twelve triremes belonging to the Thebans. [4] After accomplishing this exploit and marching up from the sea-coast, he encamped at Leuctra, in the territory of Thespieae. And the Thebans encamped on the opposite hill not very far away, with no allies except the Boeotians. Then his friends went to Cleombrotus and said: [5] “Cleombrotus, if you let the Thebans escape without a battle, you will be in danger of suffering the uttermost penalty at the hands of your state. For they will remember against you not only the time when you reached Cynoscephalae and laid waste no part of the country of the Thebans, but also the time when, on your later expedition, you were beaten back from effecting your entrance, although Agesilaus always made his entrance by way of Cithaeron. Therefore if you really have a care for yourself or a desire to see your fatherland again, you must lead against these men.” Such were the words of his friends; but his opponents said: “Now is the time when the man will make it clear whether he is in truth partial to the Thebans, as rumour has it.” [6]

Cleombrotus, then, as he heard these things was spurred on to join battle. The leaders of the Thebans, on the other hand, calculated that if they did not fight, the cities round about would revolt from them and they would themselves be besieged; further, that if the people of Thebes were thus cut off from provisions, the city itself would be in

danger of turning against them. And since many of them had been in exile before, they estimated that it was better to die fighting than to be exiled again. [7] Besides this, they were also somewhat encouraged by the oracle which was reported — that the Lacedaemonians were destined to be defeated at the spot where stood the monument of the virgins, who are said to have killed themselves because they had been violated by certain Lacedaemonians. The Thebans accordingly decorated this monument before the battle. Furthermore, reports were brought to them from the city that all the temples were opening of themselves, and that the priestesses said that the gods revealed victory. And the messengers reported that from the Heracleium the arms also had disappeared, indicating that Heracles had gone forth to the battle. Some, to be sure, say that all these things were but devices of the leaders. [8] But in the battle, at any rate, everything turned out adversely for the Lacedaemonians, while for the other side everything went prosperously, even to the gifts of fortune. For it was after the morning meal that Cleombrotus held his last council over the battle, and drinking a little, as they did, at the middle of the day, it was said that the wine helped somewhat to excite them. [9] Again, when both sides were arming themselves and it was already evident that there would be a battle, in the first place, after those who had provided the market and some baggage-carriers and such as did not wish to fight had set out to withdraw from the Boeotian army, the Lacedaemonian mercenaries under Hieron, the peltasts of the Phocians, and, among the horsemen, the Heracleots and Phliasians made a circuit and fell upon these people as they were departing, and not only turned them about but chased them back to the camp of the Boeotians. Thereby they made the Boeotian army much larger and more densely massed than it had been before. [10] In the second place, since the space between the armies was a plain, the Lacedaemonians posted their horsemen in front of their phalanx, and the Thebans in like manner posted theirs over against them. Now the cavalry of the Thebans was in good training as a result of the war with the Orchomenians and the war with the Thespians, while the cavalry of the Lacedaemonians was exceedingly poor at that time. [11] For the richest men kept the horses, and it was only when the ban was called out that the appointed trooper presented himself; then he would get

his horse and such arms as were given him, and take the field on the moment's notice. As for the men, on the other hand, it was those who were least strong of body and least ambitious who were mounted on the horses. [12] Such, then, was the cavalry on either side. Coming now to the infantry, it was said that the Lacedaemonians led each half-company three files abreast, and that this resulted in the phalanx being not more than twelve men deep. The Thebans, however, were massed not less than fifty shields deep, calculating that if they conquered that part of the army which was around the king, all the rest of it would be easy to overcome. [13]

Now when Cleombrotus began to lead his army against the enemy, in the first place, before the troops under him so much as perceived that he was advancing, the horsemen had already joined battle and those of the Lacedaemonians had speedily been worsted; then in their flight they had fallen foul of their own hoplites, and, besides, the companies of the Thebans were now charging upon them. Nevertheless, the fact that Cleombrotus and his men were at first victorious in the battle may be known from this clear indication: they would not have been able to take him up and carry him off still living, had not those who were fighting in front of him been holding the advantage at that time. [14] But when Deinon, the polemarch, Sphodrias, one of the king's tent-companions, and Cleonymus, the son of Sphodrias, had been killed, then the royal bodyguard, the so-called aides of the polemarch, and the others fell back under the pressure of the Theban mass, while those who were on the left wing of the Lacedaemonians, when they saw that the right wing was being pushed back, gave way. Yet despite the fact that many had fallen and that they were defeated, after they had crossed the trench which chanced to be in front of their camp they grounded their arms at the spot from which they had set forth. The camp, to be sure, was not on ground which was altogether level, but rather on the slope of a hill. After the disaster some of the Lacedaemonians, thinking it unendurable, said that they ought to prevent the enemy from setting up their trophy and to try to recover the bodies of the dead, not by means of a truce, but by fighting. [15] The polemarchs, however, seeing that of the whole number of the Lacedaemonians almost a thousand had been killed; seeing, further, that among the Spartiatae

themselves, of whom there were some seven hundred there, about four hundred had fallen; and perceiving that the allies were one and all without heart for fighting, while some of them were not even displeased at what had taken place, gathered together the most important personages and deliberated about what they should do. And as all thought it best to recover the bodies of the dead by a truce, they finally sent a herald to ask for a truce. After this, then, the Thebans set up a trophy and gave back the bodies under a truce. [16]

After these things had happened, the messenger who was sent to carry the news of the calamity to Lacedaemon arrived there on the last day of the festival of the Gymnopaediae, when the chorus of men was in the theatre. And when the ephors heard of the disaster, they were indeed distressed, as, I conceive, was inevitable; yet they did not withdraw the chorus, but suffered it to finish its performance. Further, although they duly gave the names of the dead to their several kinsmen, they gave orders to the women not to make any outcry, but to bear the calamity in silence. And on the following day one could see those whose relatives had been killed going about in public with bright and cheerful faces, while of those whose relatives had been reported as living you would have seen but few, and these few walking about gloomy and downcast. [17]

After this the ephors called out the ban of the two remaining regiments, going up as far as those who were forty years beyond the minimum military age; they also sent out all up to the same age who belonged to the regiments abroad; for in the original expedition to Phocis only those men who were not more than thirty-five years beyond the minimum age had served; furthermore, they ordered those who at that time had been left behind in public office to join their regiments. [18] Now Agesilaus as a result of his illness was not yet strong; accordingly the state directed Archidamus, his son, to act as commander. And the Tegeans served with him zealously; for the followers of Stasippus were still alive, who were favourable to the Lacedaemonians and had no slight power in their own state. Likewise the Mantineans from their villages supported him stoutly; for they chanced to be under an aristocratic government. Furthermore, the Corinthians, Sicyonians, Phliasians, and Achaeans followed him with all zeal, and other states also sent out soldiers.

Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians themselves and the Corinthians manned triremes and requested the Sicyonians also to help them in so doing, intending to carry the army across the gulf on these ships. [19] And Archidamus accordingly offered his sacrifices at the frontier.

As for the Thebans, immediately after the battle they sent to Athens a garlanded messenger, and while telling of the greatness of their victory, they at the same time urged the Athenians to come to their aid, saying that now it was possible to take vengeance upon the Lacedaemonians for all the harm they had done to them. [20] Now the Senate of the Athenians chanced to be holding its sitting on the Acropolis. And when they heard what had taken place, it was made clear to everyone that they were greatly distressed; for they did not invite the herald to partake of hospitality and about the matter of aid they gave him no answer. So the herald departed from Athens without having received a reply. But to Jason, who was their ally, the Thebans sent in haste, urging him to come to their aid; for they were debating among themselves how the future would turn out. [21] And Jason immediately proceeded to man triremes, as though he intended to go to their assistance by sea, but in fact he took his mercenary force and his bodyguard of cavalry and, although the Phocians were engaged in a bitter warfare against him, proceeded by land through their country into Boeotia, appearing in many of their towns before it was reported to them that he was on the march. At any rate, before they could gather troops together from here and there, he was already far on ahead, thus making it clear that in many cases it is speed rather than force which accomplishes the desired results. [22]

But when he arrived in Boeotia and the Thebans said that now was the right moment to attack the Lacedaemonians, he with his mercenaries from the heights above and they by a frontal assault, Jason sought to dissuade them, pointing out that since they had done a good work, it was not worth while for them to venture a decisive engagement in which they would either accomplish yet greater things or would be deprived of the victory already gained. [23] “Do you not see,” he said, “that in your own case it was when you found yourselves in straits that you won the victory? Therefore one must suppose that the Lacedaemonians also, if they were in like straits, would fight it out regardless of their lives. Besides, it seems that the

deity often takes pleasure in making the small great and the great small.” [24] With such words, then, he endeavoured to dissuade the Thebans from making the final venture; to the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, he pointed out what manner of thing a defeated army was, and what an army victorious. “And if you wish,” he said, “to forget the disaster which has befallen you, I advise you first to recover your breath and rest yourselves, and then, after you have become stronger, go into battle against men who are unconquered. But now,” he said, “be well assured that even among your allies there are those who are holding converse with the enemy about a treaty of friendship with them; by all means, then, try to obtain a truce. And I am myself eager for this,” he said, “out of a desire to save you, both because of my father’s friendship with you and because I am your diplomatic agent.” [25] Such, then, were the arguments he urged, but he was acting perhaps with the purpose that these two parties, at variance as they were with one another, might both alike be in need of him. The Lacedaemonians, however, after hearing his words bade him negotiate for the truce; and when the report came that the truce had been made, the polemarchs gave orders that after dining all should have their baggage packed and ready with the purpose of setting out during the night, in order that at daybreak they might be climbing Cithaeron. But when the men had dined and before they went to rest, the polemarchs gave the order to follow, and led the way immediately upon the fall of evening by the road through Creusis, trusting to secrecy more than to the truce. [26] And proceeding with very great difficulty, since they were withdrawing at night and in fear and by a hard road, they arrived at Aegosthena in the territory of Megara. There they fell in with the army under Archidamus. And after waiting there until all the allies had joined him, Archidamus led back the whole army together as far as Corinth; from there he dismissed the allies and led the citizen troops back home. [27]

As for Jason, on his way back through Phocis he captured the outer city of the Hyampolitans, laid waste their land, and killed many of them, but he passed through the rest of Phocis without any hostile act. Upon arriving at Heracleia, however, he destroyed the walled city of the Heracleots, manifestly having no fear that when this passage-way had been thus thrown open anyone would march against

his own dominion, but rather making provision that none should seize Heracleia, situated as it was at a narrow pass, and block his way if he wanted to march to any place in Greece. [28] And when he had come back again to Thessaly, he was in great repute both because he had legally been made Tagus of the Thessalians and because he maintained about him many mercenaries, both foot-soldiers and horsemen, these moreover being troops which had been trained to the highest efficiency; his repute was yet greater by reason of his many allies, including, in addition to those whom he already had, also those who were desirous of becoming such. And he was the greatest of the men of his time in that he was not lightly to be despised by anyone soever. [29]

Now when the Pythian festival was approaching, Jason sent orders to his cities to make ready cattle, sheep, goats, and swine for the sacrifice. And it was said that although he laid upon each city a very moderate demand, there were contributed no fewer than a thousand cattle and more than ten thousand of the other animals. He also made proclamation that a golden crown would be the prize of victory to the city which should rear the finest bull to lead the herd in honour of the god. [30] Furthermore, he gave orders to the Thessalians to make preparations for taking the field at the time of the Pythian festival; for he was intending, it was said, to be himself the director both of the festal assembly in honour of the god and of the games. What he intended, however, in regard to the sacred treasures, is even to this day uncertain; but it is said that when the Delphians asked the god what they should do if he tried to take any of his treasures, Apollo replied that he would himself take care of the matter. [31] At any rate this man, great as he was and purposing deeds so great and of such a kind, after he had held a review and inspection of the cavalry of the Pheraeans, and was now in his seat and making answer if anyone came to him with any request, was struck down and killed by seven young men who came up to him as though they had some quarrel with one another. [32] And when the guardsmen who attended him rushed stoutly to his aid, one of the young men, while still in the act of striking Jason, was pierced with a lance and killed; a second was caught while mounting his horse, suffered many wounds, and so was killed; but the rest leaped upon the horses which they had in

readiness and escaped, and in most of the Greek cities to which they came they were honoured. This fact, indeed, made it plain that the Greeks had conceived a very great fear lest Jason should become tyrant. [33]

When he had thus been slain, Polydorus, his brother, and Polyphron succeeded to the office of Tagus. Now Polydorus, while the two were on their way to Larisa, was killed at night in his sleep by Polyphron, his brother, as people thought; for his death was sudden and without manifest cause. [34] Then Polyphron, in his turn, held sway for a year, and made the office of Tagus like the rule of a tyrant. For in Pharsalus he put to death Polydamas and eight more of the best among the citizens, and from Larisa he drove many into exile. While thus engaged he, also, was slain by Alexander, who posed as avenger of Polydorus and destroyer of the tyranny. [35] But when Alexander had himself succeeded to the position of ruler, he proved a cruel Tagus to the Thessalians, a cruel enemy to the Thebans and Athenians, and an unjust robber both by land and by sea. Being such a man, he likewise was slain in his turn, the actual deed being done by his wife's brothers, though the plan was conceived by the woman herself. [36] For she reported to her brothers that Alexander was plotting against them, and concealed them within the house for the entire day. Then after she had received Alexander home in a drunken state and had put him to bed, while the light was left burning she carried his sword out of the chamber. And when she perceived that her brothers were hesitating to go in and attack Alexander, she said that if they did not act at once she would wake him. Then, as soon as they had gone in, she closed the door and held fast to the knocker until her husband had been killed. [37] Now her hatred toward her husband is said by some people to have been caused by the fact that when Alexander had imprisoned his own favourite, who was a beautiful youth, and she begged him to release him, he took him out and slew him; others, however, say that inasmuch as no children were being born to him of this woman, Alexander was sending to Thebes and trying to win as his wife the widow of Jason. The reasons, then, for the plot on the part of his wife are thus stated; but as for those who executed this deed, Tisiphonus, who was the eldest of the brothers, held the position of ruler up to the

time when this narrative was written.

5.

All the events, then, which took place in Thessaly in connection with Jason, and, after his death, down to the rule of Tisiphonus, have thus been described; now I return to the point from which I digressed to discuss these matters. When, namely, Archidamus had led back his army from the relief expedition to Leuctra, the Athenians, taking thought of the fact that the Peloponnesians still counted themselves bound to follow the Lacedaemonians, and that the latter were not yet in the same situation to which they had brought the Athenians, invited to Athens all the cities which wished to participate in the peace which the King had sent down. [2] And when they had come together, they passed a resolution to take the following oath, in company with such as desired to share in the peace: "I will abide by the treaty which the King sent down, and by the decrees of the Athenians and their allies. And if anybody takes the field against any one of the cities which have sworn this oath, I will come to her aid with all my strength." Now all the others were pleased with the oath; the Eleans only opposed it, saying that it was not right to make either the Marganians, Scilluntians, or Triphylians independent, for these cities were theirs. [3] But the Athenians and the others, after voting that both small and great cities alike should be independent, even as the King wrote, sent out the officers charged with administering the oath and directed them to administer it to the highest authorities in each city. And all took the oath except the Eleans.

As a natural result of these proceedings the Mantineans, feeling that they were now entirely independent, all came together and voted to make Mantinea a single city and to put a wall about it. [4] But the Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, thought that it would be a grievous thing if this were done without their approval. They accordingly sent Agesilaus as ambassador to the Mantineans, because he was regarded as an ancestral friend of theirs. Now when he had come to them, the officials refused to assemble for him the Mantinean people, but bade him tell them what he desired. He then offered them his promise that, if they would desist from their wall-building for the present, he would arrange matters so that the wall should be constructed with the approval of Lacedaemon and without

great expense. [5] And when they replied that it was impossible to desist, since a resolution to build at once had been adopted by the entire city, Agesilaus thereupon departed in anger. It did not seem to be possible, however, to make an expedition against them, inasmuch as the peace had been concluded on the basis of independence. Meanwhile some of the Arcadian cities sent men to help the Mantineans in their building, and the Eleans made them a contribution of three talents in money toward the expense of the wall. The Mantineans, then, were occupied with this work. [6]

Among the Tegeans, on the other hand, the followers of Callibius and Proxenus were making efforts to the end that all the people of Arcadia should unite, and that whatever measure was carried in the common assembly should be binding on the several cities as well; but the followers of Stasippus made it their policy to leave their city undisturbed and to live under the laws of their fathers. [7] Now the followers of Proxenus and Callibius, defeated in the council of the magistrates, and conceiving the thought that if the people came together they would prove far superior in numbers, gathered openly under arms. Upon seeing this the followers of Stasippus also armed themselves in their turn, and they did indeed prove fewer in number; when, however, they had set forth for battle, they killed Proxenus and a few others along with him, but although they put the rest to flight they did not pursue them; for Stasippus was the sort of man not to desire to kill many of his fellow-citizens. [8] Then the followers of Callibius, who had retired to a position under the city wall and the gates on the side toward Mantinea, inasmuch as their adversaries were no longer attacking them, remained quietly gathered there. They had long before this sent to the Mantineans bidding them come to their aid, but with the followers of Stasippus they were negotiating for a reconciliation. When, however, the Mantineans were to be seen approaching, some of them leaped upon the wall, urged the Mantineans to come on to their assistance with all possible speed, and with shouts exhorted them to hurry; others meanwhile opened the gates to them. [9] Now when the followers of Stasippus perceived what was going on, they rushed out by the gates leading to Pallantium, gained refuge in the temple of Artemis before they could be overtaken by their pursuers, and after shutting themselves in,

remained quiet there. But their foes who had followed after them climbed upon the temple, broke through the roof, and pelted them with the tiles. And when the people within realized the hopelessness of their situation, they bade them stop and said they would come out. Then their adversaries, as soon as they had got them in their power, bound them, threw them into a wagon, and carried them back to Tegea. There, in company with the Mantineans, they passed sentence upon them and put them to death. [10]

While these things were going on, about eight hundred of the Tegeans who were partisans of Stasippus fled to Lacedaemon as exiles, and subsequently the Lacedaemonians decided that, in accordance with their oaths, they ought to avenge the Tegeans who had been slain and to aid those who had been banished. So they decided to make an expedition against the Mantineans on the ground that, in violation of their oaths, they had proceeded in arms against the Tegeans. The ephors accordingly called out the ban, and the state directed Agesilaus to act as commander. [11] Now most of the Arcadians were gathering together at Asea. But since the Orchomenians refused to be members of the Arcadian League on account of their enmity toward the Mantineans, and had even received into their city the mercenary force, commanded by Polytropus, which had been collected at Corinth, the Mantineans were remaining at home and keeping watch upon them. On the other hand, the Heraeans and Lepreans were serving with the Lacedaemonians against the Mantineans. [12] Agesilaus, then, when his sacrifices at the frontier proved favourable, at once proceeded to march against Arcadia. And having occupied Eutaea, which was a city on the border, and found there the older men, the women, and the children living in their houses, while the men of military age had gone to the Arcadian assembly, he nevertheless did the city no harm, but allowed the people to continue to dwell there, and his troops got everything that they needed by purchase; and if anything had been taken as booty at the time when he entered the city, he searched it out and gave it back. He also occupied himself, during the whole time that he spent there awaiting the mercenaries under Polytropus, in repairing all those portions of the city wall which needed it. [13]

Meanwhile the Mantineans made an expedition against the

Orchomenians. And they came off very badly from their attack upon the city wall, and some of them were killed; but when in their retreat they had reached Elymia and, although the Orchomenian hoplites now desisted from following them, Polytropus and his troops were very boldly pressing upon them, then the Mantineans, realizing that if they did not beat them off many of their own number would be struck down by javelins, turned about and charged their assailants. [14] Polytropus fell fighting where he stood; the rest fled, and very many of them would have been killed had not the Phliasian horsemen arrived, and by riding around to the rear of the Mantineans made them desist from their pursuit. The Mantineans, then, after accomplishing these things, went back home. [15]

Agesilaus heard of this affair and came to the conclusion that the mercenaries from Orchomenus could not now join him; under these circumstances, therefore, he continued his advance. On the first day he took dinner in the territory of Tegea, and on the following day crossed into the territory of the Mantineans and encamped at the foot of the mountains to the west of Mantinea; there at the same time he laid waste the land and plundered the farms. Meanwhile the Arcadians who had assembled at Asea made their way by night to Tegea. [16] On the next day Agesilaus encamped at a distance of about twenty stadia from Mantinea. But the Arcadians from Tegea, a very large force of hoplites, made their appearance; they were skirting the mountains between Mantinea and Tegea, desiring to effect a junction with the Mantineans, for the Argives, who came with them, were not in full force. And there were some who tried to persuade Agesilaus to attack these troops separately; he, however, fearing that while he was marching against them the Mantineans might issue forth from their city and attack him in flank and rear, judged it best to allow the two hostile forces to come together and, in case they wished to fight, to conduct the battle in regular fashion and in the open.

The Arcadians from Tegea had by now effected a junction with the Mantineans. [17] On the other hand, the peltasts from Orchomenus, and with them the horsemen of the Phliasians, made their way during the night past Mantinea and appeared as Agesilaus was sacrificing in front of his camp at daybreak; and they caused the Lacedaemonians to fall hurriedly into line and Agesilaus himself to

retire to the camp. But when they had been recognized as friends, and Agesilaus had obtained favourable omens, immediately after breakfast he led his army forward. Later, as evening was coming on, he unwittingly encamped in the valley which lies behind the town of Mantinea; it is surrounded by mountains which are only a short distance away. [18] On the following day at daybreak he was offering sacrifices in front of the army; and seeing that troops were gathering from the city of the Mantineans on the mountains which were above the rear of his army, he decided that he must lead his men out of the valley with all possible speed. Now he feared that if he led the way himself, the enemy would fall upon his rear; accordingly, while keeping quiet and presenting his front toward the enemy, he ordered the men at the rear to face about to the right and march along behind the phalanx toward him. And in this manner he was at the same time leading them out of the narrow valley and making the phalanx continually stronger. [19] When the phalanx had thus been doubled in depth, he proceeded into the plain with the hoplites in this formation, and then extended the army again into a line nine or ten shields deep. The Mantineans, however, now desisted from coming forth from their city, for the Eleans, who were making the campaign with them, urged them not to fight a battle until the Thebans arrived; and they said they were quite sure that the Thebans would come, for they had borrowed ten talents from the Eleans themselves for the expenses of the expedition to aid them. [20] The Arcadians, then, upon hearing this, remained quiet in Mantinea; and Agesilaus, even though he was exceedingly desirous of leading back his army — for it was mid-winter — nevertheless remained there for three days, not far away from the city of the Mantineans, that he might not be thought to be hurrying his departure out of fear. On the fourth day, however, after breakfasting early he began his homeward march, intending to encamp at the place where he had originally made camp on his departure from Eutaea. [21] But since none of the Arcadians appeared, he continued his march as rapidly as possible to Eutaea, even though it was very late, with the desire of getting his hoplites away before they even saw the enemy's fires, so that no one could say that he had withdrawn in flight. For he seemed to have brought the state some relief from its former despondency, inasmuch as he had invaded

Arcadia and, though he laid waste the land, none had been willing to fight with him. And after he had arrived in Laconia, he let the Spartiatae go home and dismissed the Perioeci to their several cities. [22]

As for the Arcadians, since Agesilaus had departed and they learned that his army had been disbanded, while they themselves were still gathered together, they made an expedition against the Heraeans, not only because they refused to be members of the Arcadian League, but also because they had joined with the Lacedaemonians in invading Arcadia. And after entering the territory of Heraea they proceeded to burn the houses and cut down the trees.

It was not until the Thebans with their supporting force were reported to have arrived in Mantinea that the Arcadians departed from Heraea and united with the Thebans. [23] When they had joined forces, the Thebans thought that matters stood well with them, inasmuch as they had come to bring aid and there was no longer an enemy to be seen in the land; they accordingly made their preparations for going back. But the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans urged them to lead the way with all speed into Laconia, pointing out the number of their own troops and praising beyond measure the army of the Thebans. For all the Boeotians were now training themselves in the craft of arms, glorying in their victory at Leuctra; and they were reinforced by the Phocians, who had become their subjects, the Euboeans from all their cities, both the Locrian peoples, the Acarnanians, the Heracleots, and the Malians; they were also reinforced by horsemen and peltasts from Thessaly. The Arcadians, then, seeing all this and describing the dearth of men in Lacedaemon, begged them by no means to turn back before invading the country of the Lacedaemonians. [24]

But while the Thebans listened to this request, they took into account, on the other hand, the fact that Laconia was said to be exceedingly difficult to enter, and that they believed garrisons were posted at the points of easiest access. For Ischolaus was at Oeum, in Sciritis, commanding a garrison composed of emancipated Helots and about four hundred of the youngest of the Tegean exiles; and there was another garrison also at Leuctrum, above Maleatis. The Thebans likewise weighed this consideration, that the force of the

Lacedaemonians would gather quickly and that they would fight nowhere better than in their own country. Therefore, taking into account all these things, they were by no means eager to proceed into Lacedaemon. [25] But when people had come from Caryae telling of the dearth of men, promising that they would themselves act as guides, and bidding the Thebans slay them if they were found to be practising any deception, and when, further, some of the Perioeci appeared, asking the Thebans to come to their aid, engaging to revolt if only they would show themselves in the land, and saying also that even now the Perioeci when summoned by the Spartiatae were refusing to go and help them — as a result, then, of hearing all these reports, in which all agreed, the Thebans were won over, and pushed in with their own forces by way of Caryae, while the Arcadians went by way of Oeum, in Sciritis. [26]

Now if Ischolaus had advanced to the difficult part of the pass and had made his stand there, no one, by all accounts, could have accomplished the ascent by that route at least; but in fact, since he wished to employ the Oeans as allies, he remained in the village, and the Arcadians ascended the pass in very great numbers. There, in the face-to-face fighting, the troops with Ischolaus were victorious; but when the enemy showered blows and missiles upon them from the rear, on the flank, and from the houses upon which they mounted, then Ischolaus was killed and all the rest as well, unless one or another slipped through unrecognized. [27] After achieving this deed the Arcadians marched to join the Thebans at Caryae; and when the Thebans heard what had been accomplished by the Arcadians, they proceeded to make the descent with far greater boldness. Coming to Sellasia, they at once burned and pillaged it; but when they arrived in the plain, they encamped there, in the sacred precinct of Apollo. The next day they marched on.

Now they did not even make the attempt to cross over by the bridge against Sparta, for in the sanctuary of Athena Alea the hoplites were to be seen, ready to oppose them; but keeping the Eurotas on their right they passed along, burning and plundering houses full of many valuable things. [28] As for the people in the city, the women could not even endure the sight of the smoke, since they had never seen an enemy; but the Spartiatae, their city being without

walls, were posted at intervals, one here, another there, and so kept guard, thought they were, and were seen to be, very few in number. It was also determined by the authorities to make proclamation to the Helots that if any wished to take up arms and be assigned to a place in the ranks, they should be given a promise that all should be free who took part in the war. [29] And it was said that at first more than six thousand enrolled themselves, so that they in their turn occasioned fear when they were marshalled together, and were thought to be all too numerous; but when the mercenaries from Orchomenus remained true, and the Lacedaemonians received aid from the Phliasians, Corinthians, Epidaurians, Pelleneans, and likewise some of the other states, then the Spartiatae were less fearful of those who had been enrolled. [30]

Now when, in its onward march, the army of the enemy came opposite Amyclae, at this point they crossed the Eurotas. And wherever the Thebans encamped they at once threw down in front of their lines the greatest possible quantity of the trees which they cut down, and in this way guarded themselves; the Arcadians, however, did nothing of this sort, but left their camp behind them and turned their attention to plundering the houses. After this, on the third or fourth day of the invasion, the horsemen advanced to the race-course in the sanctuary of Poseidon Gaeaochus by divisions, the Thebans in full force, the Eleans, and all the horsemen who were there of the Phocians, Thessalians, or Locrians. [31] And the horsemen of the Lacedaemonians, seemingly very few in number, were formed in line against them. Meanwhile the Lacedaemonians had set an ambush of the younger hoplites, about three hundred in number, in the house of the Tyndaridae, and at the same moment these men rushed forth and their horsemen charged. The enemy, however, did not await their attack, but gave way. And on seeing this, many of the foot-soldiers also took to flight. But when the pursuers stopped and the army of the Thebans stood firm, the enemy encamped again. [32] It now seemed somewhat more certain that they would make no further attempt upon the city; and in fact their army departed thence and took the road toward Helos and Gytheium. And they burned such of the towns as were unwallled and made a three days' attack upon Gytheium, where the Lacedaemonians had their dockyards. There

were some of the Perioeci also who not only joined in this attack, but did regular service with the troops that followed the Thebans. [33]

When the Athenians heard of all these things, they were in a state of concern as to what they should do in regard to the Lacedaemonians, and by resolution of the Senate they called a meeting of the Assembly. Now it chanced that there were present ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and of the allies who still remained to them. Wherefore the Lacedaemonians spoke — Aracus, Ocyllus, Pharax, Etymocles, and Olontheus — almost all of them saying much the same things. They reminded the Athenians that from all time the two peoples had stood by one another in the most important crises for good ends; for they on their side, they said, had aided in expelling the tyrants from Athens, while the Athenians, on the other hand, gave them zealous assistance at the time when they were hard pressed by the Messenians. [34] They also described all the blessings which were enjoyed at the time when both peoples were acting in union, recalling how they had together driven the barbarian back, recalling likewise how the Athenians had been chosen by the Greeks as leaders of the fleet and custodians of the common funds, the Lacedaemonians supporting this choice, while they had themselves been selected by the common consent of all the Greeks as leaders by land, the Athenians in their turn supporting this selection. [35] And one of them even said something like this: “But if you and we, gentlemen, come to agreement, there is hope now that the Thebans will be decimated, as the old saying has it.” The Athenians, however, were not very much inclined to accept all this, and a murmur went round to the effect that “this is what they say now, but in the time when they were prosperous they were hostile to us.” The weightiest of the arguments urged by the Lacedaemonians seemed to their hearers to be, that at the time when they subdued the Athenians, though the Thebans wanted to destroy Athens utterly, it was they who had prevented it. [36] Most stress was laid, however, upon the consideration that the Athenians were required by their oaths to come to their assistance; for it was not because the Lacedaemonians had done wrong that the Arcadians and those with them were making an expedition against them, but rather because they had gone to the aid of the Tegeans for the reason that the Mantineans, in violation of

their oaths, had taken the field against them. At these words an uproar again ran through the Assembly; for some said that the Mantineans had done right in avenging the followers of Proxenus who had been slain by the followers of Stasippus, while others said that they were in the wrong because they had taken up arms against the Tegeans. [37]

While the Assembly itself was trying to determine these matters, Cleiteles, a Corinthian, arose and spoke as follows: "Men of Athens, it is perhaps a disputed point who began the wrong-doing; but as for us, can anyone accuse us of having, at any time since peace was concluded, either made a campaign against any city, or taken anyone's property, or laid waste another's land? Yet, nevertheless, the Thebans have come into our country, and have cut down trees, and burned down houses, and seized property and cattle. If, therefore, you do not aid us, who are so manifestly wronged, will you not surely be acting in violation of your oaths? They were the same oaths, you remember, that you yourselves took care to have all of us swear to all of you." Thereupon the Athenians shouted their approval, saying that Cleiteles had spoken to the point and fairly. [38]

Then Procles, a Phliasian, arose after Cleiteles and said: "Men of Athens, it is clear to everyone, I imagine, that you are the first against whom the Thebans would march if the Lacedaemonians were got out of the way; for they think that you are the only people in Greece who would stand in the way of their becoming rulers of the Greeks. [39] If this is so, I, for my part, believe that if you undertake a campaign, you would not be giving aid to the Lacedaemonians so much as to your own selves. For to have the Thebans, who are unfriendly to you and dwell on your borders, become leaders of the Greeks, would prove much more grievous to you, I think, than when you had your antagonists far away. Furthermore, you would aid yourselves with more profit if you should do so while there are still people who would fight on your side, than if they should perish first and you should then be compelled to enter by yourselves upon a decisive struggle with the Thebans. [40]

"Now if any are fearful that in case the Lacedaemonians escape this time, they may again in the future cause you trouble, take thought of this, that it is not those whom one benefits, but those

whom one injures, of whom one has to fear that they may some day attain great power. And you should bear in mind this likewise, that it is meet both for individuals and for states to acquire a goodly store in the days when they are strongest, in order that, if some day they become powerless, they may draw upon their previous labours for succour. [41] So to you has now been offered by some god an opportunity, in case you aid the Lacedaemonians in their need, of acquiring them for all time as friends who will plead no excuses. For it is not in the presence of only a few witnesses, as it seems to me, that they would now receive benefit at your hands, but the gods will know of this, who see all things both now and for ever, and both your allies and your enemies know also what is taking place, and the whole world of Greeks and barbarians besides. For to none of them all is it a matter of indifference. [42] Therefore, if the Lacedaemonians should show themselves base in their dealings with you, who would ever again become devoted to them? But it is fair to expect that they will prove good rather than base men, for if any people in the world seem consistently to have striven for commendation and to have abstained from deeds of shame, it is truly they. Besides all this, take thought of the following considerations likewise. [43] If ever again danger should come to Greece from barbarians, whom would you trust more than the Lacedaemonians? Whom would you more gladly make your comrades in the ranks than these, whose countrymen, posted at Thermopylae, chose every man to die fighting rather than to live and admit the barbarian to Greece? Therefore, both because they proved themselves brave men along with you, and because there is hope that they will so prove themselves again, is it not surely right that you and we alike should show all good-will toward them? [44]

“It is also worth while to show the Lacedaemonians good-will for the sake of the allies who are present with them. For be well assured that those who remain faithful to them in their misfortunes are the very men who would be ashamed if they did not make due requital to you. And if we who are willing to share the peril with them seem to be small states, reflect that if your state is added to our number, we who aid them shall no longer be small states. [45] In former days, men of Athens, I used from hearsay to admire this state of yours, for I heard that all who were wronged and all who were fearful fled hither

for refuge, and here found assistance; now I no longer hear, but with my own eyes at this moment see the Lacedaemonians, those most famous men, and their most loyal friends appearing in your state and in their turn requesting you to assist them. [46] I see also the Thebans, who then did not succeed in persuading the Lacedaemonians to enslave you, now requesting you to allow those who saved you to perish.

“It is truly a noble deed that is told of your ancestors, when they did not suffer those Argives who died at the Cadmea to go unburied; but you would achieve a far nobler deed if you did not suffer those Lacedaemonians who still live either to incur insult or to perish. [47] And while that other deed was also noble, when you checked the insolence of Eurystheus and preserved the sons of Heracles, would it not surely be an even nobler one if you saved from perishing, not merely the founders, but the whole state as well? And noblest of all deeds if, after the Lacedaemonians saved you then by a vote, void of danger, you shall aid them now with arms and at the risk of your lives. [48] Again, when even we, who by word urge you to aid brave men, are proud of doing so, it would manifestly be generous of you, who are able to aid by act, if, after being many times both friends and enemies of the Lacedaemonians, you should recall, not the harm you have suffered at their hands, but rather the favours which you have, received, and should render them requital, not in behalf of yourselves alone, but also in behalf of all Greece, because in her behalf they proved themselves brave men.” [49]

After this the Athenians deliberated, and they would not endure to listen to those who spoke on the other side, but voted to go to the aid of the Lacedaemonians in full force, and chose Iphicrates as general. And when his sacrifices had proved favourable and he had issued orders to his men to dine in the Academy, many, it is said, went thither ahead of Iphicrates himself. After this Iphicrates led the way and they followed, believing that he would lead them to some noble achievement. And when, after arriving in Corinth, he delayed there for some days, they at once began to censure him, for the first time, for this delay; then when he at length marched them forth, they eagerly followed wherever he led the way, and eagerly attacked any stronghold against which he brought them. [50] As for the enemy in

Lacedaemon, many Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans had already departed, inasmuch as they lived just across the border, some of them leading and others carrying what they had taken as plunder. On the other hand, the Thebans and the rest were desirous of departing from the country, partly for the very reason that they saw their army growing daily smaller, and partly because provisions were scantier, the supply having been in part used up or stolen away, in part wasted or burned up; besides, it was winter, so that by this time all alike wanted to withdraw. [51] When, accordingly, they proceeded to retire from Lacedaemon, then, of course, Iphicrates likewise proceeded to lead back the Athenians from Arcadia to Corinth. Now I have no fault to find with any good generalship he may have shown on any other occasion; but as regards all his actions at that time, I find them to have been either futile or inexpedient. For while he undertook to keep guard at Oneum so that the Thebans should not be able to get back home, he left unguarded the best pass, which led past Cenchreae. [52] And when he wanted to find out whether the Thebans had passed Oneum, he sent as scouts all the horsemen both of the Athenians and of the Corinthians. And yet a few men would have been quite as efficient for seeing as the many; while if it were necessary to retire, it would be much easier for the few than for the many both to find an easy route and to retire at their leisure. But to employ a force that was numerous and still inferior to the enemy — was this not surely the height of folly? For inasmuch as the horsemen extended their line over a large space because they were a large force, when it was necessary to retire they encountered a large number of difficult places, so that no fewer than twenty horsemen lost their lives. At that time, then, the Thebans returned home as they pleased.

BOOK VII.

1. In the following year ambassadors of the Lacedaemonians and their allies, with full powers, came to Athens to take counsel as to what should be the terms of the alliance between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. And while many foreigners and many Athenians said that the alliance ought to be on terms of full equality, Procles the Phliasian made the following speech: [2]

“Men of Athens, since you have decided that it is a good thing to make the Lacedaemonians your friends, it seems to me that you ought to consider this point, how the friendship is to endure for the longest possible time. Now it is only by making the compact on such terms as will be most advantageous to each party that we can expect it to be, in all probability, most enduring. The other points, then, have been pretty well agreed upon, but the question of the leadership is at present under discussion. Now it has been proposed by your Senate that the leadership by sea shall belong to you, and the leadership by land to the Lacedaemonians. And I, too, think that this distinction is based, not so much upon human judgment as upon divine arrangement and ordering. [3] In the first place, you have a position most excellently adapted by nature for supremacy by sea. For most of the states which are dependent upon the sea are situated round about your state, and they are all weaker than yours. In addition to this, you have harbours, without which it is not possible to enjoy naval power. Furthermore, you already possess many triremes, and it is a traditional policy of yours to keep adding ships. [4] You likewise possess as peculiarly your own all the arts and crafts which have to do with ships. Again, you are far superior to other men in experience of nautical affairs, for most of you get your livelihood from the sea; hence, while attending to your private concerns, you are also at the same time gaining experience for encounters by sea. Here is another point also: there is no port from which more triremes can sail forth at one time than from your city. And this is a matter of no slight importance with reference to leadership, for all men love best to join forces with the power which is first to show itself strong. [5] Furthermore, it has also been granted you by the gods to be

successful in this pursuit. For while you have engaged in very many and very great combats by sea, you have met with an exceedingly small number of misfortunes and have achieved an exceedingly large number of successes. Therefore it is likely that the allies would like best to share in such perils if they were under your leadership. [6] And that this devotion to the sea is indeed both necessary and proper for you, you must conclude from the following fact: the Lacedaemonians once made war upon you for many years, and though masters of your land could make no progress toward destroying you. But when at length the deity granted them to win the mastery by sea, straightway you fell completely under their power. In these circumstances, therefore, it is plain to be seen that all your safety depends upon the sea. [7] Such, then, being the situation ordained by nature, how could you be content to allow the Lacedaemonians to be leaders by sea, when, in the first place, they themselves admit that they are less experienced than you are in this work, and when, in the second place, they do not risk as much as you do in contests by sea, but merely the people on board the triremes, whereas you risk wives and children and the entire state. [8]

“This is the situation on your side; consider now that of the Lacedaemonians. Firstly, they dwell in the interior; hence, so long as they are masters of the land, they can lead a comfortable existence even if they are shut off from the sea. Therefore, realizing this fact themselves, they carry on their training from their very boyhood with a view to war by land. Furthermore, in that which is of the greatest importance, obedience to their commanders, they are best by land, as you are by sea. [9] Again, they on their side can set forth by land, as you can with a fleet, in greatest numbers and with greatest speed; therefore it is to them in turn that the armies of the allies would be likely to attach themselves with greatest confidence. Besides, the deity has granted, as to you success by sea, so to them success by land; for while they on their side have engaged in very many combats on the land, they have incurred an exceedingly small number of defeats, and have won an exceedingly large number of victories. [10] And that this devotion to the land is no less necessary for them than devotion to the sea for you, one may judge from the results. For you made war upon them for many years, and though

you defeated them many times by sea, could make no progress toward subduing them. But so soon as they incurred one defeat on the land, immediately their wives and children and their entire state were at stake. [11] Hence for them, on their side, it would surely be a dreadful thing to allow others to be leaders by land, when they themselves are best at the administration of affairs by land. As for myself, therefore, the course which has been proposed by your Senate is that which I have urged, and which I believe to be most advantageous to both parties; and may you, for your part, be fortunate in reaching the conclusion that is best for us all.” [12]

Thus he spoke, and both the Athenians and those Lacedaemonians who were present applauded his speech vigorously. But Cephisodotus came forward and said: “Men of Athens, you do not observe that you are being deceived; but if you will listen to me, I will prove it to you very speedily. As the matter now stands, you are to be leaders by sea. And if the Lacedaemonians are your allies, it is clear that the captains, and perhaps the marines whom they send out, will be Lacedaemonians, but it is also clear that the sailors will be either Helots or mercenaries. You, therefore, will be leaders of these people. [13] When, however, the Lacedaemonians give you the order for a campaign by land, it is clear that you will send your hoplites and your horsemen. By this plan, therefore, they become leaders of your own selves, while you become leaders merely of their slaves and their men of least account. Answer me,” he said, “Timocrates of Lacedaemon, did you not say a moment ago that you had come with intent to make the alliance on terms of full equality?” “I did say that.” [14] “Then,” said Cephisodotus, “is there anything more equal than that each party in turn should be leader of the fleet, and each in turn leader of the army, and that you, if there is any advantage in the leadership by sea, should share therein, and we likewise in the matter of leadership by land?” Upon hearing this the Athenians were led to change their minds, and they voted that each party should hold the leadership in turn for periods of five days. [15]

Now when both peoples and their allies had proceeded to Corinth, it was determined that they should together guard Oneum. Accordingly, while the Thebans and their allies were on the march, they formed their lines and proceeded to keep guard at one point and

another of Oneum, but the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the most assailable point. And the Thebans and their allies, when they were distant thirty stadia from the troops on guard, encamped in the plain. Then, after calculating the time at which they thought they should start in order to finish their journey at dawn, they marched upon the garrison of the Lacedaemonians. [16] And in fact they did not prove mistaken in the hour, but fell upon the Lacedaemonians and the Pelleneans at the time when the night watches were just coming to an end, and the men were rising from their camp-beds and going wherever each one had to go. Thereupon the Thebans made their attack and laid on their blows — men prepared attacking those unprepared, and men in good order against those in disorder. [17] And when such as came out of the affair with their lives had made their escape to the nearest hill, although the polemarch of the Lacedaemonians might have got as many hoplites and as many peltasts as he pleased from the forces of the allies and might have held his position — for supplies might have been brought in safety from Cenchreae — he did not do this, but while the Thebans were in great perplexity as to how they were to descend on the side looking toward Sicyon, failing which they would have to go back again, he concluded a truce which, as most people thought, was more to the advantage of the Thebans than to that of his own side, and under these circumstances departed and led away the troops under his command. [18]

The Thebans, then, after descending in safety and effecting a junction with their allies, the Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans, immediately attacked Sicyon and Pellene; they also made an expedition to Epidaurus, and laid waste the whole territory of the Epidaurians. Returning from there in a manner which showed great disdain for all their adversaries, as soon as they came near the city of the Corinthians they rushed at the double toward the gates through which one passes in going to Phlius, with the intention of bursting in if they chanced to be open. [19] But some light troops sallied forth from the city against them and met the picked men of the Thebans at a distance of not so much as four plethra from the city walls; then they climbed up on burial monuments and elevated spots, killed a very considerable number of the troops in the front ranks by hurling

javelins and other missiles, and after putting the rest to flight, pursued them about three or four stadia. When this had taken place the Corinthians dragged the bodies to the wall, and after they had given them back under a truce, set up a trophy. In this way the allies of the Lacedaemonians were renewed in their spirits. [20]

Just after these events had happened, the expedition sent by Dionysius to aid the Lacedaemonians sailed in, numbering more than twenty triremes. And they brought Celts, Iberians, and about fifty horsemen. On the following day the Thebans and the rest, their allies, after forming themselves in detached bodies and filling the plain as far as the sea and as far as the hills adjoining the city, destroyed whatever of value there was in the plain. And the horsemen of the Athenians and of the Corinthians did not approach very near their army, seeing that the enemy were strong and numerous. [21] But the horsemen sent by Dionysius, few though they were, scattering themselves here and there, would ride along the enemy's line, charge upon them and throw javelins at them, and when the enemy began to move forth against them, would retreat, and then turn round and throw their javelins again. And while pursuing these tactics they would dismount from their horses and rest. But if anyone charged upon them while they were dismounted, they would leap easily upon their horses and retreat. On the other hand, if any pursued them far from the Theban army, they would press upon these men when they were retiring, and by throwing javelins work havoc with them, and thus they compelled the entire army, according to their own will, either to advance or to fall back. [22] After this, however, the Thebans remained but a few days and then returned home, and the others likewise to their several homes. Then the troops sent by Dionysius invaded the territory of Sicyon, and they not only defeated the Sicyonians in battle on the plain and killed about seventy of them, but captured by storm the stronghold of Deras. After these exploits the first supporting force sent out by Dionysius sailed back to Syracuse.

Up to this time the Thebans and all who had revolted from the Lacedaemonians had been acting and carrying on their campaigns in full accord, under the leadership of the Thebans. [23] Now, however, there appeared a certain Lycomedes of Mantinea, a man inferior to

none in birth, foremost in wealth, and ambitious besides, and filled the Arcadians with self-confidence, saying that it was to them alone that Peloponnesus was a fatherland, since they were the only autochthonous stock that dwelt therein, and that the Arcadian people was the most numerous of all the Greek peoples and had the strongest bodies. He also declared that they were the bravest, offering as evidence the fact that whenever men needed mercenaries, there were none whom they chose in preference to Arcadians. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians had never, he said, invaded the territory of Athens without their help, nor had the Thebans at present come to Lacedaemon without the help of the Arcadians. [24] "If you are wise, therefore, you will leave off following wherever anyone summons you; for in former days, by following the Lacedaemonians, you made them great, and now, if you follow the Thebans heedlessly and do not make the claim to enjoy the leadership by turns with them, it may be that you will soon find in them another set of Lacedaemonians." Upon hearing these words the Arcadians were puffed up, and loved Lycomedes beyond measure, and thought that he alone was a man; so that they appointed as their leaders whomsoever he directed them to appoint. But the Arcadians were exalted as a result also of the actual achievements which fell to their lot; [25] for when the Argives had invaded the country of Epidaurus and their way out had been barred by the mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Athenians, and the Corinthians, they went to the rescue and released the Argives from an absolute blockade, although they had not only the enemy's troops but also the character of the country to contend with. They also made an expedition to Asine in Laconia, defeated the garrison of the Lacedaemonians, slew Geranor, the Spartiate who had become polemarch, and plundered the outer city of the Asinaeans. And whenever they wished to take the field, neither night nor storm nor length of journey nor difficult mountains would prevent them; so that at that time they counted themselves altogether the strongest of the Greeks. [26] For these reasons the Thebans naturally felt somewhat jealous and no longer friendly toward the Arcadians. As for the Eleans, when they demanded back again from the Arcadians the cities of which they had been deprived by the Lacedaemonians and found that the Arcadians gave no heed to

phylians and the others who had revolted from them, because these people said they were Arcadians, as a result of this the Eleans in their turn felt unfriendly toward them. [27]

While the several allies were each thus filled with proud confidence in themselves, Philiscus of Abydus came from Ariobarzanes with a large amount of money. And in the first place he brought together at Delphi the Thebans, their allies, and the Lacedaemonians to negotiate in regard to peace. But when they had arrived there, they did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated for themselves. Since, however, the Thebans would not agree that Messene should be subject to the Lacedaemonians, Philiscus set about collecting a large mercenary force in order to make war on the side of the Lacedaemonians. [28]

While these things were going on the second supporting force sent out by Dionysius arrived. And when the Athenians said that it ought to go to Thessaly to oppose the Thebans, while the Lacedaemonians urged that it should go to Laconia, the latter plan carried the day among the allies. Accordingly, after these troops from Dionysius had sailed round to Lacedaemon, Archidamus took them, along with his citizen soldiers, and set out on an expedition. He captured Caryae by storm and put to the sword all whom he took prisoners. From there he marched at once with his united forces against the people of Parrhasia, in Arcadia, and laid waste their land. [29] But when the Arcadians and Argives came to their assistance, he retired and encamped in the hills above Melea. While he was there Cissidas, the commander of the supporting force from Dionysius, said that the time for which he had been directed to stay had expired. And as soon as he had said this he departed by the road leading to Sparta. But when, as he was marching away, the Messenians tried to cut him off at a narrow place on the road, thereupon he sent to Archidamus and bade him come to his aid. And Archidamus did in fact do so. Then as soon as they all arrived at the branch road leading to the country of the Eutresians, there were the Arcadians and Argives advancing towards Laconia, they also having the intention of shutting off Archidamus from his homeward way. He accordingly, at just the point where there is a level space at the junction of the road leading

to the Eutresians and the road to Melea, turned out of his path and formed his troops in line for battle. [30] It is said that he also went along in front of the battalions and exhorted his men in the following words: "Fellow citizens, let us now prove ourselves brave men and thus be able to look people in the face; let us hand on to those who come after us the fatherland as it was when we received it from our fathers; let us cease to feel shame before wives and children and elders and strangers, in whose eyes we used once to be the most highly honoured of all the Greeks." [31] When these words had been spoken, it is said that from a clear sky there came lightnings and thunderings of favourable omen for him; and it chanced also that on the right wing was a sanctuary and a statue of Heracles. As a result, therefore, of all these things, it is reported that the soldiers were inspired with so much strength and courage that it was a task for their leaders to restrain them as they pushed forward to the front. And when Archidamus led the advance, only a few of the enemy waited till his men came within spear-thrust; these were killed, and the rest were cut down as they fled, many by the horsemen and many by the Celts. [32] Then as soon as the battle had ended and he had set up a trophy, he immediately sent home Demoteles, the herald, to report the greatness of his victory and the fact that not so much as one of the Lacedaemonians had been slain, while vast numbers of the enemy had fallen. And when the people at Sparta heard this, it is said that all of them wept, beginning with Agesilaus, the senators, and the ephors; so true it is, indeed, that tears belong to joy and sorrow alike. On the other hand, both the Thebans and the Eleans were almost as well pleased as the Lacedaemonians at the misfortune of the Arcadians — so vexed had they become by this time at their presumption. [33]

And now the Thebans, who were continually planning how they might obtain the leadership of Greece, hit upon the idea that if they should send to the King of the Persians, they would gain some advantage in him. Thereupon they immediately summoned their allies, on the pretext that Euthycles, the Lacedaemonian, was also at the King's court; and there went up thither Pelopidas for the Thebans, Antiochus, the pancratiast, for the Arcadians, and Archidamus for the Eleans; an Argive also went with them. And the

Athenians, upon hearing of this, sent up Timagoras and Leon. [34] When the ambassadors arrived there, Pelopidas enjoyed a great advantage with the Persian. For he was able to say that his people were the only ones among the Greeks who had fought on the side of the King at Plataea, that they had never afterwards undertaken a campaign against the King, and that the Lacedaemonians had made war upon them for precisely the reason that they had declined to go with Agesilaus against him and had refused to permit Agesilaus to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis, the very spot where Agamemnon, at the time when he was sailing forth to Asia, had sacrificed before he captured Troy. [35] It also contributed greatly toward the winning of honour for Pelopidas that the Thebans had been victorious in battle at Leuctra, and that they had admittedly ravaged the country of the Lacedaemonians. Pelopidas also said that the Argives and Arcadians had been defeated by the Lacedaemonians when the Thebans were not present with them. And the Athenian, Timagoras, bore witness in his behalf that all these things which he said were true, and so stood second in honour to Pelopidas. [36] Pelopidas was therefore asked by the King what he desired to have written for him; he replied, that Messene should be independent of the Lacedaemonians and that the Athenians should draw up their ships on the land; that if they refused obedience in these points, the contracting parties were to make an expedition against them; and that if any city refused to join in such expedition, they were to proceed first of all against that city. [37] When these things had been written and read to the ambassadors, Leon said in the King's hearing, "By Zeus, Athenians, it is time for you, it seems, to be seeking some other friend instead of the King." And when the secretary had interpreted to the King what the Athenian had said, he again brought out a further writing: "And if the Athenians are aware of anything juster than these provisions, let them come to the King and inform him." [38] Now when the ambassadors had returned to their several homes, Timagoras was put to death by the Athenians on the complaint of Leon that he had refused to share quarters with him and had taken counsel in all matters with Pelopidas. As for the other ambassadors, Archidamus, the Elean, praised the doings of the King, because he had honoured Elis above the Arcadians; but Antiochus, because the Arcadian

League was less regarded, did not accept the royal gifts, and reported back to the Ten Thousand that the King had bakers, and cooks, and wine-pourers, and doorkeepers in vast numbers, but as for men who could fight with Greeks, he said that though he sought diligently he could not see any. Besides this, he said that for his part he thought that the King's wealth of money was also mere pretence, for he said that even the golden plane-tree, that was forever harped upon, was not large enough to afford shade for a grasshopper. [39]

When the Thebans had called together representatives from all the cities to hear the letter from the King, and the Persian who bore the document, having shown the King's seal, had read what was written therein, although the Thebans directed those who desired to be friends of the King and themselves to swear to these provisions, the representatives from the cities replied that they had not been sent to give their oaths, but to listen; and if the Thebans had any desire for oaths, they bade them send to the cities. Indeed the Arcadian, Lycomedes, said this besides, that it was not even proper for the congress to be held in Thebes, but rather at the seat of war, wherever it might be. Then, since the Thebans were angry with him and said that he was destroying the compact of alliance, he refused even to occupy a seat at the congress, but took himself off, and with him went all the ambassadors from Arcadia. [40] Accordingly, inasmuch as those who had come together refused to take the oath at Thebes, the Thebans sent ambassadors to the cities and directed them to swear that they would act in accordance with the King's letter, believing that each one of the cities taken singly would hesitate to incur the hatred of themselves and the King at the same time. When, however, upon the arrival of the ambassadors at Corinth, their first stopping-place, the Corinthians resisted the proposal, and replied that they had no desire for oaths shared with the King, then other cities also followed suit, giving their answers in the same terms. Thus it was that this attempt on the part of Pelopidas and the Thebans to gain the leadership came to its end. [41]

Epaminondas, on the other hand, wishing to bring over the Achaeans to the side of the Thebans, in order that the Arcadians and the other allies might be more inclined to give heed to them, decided that he must march forth against Achaea. He therefore persuaded

Peisias, the Argive, who held the position of general at Argos, to occupy Oneum in advance. And Peisias, after he had learned that the guard over Oneum was being maintained carelessly by Naucles, who commanded the mercenary troops of the Lacedaemonians, and by Timomachus, the Athenian, did indeed seize the hill above Cenchreae by night with two thousand hoplites, having provisions for seven days. [42] Within this number of days the Thebans arrived and crossed over Oneum, and all the allies thereupon marched against Achaea, under the leadership of Epaminondas. Now upon the urgent entreaty which the aristocrats of Achaea addressed to him, Epaminondas effected through his personal influence an arrangement that their opponents were not to banish the aristocrats or to change the form of government, but after receiving pledges from the Achaeans that in very truth they would be allies and would follow wherever the Thebans led the way, he thereupon returned home. [43] When, however, the Arcadians and the Achaean opposition brought against him the charge that he had arranged matters in Achaea in the interest of the Lacedaemonians and had then gone away, the Thebans resolved to send governors to the Achaean cities. When they arrived they drove out the aristocrats, with the assistance of the commons, and established democracies in Achaea. But those who had been thus exiled speedily banded themselves together, proceeded against each one of the cities singly, and as they were not few in number, accomplished their restoration and gained possession of the cities. Then, since after their restoration they no longer followed a neutral course, but fought zealously in support of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians were hard pressed by the Lacedaemonians on the one side and by the Achaeans on the other. [44]

As for Sicyon, its government up to this time had been in conformity with its ancient laws. But now Euphron, who had been the most powerful of the citizens in his influence with the Lacedaemonians and wished in like manner to stand first with their adversaries also, said to the Argives and to the Arcadians that if the richest men should remain in control of Sicyon, it was manifest that whenever an opportunity offered, the city would go over to the Lacedaemonians again, "while if a democracy is established, be well assured," he said, "that the city will remain true to you. If, therefore,

you will be at hand to support me, I will be the one to call the people together, and I will not only give you in this act a pledge of my good faith, but will make the city steadfast in its alliance with you. This I do, you must understand," he said, "because, like yourselves, I have long found the arrogance of the Lacedaemonians hard to endure, and I should be glad to escape from servitude to them." [45] Accordingly the Arcadians and the Argives, upon hearing these words, gladly presented themselves to support him. Then he immediately called the people together in the market-place in the presence of the Argives and the Arcadians, announcing that the government was to be on terms of full equality. When they had come together, he bade them choose whomsoever they saw fit as generals; and they chose Euphron himself, Hippodamus, Cleander, Acrisius, and Lysander. When this had been done, he also appointed Adeas, his own son, to the command of the mercenary troops, removing Lysimenes, their former commander. [46] And straightway Euphron made some of these mercenaries faithful to him by treating them generously, and took others into his pay, sparing neither the public nor the sacred funds. He likewise availed himself of the property of all those whom he banished for favouring the Lacedaemonians. Furthermore, he treacherously put to death some of his fellow-officials and banished others, so that he brought everything under his control and was manifestly a tyrant. And he managed to induce his allies to permit these proceedings of his, partly by the use of money, and partly by following with them zealously at the head of his mercenary force wherever they made an expedition.

2.

When these matters had progressed to this point and the Argives had fortified Mount Tricaranum, above the Heraeum, as a base of attack upon Phlius, while the Sicyonians were fortifying Thyamia on its borders, the Phliasians were exceedingly hard pressed and suffered from lack of provisions; nevertheless, they remained steadfast in their alliance. But I will speak further of them; for while all the historians make mention of the large states if they have performed any noble achievement, it seems to me that if a state which is small has accomplished many noble deeds, it is even more fitting to set them forth. [2] Now the Phliasians had become friends of

the Lacedaemonians at a time when they were greatest; and when they had been defeated in the battle at Leuctra, when many of the Perioeci had revolted from them and all the Helots also had revolted, and likewise their allies with the exception of a very few, and when all the Greeks, one might say, were in the field against them, the Phliasians remained steadfastly faithful, and, though they had as enemies the most powerful of the peoples in Peloponnesus — the Arcadians and Argives — nevertheless went to their assistance. Furthermore, when it fell to their lot to cross over to Prasiae last of those who joined in the expedition (and these were the Corinthians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, Hermionians, Halians, Sicyonians, and Pelleneans — [3] for at that time the last mentioned had not yet revolted from the Lacedaemonians), even when the Lacedaemonian leader went off with those who had crossed first and left the Phliasians, even so they did not turn back, but hired a guide from Prasiae, and, although the enemy were in the neighbourhood of Amyclae, slipped through as best they could and reached Sparta. And the Lacedaemonians, besides honouring them in other ways, sent them an ox as a gift of hospitality. [4] Again, when the enemy had retired from Lacedaemon, and the Argives, in anger at the devotion of the Phliasians toward the Lacedaemonians, had invaded the territory of Phlius in full force and were laying waste their land, even then they did not yield; but when the Argives were withdrawing, after having destroyed as much as they could, the horsemen of the Phliasians sallied forth and followed after them, and, although all the Argive horsemen and the companies posted behind them were employed to guard their rear, the Phliasians nevertheless, who were but sixty in number, attacked these troops and turned to flight the entire rearguard; to be sure they killed but few of them, yet they set up a trophy, with the Argives looking on, precisely as if they had killed them all. [5]

Once again, the Lacedaemonians and their allies were guarding Oneum, and the Thebans were approaching with the intention of crossing over the mountain. At this time, as the Arcadians and Eleans were marching through Nemea in order to effect a junction with the Thebans, exiles of the Phliasians made them an offer that if they would only put in an appearance to help their party, they would

capture Phlius; and when this plan had been agreed upon, during the night the exiles and others with them, about six hundred in number, set themselves in ambush close under the wall with scaling ladders. Then as soon as the watchmen signalled from Tricaranum that enemies were approaching, and the city was giving its attention to these last, at this moment those who sought to betray the city signalled to the people in ambush to climb up. [6] When they had climbed up and found the posts of the guards weakly manned, they pursued the day-guards, who numbered ten (for one out of each squad of five was regularly left behind as a day-guard); and they killed one while he was still asleep and another after he had fled for refuge to the Heraeum. And since the other day-guards in their flight leaped down from the wall on the side looking toward the city, the men who had climbed up were in undisputed possession of the Acropolis. [7] But when an outcry reached the city and the citizens came to the rescue, at first the enemy issued forth from the Acropolis and fought in the space in front of the gates which lead to the city; afterwards, being beset on all sides by those who came against them, they withdrew again to the Acropolis; and the citizens poured in with them. Now the space within the Acropolis was cleared at once, but the enemy mounted upon the wall and the towers and showered blows and missiles upon the people who were within. Meanwhile the latter defended themselves from the ground and attacked the enemy by the steps which led up to the wall. [8] When, however, the citizens gained possession of some of the towers on this side and on that, they closed in desperate battle with those who had mounted upon their walls. And the enemy, as they were forced back by them — by their courage as well as by their fighting — were being crowded together into an ever smaller space. At this critical moment the Arcadians and Argives were circling around the city and beginning to dig through the wall of the Acropolis from its upper side; and as for the citizens within, some were dealing blows upon the people on the wall, others upon those who were still climbing up from the outside and were on the ladders, and still others were fighting against those among the enemy who had mounted upon the towers; they also found fire in the tents and began to set the towers ablaze from below, bringing up some sheaves which chanced to have been harvested on the

Acropolis itself. Then the people upon the towers, in fear of the flames, jumped off one after another, while those upon the walls, under the blows of their human adversaries, kept falling off. [9] And when they had once begun to give way, speedily the whole Acropolis had become bare of the enemy. Thereupon the horsemen straightway sallied forth from the city; and the enemy upon seeing them retired, leaving behind their ladders, their dead, and likewise some of the living who had been badly lamed. And the number of the enemy who were killed, both in the fighting within and by leaping down without, was not less than eighty. Then one might have beheld the men congratulating one another with handclasps on their preservation, and the women bringing them drink and at the same time crying for joy. Indeed, "laughter mingled with tears" did on that occasion really possess all who were present. [10]

In the following year likewise the Argives and all the Arcadians invaded the territory of Phlius. The reason for their continually besetting the Phliasians was partly that they were angry with them, and partly that they had the country of the Phliasians between them, and were always in hope that through want of provisions they would bring them to terms. But on this invasion also the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians, along with the horsemen of the Athenians who were present, attacked them at the crossing of the river; and having won the victory, they made the enemy retire under the heights for the rest of the day, just as if they were keeping carefully away from the corn in the plain as the property of friends, so as not to trample it down. [11]

On another occasion the Theban governor at Sicyon marched upon Phlius at the head of the garrison which he had under his own command, and of the Sicyonians and Pelleneans — for at that time they were already following the Thebans; and Euphron also took part in the expedition with his mercenaries, about two thousand in number. Now the main body of the troops descended along Tricaranum toward the Heraeum with the intention of laying waste the plain; but the commander left the Sicyonians and Pelleneans behind upon the height over against the gates leading to Corinth, so that the Phliasians should not go around by that way and get above his men at the Heraeum. [12] When, however, the people in the city

perceived that the enemy had set out for the plain, the horsemen and the picked troops of the Phliasians sallied forth against them, gave battle, and did not allow them to make their way to the plain. And they spent most of the day there in fighting at long range, the troops of Euphron pursuing up to the point where the country was suited for cavalry, and the men from the city as far as the Heraeum. [13] When, however, it seemed to be the proper time, the enemy retired by a circuitous route over Tricaranum, for the ravine in front of the wall prevented them from reaching the Pelleneans by the direct way. Then the Phliasians, after following them a little way up the hill, turned back and charged along the road which leads past the wall, against the Pelleneans and those with them. [14] And the troops of the Theban general, upon perceiving the haste of the Phliasians, began racing with them in order to reach the Pelleneans first and give them aid. The horsemen, however, arrived first, and attacked the Pelleneans. And when at the outset they withstood the attack, the Phliasians fell back, but then attacked again in company with such of the foot-soldiers as had come up, and fought hand-to-hand. At this the enemy gave way, and some of the Sicyonians fell and very many of the Pelleneans, and brave men, too. [15] When these things had taken place the Phliasians set up a trophy, sounding their paean loudly, as was natural; and the troops of the Theban general and Euphron allowed all this to go on, just as if they had made their race to see a spectacle. Then, after these proceedings were finished, the one party departed for Sicyon and the other returned to the city. [16]

Another noble deed which the Phliasians performed was this: when they had made a prisoner of Proxenus, the Pellenean, even though they were in want of everything, they let him go without a ransom. How could one help saying that men who performed such deeds were noble and valiant? [17]

Furthermore, that it was only by stout endurance that they maintained their fidelity to their friends is clearly manifest; for when they were shut off from the products of their land, they lived partly by what they could get from the enemy's territory, and partly by buying from Corinth; they went to the market through the midst of many dangers, with difficulty provided the price of supplies, with difficulty brought through the enemy's lines the people who fetched

these supplies, and were hard put to it to find men who would guarantee the safety of the beasts of burden which were to convey them. [18] At length, when they were in desperate straits, they arranged that Chares should escort their supply train. Upon his arrival at Phlius they begged him to help them also to convoy their non-combatants to Pellene. Accordingly they left these people at Pellene, and after making their purchases and packing as many beasts of burden as they could, they set off during the night, not unaware that they would be ambushed by the enemy, but thinking that to be without provisions was a more grievous thing than fighting. [19] Now the Phliasians, together with Chares, went on ahead, and when they came upon the enemy they immediately set to work, and, cheering one another on, pressed their attack, while at the same time they shouted to Chares to come to their aid. And when victory had been achieved and the enemy driven out of the road, in this wise they brought home in safety both themselves and the supplies they were conveying.

Now inasmuch as the Phliasians had passed the night without sleep, they slept until far on in the day. [20] But when Chares arose, the horsemen and the best of the hoplites came to him and said: "Chares, it is within your power to-day to accomplish a splendid deed. For the Sicyonians are fortifying a place upon our borders, and they have many builders but not very many hoplites. Now therefore we, the horsemen and the stoutest of the hoplites, will lead the way; and if you will follow us with your mercenary force, perhaps you will find the business already settled for you, and perhaps your appearance will turn the scale, as happened at Pellene. But if anything in what we propose is unacceptable to you, consult the gods by sacrifices; for we think that the gods will bid you do this even more urgently than we do. And this, Chares, you should well understand, that if you accomplish these things you will have secured a stronghold as a base of attack upon the enemy and have preserved a friendly city, and you will win the fairest of fame in your fatherland and be most renowned among both allies and enemies." [21] Chares accordingly was persuaded and offered sacrifice, while on the Phliasian side the horsemen straightway put on their breastplates and bridled their horses, and the hoplites made all the preparations

necessary for infantry. When they had taken up their arms and were proceeding to the place where he was sacrificing, Chares and the seer met them and said that the sacrifices were favourable. "Wait for us," they said, "for we, too, will set forth at once." And as soon as word had been given by the herald, Chares' mercenaries also speedily rushed out with a kind of heaven-sent eagerness. [22] Now when Chares had begun to march, the cavalry and infantry of the Phliasians went on ahead of him; and at first they led the way rapidly, and then they began to run; finally, the horsemen were riding at the top of their speed and the foot-soldiers were running as fast as it is possible for men in line to go, while after them came Chares, following in haste. The time was a little before sunset, and they found the enemy at the fortress, some bathing, some cooking, some kneading, and some making their beds. [23] Now so soon as the enemy saw the vehemence of the onset they straightway fled in terror, leaving all their provisions behind for these brave men. The latter accordingly made their dinner off these provisions and more which came from home, and after pouring libations in honour of their good fortune, singing a paean, and posting guards, they went to sleep. And the Corinthians, after news had reached them during the night in regard to Thyamia, in a most friendly way ordered out by proclamation all their teams and pack-animals, loaded them with corn, and convoyed them to Phlius; and so long as the fortifications were building, convoys continued to be sent out every day.

3.

The story of the Phliasians, then, how they proved themselves faithful to their friends and continued valiant in the war, and how, though in want of everything, they remained steadfast in their alliance, has been told. At about this time Aeneas the Stymphalian, who had become general of the Arcadians, thinking that conditions in Sicyon were not to be endured, went up to the Acropolis with his own army, called together the aristocrats among the Sicyonians who were in the city, and sent after those who had been exiled therefrom without a decree of the people. [2] And Euphron, seized with fear at these proceedings, fled for refuge to the port of the Sicyonians, and after summoning Pasimelus to come from Corinth, through him handed over the port to the Lacedaemonians and appeared once more

in their alliance, saying that he had all the time remained faithful to the Lacedaemonians. For he said that at the same time when a vote was taken in the city as to whether the Sicyonians should decide to revolt from them, he, with a few others, voted against it; [3] and that afterwards he had set up a democracy out of his desire to avenge himself on those who had betrayed him. "And at this moment," he said, "all who were traitors to you are in exile by my act. Now if I had found myself able, I should have gone over to you with the entire city. As it is, I have given over to you the port, over which alone I had gained control." Those who heard him say these words were many, but how many believed him is by no means clear. [4]

However, since I have begun it, I desire to finish the story of Euphron. When the aristocrats and the commons at Sicyon had fallen into strife, Euphron obtained a force of mercenaries from Athens and came back again. And with the help of the commons he was master of the town; a Theban governor, however, held the Acropolis, and since Euphron realized that with the Thebans holding the Acropolis he could not possibly be master of the state, he got together money and set out with the intention of persuading the Thebans, by means of this money, to banish the aristocrats and give the state over to him again. [5] When, however, the former exiles learned of his journey and his plans, they likewise proceeded to Thebes. And as they saw him in familiar association with the Theban officials, they were seized with fear that he might accomplish what he wanted, and some of them took the risk and slew Euphron upon the Acropolis while the officials and the senate were in session there. But the officials brought those who had done the deed before the senate and spoke as follows: [6]

"Fellow citizens, we arraign on the capital charge these men who have slain Euphron, seeing, as we do, that while right-minded men commit no unjust or unrighteous deed, and the wicked, although they commit them, strive to do them in secret, these persons have so far surpassed all mankind in hardihood and villainy that in the presence of the very magistrates and in the presence of you, who alone have authority to decide who shall die and who shall not, they took decision into their own hands and slew the man. Therefore if these men do not suffer the extreme penalty, who will ever have the

courage to visit our city? And what will become of the city if any one who so desires is to be allowed to slay a man before he has made known for what purpose he has come here? We, then, arraign these men as utterly unrighteous, unjust, and lawless, and as having shown the utmost contempt for our city. It is for you, after you have heard, to inflict upon them such penalty as they seem to you to deserve.” [7]

Such were the words of the officials; as for those who had slain Euphron, all except one denied that they had been the perpetrators of the deed; but one had admitted it, and began his defence in some such words as these: “Surely, Thebans, to feel contempt for you is not possible for a man if he knows that you have authority to do with him as you will; in what, then, did I trust when I here slew the man? Be well assured that it was first of all in the belief that I was doing a just deed, and secondly in the thought that you would decide rightly; for I knew that you likewise, in dealing with the party of Archias and Hypates, whom you found to have performed acts like those of Euphron, did not wait for a vote, but punished them as soon as you found yourselves able to do so, believing that those who are manifestly unrighteous and those who are plainly traitors and attempting to be tyrants are already condemned to death by all mankind. [8] Was not Euphron also, I ask, guilty under all these heads? In the first place, he found the shrines full of offerings both of silver and of gold, and left them empty of all these treasures. Again, who could be more manifestly a traitor than Euphron, who was the closest of friends to the Lacedaemonians and then chose you in their stead, and after he had given you pledges and received pledges from you, betrayed you again and handed over the port to your adversaries? Once again, was he not beyond question a tyrant, when he made slaves not only free men~ but even citizens, and put to death and banished and robbed of property, not the people who were guilty of wrong-doing, but those whom it suited him to treat thus? And these were the better classes. [9] Then after he had returned again to the city in company with your bitter adversaries, the Athenians, he set himself in arms against your governor; but since he found himself unable to expel him from the Acropolis, he got together money and came hither. Now if he had been shown to have gathered armed forces with which to attack you, you would even feel grateful to me

for slaying him; but when he provided himself with money instead, and came with the purpose of corrupting you by means of this money and persuading you to make him lord of the city again, how can I justly be put to death by you for inflicting upon the man his due punishment? For whereas those who are constrained by arms suffer damage, yet they are not thereby shown to be wicked at any rate; but those who are corrupted by money in violation of the right not only suffer damage, but at the same time incur shame. [10] To be sure, if he had been an enemy of mine but a friend of yours, I admit myself that it would not have been seemly for me to slay this man in your city; but wherein was he, who was a traitor to you, more of an enemy to me than to you? 'But, by Zeus,' someone might say, 'he came of his own free will.' So, then, if anyone had slain him while he was keeping away from your city, he would have obtained praise; but as it is, when he came again to do you more wrong in addition to what he had done before, does one say that he has not been slain justly? Where can such a one show that a truce exists between Greeks and traitors, or double-deserters, or tyrants? [11] Besides all this, remember also that you voted, and properly, that exiles should be subject to extradition from all the cities of the alliance. But as for an exile who returns without a general resolution of the allies, can anyone explain why it is unjust for such a one to be put to death? I maintain, gentlemen, that if you put me to death, you will have avenged a man who was the worst of all your enemies, but if you decide that I have done what was right, you will be found to have taken vengeance both for your own selves and for all the allies." [12]

The Thebans, after hearing these words, decided that Euphron had met his deserts; his own citizens, however, esteeming him a good man, brought him home, buried him in their market-place, and pay him pious honours as the founder of their city. So true it is, as it seems, that most people define as good men their own benefactors.

4.

The story of Euphron has been told, and I return to the point from which I digressed to this subject. While, namely, the Phliasians were still fortifying Thyamia and Chares was still with them, Oropus was seized by those who had been exiled therefrom. When, however, the Athenians had set out in full force against the city and had

summoned Chares from Thyamia, the port of the Sicyonians in its turn was recaptured by the citizens of Sicyon themselves and the Arcadians; as for the Athenians, none of their allies came to their assistance, and they retired and left Oropus in the possession of the Thebans pending a judicial decision. [2]

And now Lycomedes, upon learning that the Athenians were finding fault with their allies because, while they were themselves suffering many troubles on their account, none gave them any assistance in return, persuaded the Ten Thousand to negotiate for an alliance with the Athenians. At first, indeed, some of the Athenians took it ill that, when they were friends of the Lacedaemonians, they should become allies of their adversaries; but when upon consideration they found that it was no less advantageous to the Lacedaemonians than to themselves that the Arcadians should not require the support of the Thebans, under these circumstances they accepted the alliance with the Arcadians. [3] While Lycomedes was engaged in these negotiations, upon his departure from Athens he met his death by what was quite manifestly a divine interposition. For there were very many ships available and he selected from them the one he wanted and made an agreement with the sailors to land him wherever he should himself direct; and he chose to land at the very spot where the Arcadian exiles chanced to be. He, then, met his death in this way, but the alliance was really accomplished. [4]

Meantime Demotion said in the Assembly of the Athenians that while it seemed to him a good thing to be negotiating this friendship with the Arcadians, they ought, he said, to give instructions to their generals to see to it that Corinth also should be kept safe for the Athenian people; and on hearing of this the Corinthians speedily sent adequate garrisons of their own to every place where Athenians were on guard and told the latter to depart, saying that they no longer had any need of garrisons. The men accordingly obeyed. And as soon as the Athenians had come together from their guard-stations to the city of Corinth, the Corinthians made proclamation that if any of the Athenians had been wronged, they were to register their names, in the assurance that they would receive their just dues. [5] While these matters were in this state, Chares arrived at Cenchreae with a fleet. And when he learned what had been done, he said that he had heard

there was plotting against the state and had come to give aid. The Corinthians, however, while they thanked him, were none the more disposed to admit his ships into their harbour, but bade him sail away; and they likewise sent away the hoplites after rendering them their just dues. It was in this way, then, that the Athenians departed from Corinth. [6] On the other hand, they were bound by the terms of their alliance to send their cavalry to the aid of the Arcadians in case anyone took the field against Arcadia; but they did not set foot upon Laconia for the purpose of war.

And now the Corinthians, in the thought that it would be difficult for them to come off safe, since even before this time they had been overmastered by land and now the Athenians had been added to the number of those who were unfriendly to them, resolved to collect mercenaries, both infantry and cavalry. Once in command of these troops, they not only guarded their city but likewise inflicted much harm upon their enemies near home; but to Thebes they sent messengers to ask whether they could obtain peace if they came for it. [7] And when the Thebans bade them come, saying that peace would be granted, the Corinthians requested that they should allow them to go to their allies also, to the end that they might conclude the peace in company with those who desired peace, and leave those who preferred war to continue war. The Thebans having permitted them to do this likewise, the Corinthians went to Lacedaemon and said: [8] “Men of Lacedaemon, we have come to you as your friends, and we ask that in case you see any safety for us if we persist in the war, you make it known to us; but in case you judge our situation to be hopeless, that you join with us in concluding peace if it is to your advantage also; for there is no one in the world along with whom we should more gladly gain safety than with you; if, however, you consider that it is to your advantage to continue the war, we beg you to allow us to conclude peace. For if we are saved, we might perhaps make ourselves useful to you again at some future time; whereas if we are now destroyed, it is plain that we shall never be of service in the future.” [9]

Upon hearing these words the Lacedaemonians not only advised the Corinthians to conclude the peace, but gave permission to such of their other allies as preferred not to continue the war in company

with them, to cease; as for themselves, however, they said that they would fight on and accept whatever fortune it pleased the deity to send, and that they would never submit to be deprived of what they had received from their fathers — Messene. [10] So the Corinthians, upon hearing these words, proceeded to Thebes to make the peace. The Thebans, however, wanted them to bind themselves to an alliance as well; but they replied that an alliance was not peace but an exchange of war, and they said that they had come to conclude a real peace, if the Thebans so pleased. And the Thebans, seized with admiration for them because, even though they were in peril, they refused to be involved in war with their benefactors, granted peace to them, to the Phliasians, and to those who had come with them to Thebes, with the condition that each party should keep its own territory. And on these terms the oaths were taken. [11] Then the Phliasians, inasmuch as the compact had been concluded on this basis, at once withdrew from Thyamia; but the Argives, who had sworn to make peace on these same terms, when they found themselves unable to bring it about that the Phliasian exiles should remain at Tricaranum on the ground that they would be within their own state, took over the place and kept it garrisoned, claiming now that this territory, which a little while before they had been laying waste as though it were an enemy's, was theirs; and although the Phliasians proposed a judicial decision, they refused to grant the request. [12]

At about this time, the first Dionysius being now dead, his son sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians twelve triremes and Timocrates as their commander. And upon his arrival he helped them to capture Sellasia; and after accomplishing this deed he sailed back home.

Not long after this the Eleans seized Lasion, which in ancient times had been theirs, but at present belonged to the Arcadian League. [13] The Arcadians, however, did not let the matter pass, but at once called out their troops and went to the rescue. And on the side of the Eleans the Three Hundred and likewise the Four Hundred came out to meet them. Now after the Eleans had lain encamped on a somewhat level spot opposite the enemy throughout the day, the Arcadians climbed up by night to the summit of the mountain which

was above the Eleans; and at daybreak they proceeded to descend upon the Eleans. Then the latter, seeing that the Arcadians were not only approaching from higher ground but were also many times their number, were yet ashamed to retreat while still at a distance, but advanced to meet the enemy, and took to flight only after letting them come to close quarters; and they lost many men and many arms, since they retreated over difficult ground. [14]

When the Arcadians had accomplished these things, they proceeded against the cities of the Acrorians. And having captured them, with the exception of Thraustus, they arrived at Olympia, and after building a stockade around the hill of Cronus, kept guard there and were masters of the Olympian mountain; they likewise gained possession of Margana, which was betrayed to them by some of its citizens. When matters had progressed to this point, the Eleans fell back into complete despondency, while the Arcadians proceeded against their capital. And they advanced as far as the marketplace; there, however, the horsemen and the rest of the Eleans made a stand, and they drove the Arcadians out, killed some of them, and set up a trophy. [15] Now there had been dissension in Elis even before this time. For the party of Charopus, Thrasonidas, and Argeius were trying to convert the state into a democracy, and the party of Eualcas, Hippias, and Stratolas into an oligarchy. But when the Arcadians with a large force seemed to be allies of those who wished to have a democracy, thereupon the party of Charopus were bolder, and after making arrangements with the Arcadians to aid them, seized the Acropolis. [16] The horsemen, however, and the Three Hundred made no delay, but at once marched up and ejected them, so that about four hundred of the citizens, with Argeius and Charopus, were banished.

Not long afterwards these exiles enlisted the aid of some of the Arcadians and seized Pylus. And many of the democrats withdrew from the capital and joined them, inasmuch as they were in possession of a good stronghold and had a large force — that of the Arcadians — to support them. Afterwards the Arcadians invaded the territory of the Eleans again, being persuaded by the exyles that the city would come over to them. [17] But on that occasion the Ashaeans, who had become friends of the Eleans, defended their city successfully, so that the Arcadians retired without accomplishing

anything more than the laying waste of the land of the Eleans. At the moment, however, when they were departing from the Elean territory, they learned that the Pelleneans were in Elis, and after making an exceedingly long march by night seized their town of Olurus; for by this time the Pelleneans had come back again to their alliance with the Lacedaemonians. [18] Now when the Pelleneans learned the news in regard to Olurus, they in their turn made a roundabout march and as best they could got into their own city, Pellene. And after this they carried on war not only with the Arcadians at Olurus, but also with the entire body of the democrats of their own state, although they were themselves very few in number; but nevertheless they did not cease until they had captured Olurus by siege. [19]

The Arcadians on their side made yet another expedition into Elis. And while they were encamped between Cyllene and the capital, the Eleans made an attack upon them, but the Arcadians stood their ground and defeated them. Then Andromachus, the Elean commander of horse, the man who was thought to be responsible for having joined battle, killed himself; but the rest retired to the city. Among those who perished in this battle was also Socleides the Spartiate, who had meanwhile arrived; for by this time the Lacedaemonians were allies of the Eleans. [20] And now the Eleans, being hard pressed in their own land, sent ambassadors and asked the Lacedaemonians also to take the field against the Arcadians, believing that the Arcadians would be most likely to give up the struggle in this event, that is, if they were beset by war from both sides. As a result of this request Archidamus took the field with the citizen troops and seized Cromnus. And after leaving in the town as a garrison three of the twelve battalions, he then returned homewards. [21] But the Arcadians, gathered together as they were in consequence of their expedition into Elis, came to the rescue and surrounded Cromnus with a double stockade, and, being thus in a safe position, besieged the people in Cromnus. Then the city of Lacedaemon, distressed at the besieging of its citizens, sent out an army. And on this occasion also Archidamus was in command. When he had come, he laid waste as much as he could both of Arcadia and of Sciritis, and did everything in order, if possible, to draw off the besiegers. The

Arcadians, however, were not any more disposed to stir than before, but disregarded all these doings. [22] Then Archidamus, espying a hill over which the Arcadians had carried their outer stockade, came to the conclusion that he could capture it, and that if he became master of this hill, the besiegers at its foot would not be able to hold their position. Now while he was leading the way to this place by a roundabout route, as soon as the peltasts who were running on ahead of Archidamus caught sight of the Epariti outside the stockade, they attacked them, and the cavalry endeavoured to join in the attack. The enemy, however, did not give way, but forming themselves into a compact body, remained quiet. Then the Lacedaemonians attacked again. The enemy did not give way even then, but on the contrary proceeded to advance, and by this time there was a deal of shouting; Archidamus himself thereupon came to the rescue, turning off along the wagon road which runs to Cromnus and leading his men in double file, just as he chanced to have them formed. [23] Now as soon as the two forces had come near to one another, the troops of Archidamus in column, since they were marching along a road, and the Arcadians massed together in close order, at this juncture the Lacedaemonians were no longer able to hold out against the superior weight of the Arcadians, but Archidamus speedily received a wound straight through his thigh and speedily those who fought in front of him kept falling, among them Polyaeidas and Chilon, who was married to the sister of Archidamus; and the whole number of them who fell at that time was not less than thirty. [24] But when the Lacedaemonians as they retired along the road came out into open ground, they immediately formed themselves in line of battle against the enemy. The Arcadians on their side stood in close order, just as they were, and while inferior in numbers, they were in better spirits by far, since they had attacked a foe who retreated and had killed men. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, were exceedingly despondent, for they saw that Archidamus was wounded and they had heard the names of the dead, who were not only brave men but well nigh their most distinguished. [25] But when, the Arcadians being now close at hand, one of the older men shouted out and said: "Why, sirs, should we fight, and not rather make a truce and become reconciled?" both sides heard him gladly and made a truce.

Accordingly the Lacedaemonians took up their dead and departed, while the Arcadians returned to the place where they had originally begun to advance, and there set up a trophy. [26]

While the Arcadians were occupied about Cromnus, the Eleans in the capital proceeded in the first place against Pylus, and fell in with the Pylians after the latter had been driven out of Thalamae. And when the horsemen of the Eleans, as they rode along, caught sight of the Pylians, they did not delay, but attacked at once, and they killed some of them, while others fled for refuge to a hill; but as soon as the infantry came up they dislodged those upon the hill also, and killed some of them on the spot and took captive others, nearly two hundred in number. Thereupon they sold all among the prisoners who were foreigners and put to the sword all who were Elean exiles. After this the Eleans not only captured the Pylians, along with their stronghold, inasmuch as no one came to their aid, but also recovered Margana. [27] As for the Lacedaemonians, they afterwards went against Cromnus again by night, made themselves masters of the stockade which was opposite the Argives, and immediately proceeded to call forth the Lacedaemonians who were besieged there. Now all who chanced to be nearest at hand and seized the opportunity promptly, came forth; but such as were forestalled by a large body of the Arcadians which came to the rescue, were shut off inside the stockade, captured, and distributed. And the Argives received one portion, the Thebans one, the Arcadians one, and the Messenians one. And the whole number who were captured of the Spartiatae and the Perioeci came to more than one hundred. [28]

When the Arcadians were no longer occupied with Cromnus, they occupied themselves again with the Eleans, and they not only kept Olympia more strongly garrisoned, but also, since an Olympic year was coming on, prepared to celebrate the Olympic games in company with the Pisatans, who say that they were the first to have charge of the sanctuary. But when the month came in which the Olympic games take place and the days on which the festal assembly gathers, at this time the Eleans, after making their preparations openly and summoning the Achaeans to their aid, proceeded to march along the road leading to Olympia. [29] Now the Arcadians had never imagined that the Eleans would come against them, and were

themselves directing the festal meeting in company with the Pisatans. They had already finished the horse-race, and the events of the pentathlon held in the race-course. And the competitors who had reached the wrestling were no longer in the race-course, but were wrestling in the space between the race-course and the altar. For the Eleans, under arms, had by this time reached the sacred precinct. Then the Arcadians, without advancing to meet them, formed in line of battle on the river Cladaus, which flows past the Altis and empties into the Alpheus. They had allies also to support them, about two thousand hoplites of the Argives and about four hundred horsemen of the Athenians. [30] And the Eleans formed in line on the opposite side of the river, and, after offering sacrifice, immediately advanced. And although in former time they had been despised in matters of war by the Arcadians and Argives, and despised by the Achaeans and Athenians, nevertheless on that day they led their allies forward, as men who were unexcelled in valour, and they not only routed the Arcadians at once — for it was these whom they encountered first — but withstood the attack of the Argives when they came to the rescue, and won the victory over them also. [31] When, however, they had pursued the enemy to the space between the senate house and the temple of Hestia and the theatre which adjoins these buildings, although they fought no less stoutly and kept pushing the enemy towards the altar, still, since they were pelted from the roofs of the porticoes, the senate house, and the great temple, and were themselves fighting on the ground-level, some of the Eleans were killed, among them Stratolas himself, the leader of the Three Hundred. When this happened, they retired to their own camp. [32] But the Arcadians and those with them were so fearful for the coming day that they did not so much as go to rest during the night, being engaged in cutting down the carefully constructed booths and building a stockade. As for the Eleans, when they returned on the next day and saw that the stockade was a strong one and that many men had climbed up on the temples, they withdrew to their city, having shown themselves such men in point of valour as a god no doubt could produce by his inspiration even in a day, but human creatures could not make even in a long time out of those who were not valiant. [33]

Now while the leaders of the Arcadians were using the sacred treasures, and therefrom maintaining the Epariti, the Mantineans were the first to pass a vote not to make use of the sacred treasures. For themselves, they collected in their city the amount which fell to their share towards the payment of the Epariti and sent it off to the leaders. The leaders, however, said that they were doing harm to the Arcadian League, and summoned their rulers before the Ten Thousand; and when they refused to heed the summons, they passed sentence upon them and sent the Epariti to bring those who had been thus condemned. Then the Mantineans shut their gates and would not admit the Epariti within their walls. [34] As a result of this some others likewise were soon saying in the meeting of the Ten Thousand that they ought not to use the sacred treasures, or to leave to their children for all time such an offence in the eyes of the gods. When, accordingly, a vote had been passed in the Arcadian assembly not to make use of the sacred treasures any longer, those who could not belong to the Epariti without pay speedily began to melt away, while those who could, spurred on one another and began to enroll themselves in the Epariti, in order that they might not be in the power of that body, but rather that it might be in their power. Then such of the Arcadian leaders as had handled the sacred treasures, realizing that, if they had to render an account, they would be in danger of being put to death, sent to Thebes and explained to the Thebans that if they did not take the field, the Arcadians would be likely to go over to the Lacedaemonians again. [35] The Thebans accordingly prepared to take the field; but those who sought the best interests of Peloponnesus persuaded the general assembly of the Arcadians to send ambassadors and tell the Thebans not to come under arms to Arcadia unless they sent them a summons. And while they said this to the Thebans, at the same time they reasoned that they had no desire for war. For they held that they had no desire for the presidency of the shrine of Zeus, but that they would be acting more justly as well as more righteously if they gave it back, and that in this way, as they supposed, they would please the god better. Now since the Eleans also were desirous of this course, both parties resolved to make peace; and a truce was concluded. [36] <]ILESTONE ED="P" UNIT="para">After the oaths had been taken and, besides all the

rest, the Tegeans had sworn and the Theban governor himself, who chanced to be in Tegea with three hundred hoplites of the Boeotians, then, while the bulk of the Arcadians, still remaining there in Tegea, feasted and made merry, poured libations and sang paeans over the conclusion of peace, the Theban and such of the Arcadian leaders as were fearful about their accounts, after closing the gates in the wall of Tegea with the help of the Boeotians and their partisans among the Epariti, sent to the feasters and proceeded to seize the aristocrats. But inasmuch as the Arcadians of all the cities were present and all of them were desirous of having peace, those who were seized were necessarily many, so that their prison was speedily full, and the city hall likewise. [37] Since, however, there were many who had been imprisoned, and many who had leaped down outside the wall, and some also who had been let out through the gates (for no one, unless he expected to be put to death, felt resentment against anyone else), it was a cause of the greatest embarrassment to the Theban governor and those who were acting with him in this matter that of the Mantineans, whom they most wanted to capture, they had but a very few; for because their city was near by, almost all of them had gone home. [38]

Now when day came and the Mantineans learned what had been done, they straightway sent to the other Arcadian cities and gave them word to hold themselves under arms and to guard the passes. The Mantineans likewise followed this course themselves, and at the same time, sending to Tegea, demanded back all the men of Mantinea whom they were holding there; and they said that they demanded in the case of the other Arcadians also that no one of them should be kept in prison or put to death without a trial. And if anyone had any charges to bring against these men, they gave assurances that the city of Mantinea pledged itself in very truth to produce before the general assembly of the Arcadians all whom anyone might summon to trial. [39] The Theban accordingly, on hearing this, was at a loss to know how he should deal with the matter, and released all the men. Then on the following day he called together as many of the Arcadians as chose to gather and said in his defence that he had been deceived. For he had heard, he said, that the Lacedaemonians were on the borders under arms and that some of the Arcadians were going

to betray Tegea to them. Upon hearing this they acquitted him, although they knew that he was speaking falsely about them, but they sent ambassadors to Thebes and brought charges against him, saying that he ought to be put to death. [40] It was said, however, that Epaminondas (for he chanced to be general at that time) urged that he had acted far more rightly when he seized the men than when he released them. "For," he said to the ambassadors, "it was on your account that we entered upon war, and you concluded peace without our approval; should we not, therefore, be justified in charging you with treason for this act? But be well assured," said he, "that we shall make an expedition to Arcadia and shall wage war in company with those who hold to our side."

5.

When these things were reported back to the general assembly of the Arcadians and to the several cities, the Mantineans and such of the other Arcadians as were concerned for Peloponnesus inferred therefrom, as did likewise the Eleans and the Achaeans, that the Thebans manifestly wanted Peloponnesus to be as weak as possible so that they might as easily as possible reduce it to slavery. [2] "For why in the world," they said, "do they wish us to make war unless it is in order that we may do harm to one another and consequently may both feel the need of them? Or why, when we say that we do not at present need them, are they preparing to march forth? Is it not clear that it is for the purpose of working some harm upon us that they are preparing to take the field?" [3] And they sent to Athens also, bidding the Athenians come to their aid, while ambassadors from the Epariti proceeded to Lacedaemon as well, to invite the help of the Lacedaemonians in case they wanted to join in checking any who might come to enslave Peloponnesus. As for the matter of the leadership, they arranged at once that each people should hold it while within its own territory. [4]

While these things were being done, Epaminondas was on his outward march at the head of all the Boeotians, the Euboeans, and many of the Thessalians, who came both from Alexander and from his opponents. The Phocians, however, declined to join the expedition, saying that their agreement was to lend aid in case anyone went against Thebes, but that to take the field against others

was not in the agreement. [5] Epaminondas reflected, however, that his people had supporters in Peloponnesus also — the Argives, the Messenians, and such of the Arcadians as held to their side. These were the Tegeans, the Megalopolitans, the Aseans, the Pallantians, and whatever cities were constrained to adopt this course for the reason that they were small and surrounded by these others. [6] Epaminondas accordingly pushed forth with speed; but when he arrived at Nemea he delayed there, hoping to catch the Athenians as they passed by, and estimating that this would be a great achievement, not only in the view of his people's allies, so as to encourage them, but also in that of their opponents, so that they would fall into despondency — in a word, that every loss the Athenians suffered was a gain for the Thebans. [7] And during this delay on his part all those who held the same views were gathering together at Mantinea. But when Epaminondas heard that the Athenians had given up the plan of proceeding by land and were preparing to go by sea, with the intention of marching through Lacedaemon to the aid of the Arcadians, under these circumstances he set forth from Nemea and arrived at Tegea. [8] Now I for my part could not say that his campaign proved fortunate; yet of all possible deeds of forethought and daring the man seems to me to have left not one undone. For, in the first place, I commend his pitching his camp within the wall of Tegea, where he was in greater safety than if he had been encamped outside, and where whatever was being done was more entirely concealed from the enemy. Furthermore, it was easier for him, being in the city, to provide himself with whatever he needed. Since the enemy, on the other hand, was encamped outside, it was possible to see whether they were doing things rightly or were making mistakes. Again, while he believed that he was stronger than his adversaries, he could never be induced to attack them when he saw that they held the advantage in position. [9] However, when he perceived that no city was coming over to him and that time was passing on, he decided that some action must be taken; otherwise, in place of his former fame, he must expect deep disgrace. When he became aware, therefore, that his adversaries had taken up a strong position in the neighbourhood of Mantinea and were sending after Agesilaus and all the Lacedaemonians, and learned, further, that

Agésilas had marched forth and was already at Pellene, he gave orders to his men to get their dinner and led his army straight upon Sparta. [10] And had not a Cretan by a kind of providential chance come and reported to Agésilas that the army was advancing, he would have captured the city, like a nest entirely empty of its defenders. But when Agésilas, having received word of this in time, had got back to the city ahead of the enemy, the Spartiatae posted themselves at various points and kept guard, although they were extremely few. For all their horsemen were away in Arcadia and likewise the mercenary force and three of the battalions, which numbered twelve. [11]

Now when Epaminondas had arrived within the city of the Spartiatae, he did not attempt to enter at the point where his troops would be likely to have to fight on the ground-level and be pelted from the house-tops, nor where they would fight with no advantage over the few, although they were many; but after gaining the precise position from which he believed that he would enjoy an advantage, he undertook to descend (instead of ascending) into the city. [12] As for what happened thereupon, one may either hold the deity responsible, or one may say that nobody could withstand desperate men. For when Archidamus led the advance with not so much as a hundred men and, after crossing the very thing which seemed to present an obstacle, marched uphill against the adversary, at that moment the fire-breathers, the men who had defeated the Lacedaemonians, the men who were altogether superior in numbers and were occupying higher ground besides, did not withstand the attack of the troops under Archidamus, but gave way. [13] And those in the van of Epaminondas' army were slain, but when the troops from within the city, exulting in their victory, pursued farther than was fitting, they in their turn were slain; for, as it seems, the line had been drawn by the deity indicating how far victory had been granted them. Archidamus accordingly set up a trophy at the spot where he had won the victory, and gave back under a truce those of the enemy who had fallen there. [14] Epaminondas, on the other hand, reflecting that the Arcadians would be coming to Lacedaemon to bring aid, had no desire to fight against them and against all the Lacedaemonians after they had come together, especially since they had met with

success and his men with disaster; so he marched back as rapidly as he could to Tegea, and allowed his hoplites to rest there, but sent his horsemen on to Mantinea, begging them to endure this additional effort and explaining to them that probably all the cattle of the Mantineans were outside the city and likewise all the people, particularly as it was harvest time. [15]

They then set forth; but the Athenian horsemen, setting out from Eleusis, had taken dinner at the Isthmus and, after having passed through Cleonae also, chanced to be approaching Mantinea or to be already quartered within the wall in the houses. And when the enemy were seen riding toward the city, the Mantineans begged the Athenian horsemen to help them, if in any way they could; for outside the wall were all their cattle and the labourers, and likewise many children and older men of the free citizens. When the Athenians heard this they sallied forth to the rescue, although they were still without breakfast, they and their horses as well. [16] Here, again, who would not admire the valour of these men also? For although they saw that the enemy were far more numerous, and although a misfortune had befallen the horsemen at Corinth, they took no account of this, nor of the fact that they were about to fight with the Thebans and the Thessalians, who were thought to be the best of horsemen, but rather, being ashamed to be at hand and yet render no service to their allies, just as soon as they saw the enemy they crashed upon them, eagerly desiring to win back their ancestral repute. [17] And by engaging in the battle they did indeed prove the means of saving for the Mantineans everything that was outside the wall, but there fell brave men among them; and those also whom they slew were manifestly of a like sort; for neither side had any weapon so short that they did not reach one another therewith. And the Athenians did not abandon their own dead, and they gave back some of the enemy's under a truce. [18]

As for Epaminondas, on the other hand, when he considered that within a few days it would be necessary for him to depart, because the time fixed for the campaign had expired, and that if he should leave behind him unprotected the people to whom he had come as an ally, they would be besieged by their adversaries, while he himself would have completely tarnished his own reputation, — for with a

large force of hoplites he had been defeated at Lacedaemon by a few, and defeated likewise in a cavalry battle at Mantinea, and through his expedition to Peloponnesus had made himself the cause of the union of the Lacedaemonians, the Arcadians, the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Athenians, — he thought for these reasons that it was not possible for him to pass by the enemy without a battle, since he reasoned that if he were victorious, he would make up for all these things, while if he were slain, he deemed that such an end would be honourable for one who was striving to leave to his fatherland dominion over Peloponnesus. [19] Now the fact that Epaminondas himself entertained such thoughts, seems to me to be in no wise remarkable, — for such thoughts are natural to ambitious men; but that he had brought his army to such a point that the troops flinched from no toil, whether by night or by day, and shrank from no peril, and although the provisions they had were scanty, were nevertheless willing to be obedient, this seems to me to be more remarkable. [20] For at the time when he gave them the last order to make ready, saying that there would be a battle, the horsemen eagerly whitened their helmets at his command, the hoplites of the Arcadians painted clubs upon their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all alike sharpened their spears and daggers and burnished their shields. [21] But when he had led them forth, thus made ready, it is worth while again to note what he did. In the first place, as was natural, he formed them in line of battle. And by doing this he seemed to make it clear that he was preparing for an engagement; but when his army had been drawn up as he wished it to be, he did not advance by the shortest route towards the enemy, but led the way towards the mountains which lie to the westward and over against Tegea, so that he gave the enemy the impression that he would not join battle on that day. [22] For as soon as he had arrived at the mountain, and when his battle line had been extended to its full length, he grounded arms at the foot of the heights, so that he seemed like one who was encamping. And by so doing he caused among most of the enemy a relaxation of their mental readiness for fighting, and likewise a relaxation of their readiness as regards their array for battle. It was not until he had moved along successive companies to the wing where he was stationed, and had wheeled them into line thus

strengthening the mass formation of this wing, that he gave the order to take up arms and led the advance; and his troops followed. Now as soon as the enemy saw them unexpectedly approaching, no one among them was able to keep quiet, but some began running to their posts, others forming into line, others bridling horses, and others putting on breast-plates, while all were like men who were about to suffer, rather than to inflict, harm. [23] Meanwhile Epaminondas led forward his army *prow on*, like a trireme, believing that if he could strike and cut through anywhere, he would destroy the entire army of his adversaries. For he was preparing to make the contest with the strongest part of his force, and the weakest part he had stationed far back, knowing that if defeated it would cause discouragement to the troops who were with him and give courage to the enemy. Again, while the enemy had formed their horsemen like a phalanx of hoplites, — six deep and without intermingled foot soldiers, — [24] Epaminondas on the other hand had made a strong column of his cavalry, also, and had mingled foot soldiers among them, believing that when he cut through the enemy's cavalry, he would have defeated the entire opposing army; for it is very hard to find men who will stand firm when they see any of their own side in flight. And in order to prevent the Athenians on the left wing from coming to the aid of those who were posted next to them, he stationed both horsemen and hoplites upon some hills over against them, desiring to create in them the fear that if they proceeded to give aid, these troops would fall upon them from behind.

Thus, then, he made his attack, and he was not disappointed of his hope; for by gaining the mastery at the point where he struck, he caused the entire army of his adversaries to flee. [25] When, however, he had himself fallen, those who were left proved unable to take full advantage thereafter even of the victory; but although the opposing phalanx had fled before them, their hoplites did not kill a single man or advance beyond the spot where the collision had taken place; and although the cavalry also had fled before them, their cavalry in like manner did not pursue and kill either horsemen or hoplites, but slipped back timorously, like beaten men, through the lines of the flying enemy. Furthermore, while the intermingled footmen and the peltasts, who had shared in the victory of the cavalry, did make their

way like victors to the region of the enemy's left wing, most of them were there slain by the Athenians. [26]

When these things had taken place, the opposite of what all men believed would happen was brought to pass. For since well-nigh all the people of Greece had come together and formed themselves in opposing lines, there was no one who did not suppose that if a battle were fought, those who proved victorious would be the rulers and those who were defeated would be their subjects; but the deity so ordered it that both parties set up a trophy as though victorious and neither tried to hinder those who set them up, that both gave back the dead under a truce as though victorious, and both received back their dead under a truce as though defeated, and that while each party claimed to be victorious, [27] neither was found to be any better off, as regards either additional territory, or city, or sway, than before the battle took place; but there was even more confusion and disorder in Greece after the battle than before.

Thus far be it written by me; the events after these will perhaps be the concern of another.

AGESILAUS



Translated by E. C. Marchant

This minor work summarises the life of the Spartan King Agesilaus II, whom Xenophon greatly revered, considering him as an unsurpassed example of the civil and military virtues. Agesilaus ruled from approximately 400 BC to 360 BC, during most of which time he was, in Plutarch's words, "as good as thought commander and king of all Greece," and was for the whole of it greatly identified with his country's deeds and fortunes. Small in stature and lame from birth, Agesilaus became ruler somewhat unexpectedly in his mid-forties. His early reign saw successful military incursions into various states in what is now Turkey, although several diplomatic decisions resulted in Sparta becoming increasingly isolated prior to his death at the age of 84 in Cyrenaica. In Xenophon's work, the king's life is narrated in chronological order, portraying Agesilaus as one of the first examples of biographical writings. Certain passages from the work are borrowed from the *Hellenica*, with only minor changes to the text.



A statue of King Leonidas, who flourished as a Spartan King prior to Agesilaus

AGESILAUS

1. I know how difficult it is to write an appreciation of Agesilaus that shall be worthy of his virtue and glory. Nevertheless the attempt must be made. For it would not be seemly that so good a man, just because of his perfection, should receive no tributes of praise, however inadequate. [2]

Now concerning his high birth what greater and nobler could be said than this, that even to-day the line of his descent from Heracles is traced through the roll of his ancestors, and those no simple citizens, but kings and sons of kings? [3] Nor are they open to the reproach that though they were kings, they ruled over a petty state. On the contrary, as their family is honoured above all in their fatherland, so is their state glorious above all in Greece; thus they are not first in the second rank, but leaders in a community of leaders. [4] On one account his fatherland and his family are worthy to be praised together, for never at any time has the state been moved by jealousy of their pre-eminence to attempt the overthrow of their government, and never at any time have the kings striven to obtain greater powers than were conferred on them originally at their succession to the throne. For this reason, while no other government — democracy, oligarchy, despotism or kingdom — can lay claim to an unbroken existence, this kingdom alone stands fast continually. [5]

However, there are not wanting signs that even before his reign began Agesilaus was deemed worthy to be king. For on the death of King Agis there was a struggle for the throne between Leotychidas, as the son of Agis, and Agesilaus, as the son of Archidamus. The state decided in favour of Agesilaus, judging him to be the more eligible in point of birth and character alike. Surely to have been pronounced worthy of the highest privilege by the best men in the mightiest state is proof sufficient of his virtue, at least before he began to reign. [6]

I will now give an account of the achievements of his reign, for I believe that his deeds will throw the clearest light on his qualities.

Now Agesilaus was still a young man when he gained the throne.

He had been but a short time in power when the news leaked out that the king of the Persians was assembling a great navy and army for an attack on the Greeks. [7] While the Lacedaemonians and their allies were considering the matter, Agesilaus declared, that if they would give him thirty Spartans, two thousand newly enrolled citizens, and a contingent of six thousand allies, he would cross to Asia and try to effect a peace, or, in case the barbarian wanted to fight, would keep him so busy that he would have no time for an attack on the Greeks. [8] His eagerness to pay back the Persian in his own coin for the former invasion of Greece, his determination to wage an offensive rather than a defensive war, and his wish to make the enemy pay for it rather than the Greeks, were enough to arouse an immediate and widespread enthusiasm for his project. But what appealed most to the imagination was the idea of entering on a struggle not to save Greece, but to subdue Asia. [9]

And what of his strategy after he had received the army and had sailed out? A simple narrative of his actions will assuredly convey the clearest impression of it. [10] This, then, was his first act in Asia. Tissaphernes had sworn the following oath to Agesilaus: "If you will arrange an armistice to last until the return of the messengers whom I will send to the King, I will do my utmost to obtain independence for the Greek cities in Asia"; and Agesilaus on his part had sworn to observe the armistice honestly, allowing three months for the transaction. What followed? [11] Tissaphernes forthwith broke his oath, and instead of arranging a peace, applied to the King for a large army in addition to that which he had before. As for Agesilaus, though well aware of this, he none the less continued to keep the armistice. [12] I think, therefore, that here we have his first noble achievement. By showing up Tissaphernes as a perjurer, he made him distrusted everywhere; and, contrariwise, by proving himself to be a man of his word and true to his agreements, he encouraged all, Greeks and barbarians alike, to enter into an agreement with him whenever he wished it. [13]

The arrival of the new army emboldened Tissaphernes to send an ultimatum to Agesilaus, threatening war unless he withdrew from Asia; and the allies and the Lacedaemonians present made no concealment of their chagrin, believing that the strength of Agesilaus

was weaker than the Persian king's armament. But Agesilaus with a beaming face bade the envoys of Tissaphernes inform their master that he was profoundly grateful to him for his perjury, by which he had gained the hostility of the gods for himself and had made them allies of the Greeks. [14] Without a moment's delay he gave the word to his troops to pack up in preparation for a campaign, and warned the cities that lay on the lines of march to Caria to have their markets ready stocked. He advised by letter the Greeks of Ionia, the Aeolid and the Hellespont, to send their contingents for the campaign to his headquarters at Ephesus. [15]

Now Tissaphernes reflected that Agesilaus was without cavalry, while Caria was a difficult country for mounted men, and he thought that Agesilaus was wroth with him on account of his deceit. Concluding, therefore, that his estate in Caria was the real object of the coming attack, he sent the whole of his infantry across to that district and took his cavalry round into the plain of the Maeander, confident that he could ride down the Greeks before they reached the country where cavalry could not operate. [16] But instead of marching on Caria, Agesilaus forthwith turned round and made for Phrygia. Picking up the various forces that met him on the route, he proceeded to reduce the cities and captured a vast quantity of booty by sudden attacks. [17]

This achievement also was thought to be a proof of sound generalship, that when war was declared and cozening in consequence became righteous and fair dealing, he showed Tissaphernes to be a child at deception. It was thought, too, that he made shrewd use of this occasion to enrich his friends. [18] For the accumulation of plunder was so great that things were selling for next to nothing. So he gave his friends the word to buy, saying that he was shortly going down to the coast with his army. The auctioneers were ordered to have a schedule made of the prices obtained and to give delivery of the goods. Thus without capital outlay, and without any loss to the treasury, all his friends made a prodigious amount of money. [19] Further, whenever deserters offered to give information where plunder might be taken, they naturally went to the king. In such a case he took care that the capture should be effected by his friends, so that they might at one and the same

time make money and add to their laurels. The immediate result was that he had many ardent suitors for his friendship. [20]

Recognizing that a country plundered and depopulated could not long support an army, whereas an inhabited and cultivated land would yield inexhaustible supplies, he took pains not only to crush his enemies by force, but also to win them over by gentleness. [21] He would often warn his men not to punish their prisoners as criminals, but to guard them as human beings; and often when shifting camp, if he noticed little children, the property of merchants, left behind — many merchants offered children for sale because they thought they would not be able to carry and feed them — he looked after them too, and had them conveyed to some place of refuge. [22] Again, he arranged that prisoners of war who were too old to accompany the army were to be looked after, that they might not fall a prey to dogs or wolves. It thus came about that he won the goodwill not only of those who heard of these facts, but even of the prisoners themselves. In his settlement with the cities that he won over, he invariably excused them from all servile duties and required only such obedience as freemen owe to their rules; and by his clemency he made himself master of fortresses impregnable to assault. [23]

However, since a campaign in the plains was impossible even in Phrygia, owing to Pharnabazus' cavalry, he decided that he must raise a mounted force, if he was to avoid continually running away from the enemy. He therefore enrolled the wealthiest men in all the cities thereabouts as breeders of horses, and issued a proclamation that [24] anyone who supplied a horse and arms and an efficient man should be exempt from personal service. In this way he brought it about that every one of them carried out these requirements with the zeal of a man in quest of someone to die in his stead. He also specified cities that were to furnish contingents of cavalry, feeling sure that from the horsebreeding cities riders proud of their horsemanship would be forthcoming. This again was considered an admirable stroke on his part, that no sooner had he raised his cavalry than it became a powerful body ready for action. [25]

At the first sign of spring he collected the whole of his forces at Ephesus. With a view to their training he offered prizes for the cavalry squadron that rode best, and for the company of heavy

infantry that reached the highest level of physical fitness. He also offered prizes to the targeteers and the archers who showed the greatest efficiency in their particular duties. Thereupon one might see every gymnasium crowded with the men exercising, the racecourse thronged with cavalymen riding, and the javelin-men and archers shooting at the mark. [26] Indeed he made the whole city in which he was quartered a sight to see. For the market was full of arms and horses of all sorts on sale, and the coppersmiths, carpenters, workers in iron, cobblers, and painters were all busy making weapons of war, so that you might have thought that the city was really a war factory. [27] And an inspiring sight it would have been to watch Agesilaus and all his soldiers behind him returning garlanded from the gymnasium and dedicating their garlands to Artemis. For where men reverence the gods, train themselves in warfare and practise obedience, there you surely find high hopes abounding. [28] Moreover, believing that contempt for the enemy would kindle the fighting spirit, he gave instructions to his heralds that the barbarians captured in the raids should be exposed for sale naked. So when his soldiers saw them white because they never stripped, and fat and lazy through constant riding in carriages, they believed that the war would be exactly like fighting with women.

He also gave notice to the troops that he would immediately lead them by the shortest route to the most fertile parts of the country, so that he might at once find them preparing themselves in body and mind for the coming struggle. [29] Tissaphernes, however, believed that in saying this he meant to deceive him again, and that now he would really invade Caria. Accordingly he sent his infantry across into Caria as before, and stationed his cavalry in the plain of the Maeander. But Agesilaus did not play false: in accordance with his notice he marched straight to the neighbourhood of Sardis; and for three days his route lay through a country bare of enemies, so that he supplied his army with abundance of provisions. [30] On the fourth day the enemy's cavalry came up. Their leader told the officer in command of the baggage-train to cross the river Pactolus and encamp. The cavalry, meantime, catching sight of the Greek camp-followers plundering in scattered bands, killed a large number of them. On noticing this, Agesilaus ordered his cavalry to go to their

help. The Persians in turn, seeing the supports coming, gathered in a mass and confronted them with the full strength of their horse. [31] Then Agesilaus, realising that the enemy's infantry was not yet up, while he had all his resources on the spot, thought the moment was come to join battle if he could. Therefore, after offering sacrifice, he led forward the battle line immediately against the opposing cavalry, the heavy infantrymen of ten years service having orders to run to close quarters with the enemy, while the targeteers were to lead the advance at the double. He also sent word to the cavalry to attack in the knowledge that he himself was following with the whole army. [32] The charge of the cavalry was met by the flower of the Persians: but as soon as the full weight of the attack fell on them, they swayed, and some were cut down immediately in the river, while the rest fled. The Greeks followed up their success and captured their camp. The targeteers naturally fell to pillaging; but Agesilaus drew the lines of his camp round so as to enclose the property of all, friends and foes alike. [33]

On hearing that there was confusion among the enemy, because everyone put the blame for what had happened on his neighbour, he advanced forthwith on Sardis. There he began burning and pillaging the suburbs, and meantime issued a proclamation calling on those who wanted freedom to join his standard, and challenging any who claimed a right to Asia to seek a decision between themselves and the liberators by an appeal to arms. [34] As no one came out to oppose him, he prosecuted the campaign henceforward in complete confidence: he beheld the Greeks, compelled erstwhile to cringe, now honoured by their oppressors; caused those who arrogantly claimed for themselves the honours paid to the gods to shrink even from looking the Greeks in the face; rendered the country of his friends inviolate, and stripped the enemy's country so thoroughly that in two years he consecrated to the god at Delphi more than two hundred talents as tithe. [35]

But the Persian king, believing that Tissaphernes was responsible for the bad turn in his affairs, sent down Tithraustes and beheaded Tissaphernes. After this the outlook became still more hopeless for the barbarians, while Agesilaus received large accessions of strength. For all the nations of the empire sent embassies seeking his

friendship, and the desire for freedom caused many to revolt to him, so that not Greeks alone, but many barbarians also now acknowledged the leadership of Agesilaus. [36]

His conduct at this juncture also merits unstinted admiration. Though ruler of countless cities on the mainland, and master of islands — for the state had now added the fleet to his command — becoming daily more famous and more powerful; placed in a position to make what use he would of his many opportunities; and designing and expecting to crown his achievements by dissolving the empire that had attacked Greece in the past: he suppressed all thought of these things, and as soon as he received a request from the home government to come to the aid of his fatherland, he obeyed the call of the state, just as though he were standing in the Ephor's palace alone before the Five, thus showing clearly that he would not take the whole earth in exchange for his fatherland, nor new-found friends for old, and that he scorned to choose base and secure gains rather than that which was right and honourable, even though it was dangerous. [37]

Throughout the time that he remained in his command, another achievement of his showed beyond question how admirable was his skill in kingcraft. Having found all the cities that he had gone out to govern rent by faction in consequence of the political disturbances that followed on the collapse of the Athenian empire, he brought it about by the influence of his presence that the communities lived in unbroken harmony and prosperity without recourse to banishment or executions. [38] Therefore the Greeks in Asia mourned his departure as though they were bidding farewell not merely to a ruler, but to a father or a comrade. And at the end they showed that their affection was unfeigned. At any rate they went with him voluntarily to aid Sparta, knowing as they did that they must meet an enemy not inferior to themselves. This then was the end of his activities in Asia.

2. After crossing the Hellespont, he passed through the very same tribes as the Persian king with his mighty host; and the distance that had been traversed by the barbarian in a year was covered by Agesilaus in less than a month. For he had no intention of arriving too late to aid his fatherland. [2] When he had passed through Macedonia and reached Thessaly, the people of Larisa, Crannon,

Scotussa and Pharsalus, who were allies of the Boeotians, all the Thessalians, in fact, except those who happened to be in exile at the time, followed at his heels and kept molesting him. For a time he led the army in a hollow square, with one half of the cavalry in front and the other half in the rear; but finding his progress hampered by Thessalian attacks on his rearguard, he sent round all the cavalry from the vanguard to the rear, except his own escort. [3] When the two forces faced one another in line of battle, the Thessalians, believing it inexpedient to engage heavy infantry with cavalry, wheeled round and slowly retired, their enemy following very cautiously. Agesilaus, noticing the errors into which both sides were falling, now sent round his own escort of stalwart horsemen, with orders to bid the others to charge at full speed, and to do the same themselves, and not to give the enemy a chance of rallying. As for the Thessalians, on seeing the unexpected charge they either did not rally at all, or were captured in the attempt to do so with their horses broadside to the enemy. [4] Polycharmus the Pharsalian, commander of the cavalry, did indeed turn, and fell fighting along with those about him. Hereupon ensued a wild flight, so that some of the enemy were killed and some were taken prisoners: at any rate they never halted until they reached Mt. Narthacium. [5] On that day Agesilaus set up a trophy between Pras and Narthacium, and here for the moment he paused, mightily pleased with his exploit, since he had defeated an enemy inordinately proud of his horsemanship with the cavalry that he had himself created.

On the morrow he crossed the Achaean mountains in Phthia, and now his route led him through friendly country till he reached the borders of Boeotia. [6] Here he found arrayed against him the Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Corinthians, Aenianians, Euboeans, and both the Locrian tribes. Without a moment's delay, in full view of the enemy, he drew up his army for battle. In addition to the army that he had brought with him he had a regiment and a half of Lacedaemonians, and of the local allies only the Phocians and Orchomenians. [7] Now I am not going to say that his forces were far inferior in numbers and in quality, and that nevertheless he accepted battle. That statement, I think, would but show a want of common sense in Agesilaus and my own folly in praising a leader who

wantonly jeopardised interests of vital moment. On the contrary — and this is what I do admire him for — he brought into the field an army not a whit inferior to the enemy's; he so armed it that it looked one solid mass of bronze and scarlet; he took care to render his men [8] capable of meeting all calls on their endurance; he filled their hearts with confidence that they were able to withstand any and every enemy; he inspired them all with an eager determination to out-do one another in valour; and lastly he filled all with anticipation that many good things would befall them, if only they proved good men. For he believed that men so prepared fight with all their might; nor in point of fact did he deceive himself. [9]

I will describe the battle, for there has been none like it in our time. The two armies met in the plain of Coronea, Agesilaus advancing from the Cephissus, the Thebans and their allies from Helicon. Their eyes told them that the opposing lines of battle were exactly matched in strength, and the number of cavalry on both sides was about the same. Agesilaus was on the right wing of his army and had the Orchomenians on his extreme left. On the other side the Thebans themselves were on the right wing and the Argives held the left. [10] As they approached both sides for a time maintained complete silence, but when they were about a furlong apart, the Thebans raised the battle-cry and rushed forward at the double. The distance between them was still about one hundred yards when the mercenary troops under Herippidas, consisting of the [11] men who had gone with Agesilaus from home and some of the Cyreians, dashed out in turn from their main body, closely followed by Ionians, Aeolians and Hellespontines. All these took part in the dash, and coming within spear-thrust put to flight the force in front of them. As for the Argives, they fled towards Helicon without awaiting the attack of Agesilaus. And now some of the mercenaries were in the act of crowning Agesilaus with a wreath, when a man reported to him that the Thebans had cut their way through the Orchomenians and were among the baggage train. So he immediately wheeled his main body and advanced against them; and the Thebans in their turn, seeing that their allies had sought refuge at the foot of Mt. Helicon, and wanting to break through and join their friends, made a strong move forward. [12]

At this juncture one may say without fear of contradiction that Agesilaus showed courage; but the course that he adopted was not the safest. For he might have allowed the men who were trying to break through to pass, and then have followed them and annihilated those in the rear. Instead of doing that he made a furious frontal attack on the Thebans. Thrusting shield against shield, they shoved and fought and killed and fell. There was no shouting, nor was there silence, but the strange noise that wrath and battle together will produce. In the end some of the Thebans broke through and reached Helicon, but many fell during the retreat. [13]

The victory lay with Agesilaus; but he himself had been carried wounded to his battle-line, when some horsemen rode up, and told him that eighty of the enemy retaining their arms had taken cover in the temple, and they asked what they should do. Though wounded in every part of his body with every sort of weapon, he did not forget his duty towards the gods, but gave orders that these men should be suffered to go whithersoever they wished, and would not suffer them to be harmed, and charged his escort of cavalry to conduct them to a place of safety. [14]

Now that the fighting was at an end, a weird spectacle met the eye, as one surveyed the scene of the conflict — the earth stained with blood, friend and foe lying dead side by side, shields smashed to pieces, spears snapped in two, daggers bared of their sheaths, some on the ground, some embedded in the bodies, some yet gripped by the hand. [15] Then, as the day was far spent, having dragged the enemy's dead within their battle line, they supped and slept. Early next morning Agesilaus ordered Gylis, the polemarch, to draw up the army in battle order and to set up a trophy, and to command every man to wear a wreath in honour of the god and all the flute-players to play. [16]

Now while they were carrying out these orders the Thebans sent a herald, asking leave to bury their dead under protection of a truce. And so a truce was made, and Agesilaus left for home, choosing, instead of supreme power in Asia, to rule and to be ruled at home according to the constitution. [17]

Some time afterwards, finding that the Argives were enjoying the fruits of their land, that they had appropriated Corinth and were

finding the war a pleasant occupation, he made an expedition against them. He first laid waste all their territory, then crossed to Corinth by the pass and captured the walls leading to Lechaem. Having thus unbarred the gates of Peloponnese, he returned home for the festival of Hyacinthus and joined in singing the paeon in honour of the god, taking the place assigned to him by the choirmaster. [18]

After a time, discovering that the Corinthians were keeping all their cattle safe in Peiraeum, and sowing and reaping the crops throughout that district, and — what he thought most serious — that the Boeotians were finding this route convenient for sending support to the Corinthians, with Creusis as their base, he marched against Peiraeum. Seeing that it was strongly guarded, he moved his camp after the morning meal to a position before the capital, as though the city was about to surrender. [19] But becoming aware that supports had been hurriedly poured into the city during the night from Peiraeum, he turned about at daybreak and captured Peiraeum, finding it undefended, and everything in it, along with the fortresses that stood there, fell into his hands. Having done this, he returned home. [20]

After these events, the Achaeans, who were zealous advocates of the alliance, begged him to join them in an expedition against Acarnania And when the Acarnanians attacked him in a mountain pass he seized the heights above their heads with his light infantry, fought an engagement and, after inflicting severe losses on them, set up a trophy; nor did he cease until he had induced the Acarnanians, Aetolians and Argives to enter into friendship with the Achaeans and alliance with himself. [21]

When the enemy sent embassies desiring peace, Agesilaus opposed the peace until he forced Corinth and Thebes to restore to their homes the citizens who had been exiled on account of their sympathy with the Lacedaemonians. And again later, having led an expedition in person against Phleius, he also restored the Phleiasian exiles who had suffered in the same cause. Possibly some may censure these actions on other grounds, but at least it is obvious that they were prompted by a spirit of true comradeship. [22] It was in the same spirit that he subsequently made an expedition against Thebes, to relieve the Lacedaemonians in that city when their opponents had

taken to murdering them. Finding the city protected on all sides by a trench and stockade, he crossed the Pass of Cynoscephalae, and laid waste the country up to the city walls, offering battle to the Thebans both on the plain and on the hills, if they chose to fight. In the following year he made another expedition against Thebes, and, after crossing the stockade and trenches at Scolus, laid waste the rest of Boeotia. [23]

Up to this time he and his city enjoyed unbroken success; and though the following years brought a series of troubles, it cannot be said that they were incurred under the leadership of Agesilaus. On the other hand, after the disaster at Leuctra, when his adversaries in league with the Mantineans were murdering his friends and acquaintances in Tegea, and a coalition of all Boeotia, Arcadia and Elis had been formed, he took the field with the Lacedaemonian forces only, thus disappointing the general expectation that the Lacedaemonians would not even go outside their own borders for a long time to come. It was not until he had laid waste the country of those who had murdered his friends that he returned home once more. [24]

After this Sparta was attacked by all the Arcadians, Argives, Eleians and Boeotians, who had the support of the Phocians, both the Locrian peoples, the Thessalians, Aenianians, Acarnanians and Euboeans. In addition the slaves and many of the outlander communities were in revolt, and at least as many of the Spartan nobles had fallen in the battle of Leuctra as survived. He kept the city safe notwithstanding, and that though it was without walls, not going out into the open where the advantage would have lain wholly with the enemy, and keeping his army strongly posted where the citizens would have the advantage; for he believed that he would be surrounded on all sides if he came out into the plain, but that if he made a stand in the defiles and the heights, he would be master of the situation. [25]

After the retirement of the enemy, none will deny that his conduct was marked by good sense. The marching and riding incidental to active service were no longer possible to a man of his years, but he saw that the state must have money if she was to gain an ally anywhere. So he applied himself to the business of raising money. At

home he did all that ingenuity could suggest; and, if he saw any prospect of serving the state abroad, shrank from no measures that circumstances called for, and he was not ashamed to go out, not as a general, but as an envoy. [26] And even as an envoy he accomplished work worthy of a great general. For instance, Autophradates laying siege to Ariobarzanes, an ally of Sparta, at Assos, took to his heels from fear of Agesilaus. Cotys for his part, besieging Sestos, while it was still in the hands of Ariobarzanes, broke up the siege and made off. With good reason, therefore, might the victorious envoy have set up a trophy once again to record these bloodless successes. [27] Again, Mausolus, laying siege to both these places with a fleet of a hundred vessels, was induced, not indeed by fear, but by persuasion, to sail for home. In this affair too his success was admirable; for those who considered that they were under an obligation to him and those who fled before him, both paid. Yet again, Tachos and Mausolus (another of those who contributed money to Sparta, owing to his old ties of hospitality with Agesilaus), sent him home with a magnificent escort. [28]

Subsequently, when he was now about eighty years of age, he became aware that the king of Egypt was bent on war with Persia, and was possessed of large forces of infantry and cavalry and plenty of money. He was delighted when a summons for help reached him from the Egyptian king, who actually promised him the chief command. [29] For he believed that at one stroke he would repay the Egyptian for his good offices to Sparta, would again set free the Greeks in Asia, and would chastise the Persian for his former hostility, and for demanding now, when he professed to be an ally of Sparta, that her claim to Messene should be given up. [30] However, when this suitor for his assistance failed to give him the command Agesilaus felt that he had been grossly deceived, and was in doubt what he ought to do. At this juncture first a portion of the Egyptian troops, operating as a separate army, revolted from the king, and then the rest of his forces deserted him. The king left Egypt and fled in terror to Sidon in Phoenicia, while the Egyptians split up into two parties, and each chose its own king. [31] Agesilaus now realised that if he helped neither king, neither of them would pay the Greeks their wages, neither would provide a market, and the conqueror,

whichever he proved to be, would be hostile, but if he co-operated with one of them, that one, being under an obligation to him, would in all probability adopt a friendly attitude. Accordingly, having decided which of them showed the stronger signs of being a friend to the Greeks, he took the field with him. He inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy of the Greeks, and helped to establish his rival; and so having made him the friend of Sparta, and having received a great sum of money in addition, he sailed home, though it was mid-winter, with all haste, in order that the state might be in a position to take action against her enemies in the coming summer.

3. Such, then, is the record of my hero's deeds, so far as they were done before a crowd of witnesses. Actions like these need no proofs; the mere mention of them is enough and they command belief immediately. But now I will attempt to show the virtue that was in his soul, the virtue through which he wrought those deeds and loved all that is honourable and put away all that is base. [2]

Agesilaus had such reverence for religion, that even his enemies considered his oaths and his treaties more to be relied on than their own friendship with one another: for there were times when they shrank from meeting together, and yet would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus. And lest anyone should think this statement incredible, I wish to name the most famous among them. Spithridates the Persian, for example, knew that [3] Pharnabazus was negotiating for a marriage with the Great King's daughter, and intended to take his, Spithridates', daughter as a concubine. Regarding this as an outrage, he delivered himself, his wife, his children and all that he had into Agesilaus' hands. Cotys, ruler of the Paphlagonians, who had disobeyed [4] the command of the Great King, though it was accompanied with the symbol of friendship, feared that he would be seized and either be fined heavily or even put to death; but he too, trusting in the armistice with Agesilaus, came to his camp and having entered into alliance elected to take the field at Agesilaus' side with a thousand horse and two thousand targeteers. [5] And Pharnabazus too came and parleyed with Agesilaus, and made agreement with him that if he were not himself appointed the Persian general, he would revolt from the Great King. "But," he said, "if I become general, I shall make war on you, Agesilaus, with all my might." He used this

language in full confidence that nothing contrary to the terms of the armistice would happen to him. So great and so noble a treasure has every man, and above all a general, who is upright and trustworthy and is known to be so. So much, then, for the virtue of Piety.

4. Next comes his Justice in money matters. Of this what proofs can be more convincing than the following? No man ever made any complaint that he had been defrauded by Agesilaus: but many acknowledged that they had received many benefits from him. One who delighted to give away his own for the good of others could not possibly be minded to defraud others at the price of disgrace. For if he had coveted money it would have cost him far less trouble to keep his own than to take what did not belong to him. [2] A man who would not leave unpaid debts of gratitude, which are not recoverable in the courts, cannot have been minded to commit thefts that are forbidden by law. And Agesilaus held it wrong not only to repudiate a debt of gratitude, but, having greater means, not to render in return a much greater kindness. [3] Again, with what show of reason could embezzlement of public property be charged against a man who bestowed on his fatherland the rewards due to himself? And is it not a striking proof of his freedom from avarice that he was able to get money from others, whenever he wanted, for the purpose of rendering financial assistance to the state or his friends? [4] For had he been in the habit of selling his favours or taking payment for his benefactions, no one would have felt that he owed him anything. It is the recipient of unbought, gratuitous benefits who is always glad to oblige his benefactor in return for the kindness he has received and in acknowledgment of the trust reposed in him as a worthy and faithful guardian of a favour. [5]

Further, is it not certain that the man who by a noble instinct refused to take more and preferred to take less than his just share was far beyond the reach of covetousness? Now when the state pronounced him sole heir to the property of Agis, he gave half of it to his mother's kinsfolk, because he saw that they were in want; and all Lacedaemon bears witness that my statement is true. [6] On receiving from Tithraustes an offer of gifts unnumbered if only he would leave his country, Agesilaus answered: "Among us, Tithraustes, a ruler's honour requires him to enrich his army rather than himself, and to

take spoils rather than gifts from the enemy.”

5. Again, among all the pleasures that prove too strong for many men, who can mention one to which Agesilaus yielded? Drunkenness, he thought, should be avoided like madness, overeating like idleness. Moreover, he received a double ration at the public meals, but instead of consuming both portions himself, he distributed both and left neither for himself, holding that the purpose of this double allowance to the king was not to provide him with a heavy meal, but to give him the opportunity of honouring whomsoever he would. [2] As for sleep, it was not his master, but the servant of his activities; and unless he occupied the humblest bed among his comrades, he could not conceal his shame: for he thought that a ruler's superiority over ordinary men should be shown not by weakness but by endurance. [3]

There were things, to be sure, of which he was not ashamed to take more than his share — for instance, the summer's heat and the winter's cold: and whenever his army was faced with a hard task, he toiled willingly beyond all others, believing that all such actions were an encouragement to the men. Not to labour the point, Agesilaus gloried in hard work, and showed a strong distaste for indolence. [4]

His habitual control of his affections surely deserves a tribute of admiration, if worthy of mention on no other ground. That he should keep at arms' length those whose intimacy he did not desire may be thought only human. But he loved Megabates, the handsome son of Spithridates, with all the intensity of an ardent nature. Now it is the custom among the Persians to bestow a kiss on those whom they honour. Yet when Megabates attempted to kiss him, Agesilaus resisted his advances with all his might — an act of punctilious moderation surely! [5] Megabates, feeling himself slighted, tried no more to kiss him, and Agesilaus approached one of his companions with a request that he would persuade Megabates to show him honour once again. “Will you kiss him,” asked his companion, “if Megabates yields?” After a deep silence, Agesilaus gave his reply: “By the twin gods, no, not if I were straightway to be the fairest and strongest and fleetest man on earth! By all the gods I swear that I would rather fight that same battle over again than that everything I see should turn into gold.” [6] What opinion some hold in regard to

these matters I know well enough; but for my part I am persuaded that many more men can gain the mastery over their enemies than over impulses such as these. No doubt when these things are known to few, many have a right to be sceptical: but we all know this, that the greater a man's fame, the fiercer is the light that beats on all his actions; we know too that no one ever reported that he had seen Agesilaus do any such thing, and that no scandal based on conjecture would have gained credence; for it was not his ^[7] habit, when abroad, to lodge apart in a private house, but he was always either in a temple, where conduct of this sort is, of course, impossible, or else in a public place where all men's eyes became witnesses of his rectitude. If I speak this falsely against the knowledge of the Greek world, I am in no way praising my hero; but I am censuring myself.

6. As for Courage, he seems to me to have afforded clear proofs of that by always engaging himself to fight against the strongest enemies of his state and of Greece, and by always placing himself in the forefront of the struggle. ^[2] When the enemy were willing to join battle with him, it was not by their panic flight that he won victory, but it was after overcoming them in stubborn fighting that he set up a trophy, leaving behind him imperishable memorials of his own valour, and bearing in his own body visible tokens of the fury of his fighting, so that not by hearsay but by the evidence of their own eyes men could judge what manner of man he was. ^[3] In truth the trophies of Agesilaus are not to be counted by telling how many he set up; the number of his campaigns is the number of them. His mastery was in no way less complete when the enemy were unwilling to accept battle, but it was gained at less risk and with more profit to the state and to the allies. So in the Great Games the unchallenged champion is crowned no less than he who has fought to conquer. ^[4]

Of his Wisdom I find the evidence in every one of his deeds. Towards his fatherland he behaved in such a manner that, being entirely obedient to her, he won the obedience of the citizens, and by his zeal for his comrades he held the unquestioning devotion of his friends: and as for his troops, he gained at once their obedience and their affection. Surely nothing is wanting to the strength of that battle-line in which obedience results in perfect discipline, and affection for the general produces faithful promptitude. ^[5] As for the

enemy, though they were forced to hate, he gave them no chance to disparage him. For he contrived that his allies always had the better of them, by the use of deception when occasion offered, by anticipating their action if speed was necessary, by hiding when it suited his purpose, and by practising all the opposite methods when dealing with enemies to those which he applied when dealing with friends. [6] Night, for example, was to him as day, and day as night, for he often veiled his movements so completely that none could guess where he was, whither he was going, or what he meant to do. Thus he made even strong positions untenable to the enemy, turning one, scaling another, snatching a third by stealth. [7] On the march, whenever he knew that the enemy could bring him to an engagement if they chose, he would lead his army in close order, alert and ready to defend himself, moving on as quietly as a modest maiden, since he held that this was the best means of maintaining calm, of avoiding panic, confusion, and blundering, and of guarding against a surprise attack. [8]

And so, by using such methods, he was formidable to his enemies, and inspired his friends with strength and confidence. Thus he was never despised by his foes, never brought to account by the citizens, never blamed by his friends, but throughout his career he was praised and idolised by all the world.

7. Of his Patriotism it would be a long task to write in complete detail, for there is no single action of his, I think, that does not illustrate that quality. To speak briefly, we all know that when Agesilaus thought he would be serving his fatherland he never shirked toil, never shrank from danger, never spared money, never excused himself on the score of bodily weakness or old age; but believed that it is the duty of a good king to do as much good as possible to his subjects. [2] Among the greatest services he rendered to his fatherland I reckon the fact that, though the most powerful man in the state, he was clearly a devoted servant of the laws. For who would be minded to disobey when he saw the king obeying? Who would turn revolutionist, thinking himself defrauded of his due, when he knew that the king was ready to yield in accordance with the laws? [3] Here was a man whose behaviour to his political opponents was that of a father to his children: though he would chide them for

their errors he honoured them when they did a good deed, and stood by them when any disaster befell them, deeming no citizen an enemy, willing to praise all, counting the safety of all a gain, and reckoning the destruction even of a man of little worth as a loss. He clearly reckoned that if the citizens should continue to live in peaceful submission to the laws, the fatherland would always prosper and that she would be strong when the Greeks were prudent. [4]

Again, if it is honourable in one who is a Greek to be a friend to the Greeks, what other general has the world seen unwilling to take a city when he thought that it would be sacked, or who looked on victory in a war against Greeks as a disaster? [5] Now when a report reached Agesilaus that eight Lacedaemonians and near ten thousand of the enemy had fallen at the battle of Corinth, instead of showing pleasure, he actually exclaimed: "Alas for thee, Hellas! those who now lie dead were enough to defeat all the barbarians in battle had they lived!" [6] And when the Corinthian exiles told him that the city was about to be surrendered to them and pointed to the engines with which they were confident of taking the walls, he would not make an assault, declaring that Greek cities ought not to be enslaved, but chastened. "And if," he added, "we are going to annihilate the erring members of our own race, let us beware lest we lack men to help in the conquest of the barbarians." [7]

Or again, if it is honourable to hate the Persian because in old days he set out to enslave Greece, and now allies himself with that side which offers him the prospect of working the greater mischief, makes gifts to those who, as he believes, will injure the Greeks most in return, negotiates the peace that he thinks most certain to produce war among us — well, everyone can see these things, but who except Agesilaus has ever striven either to bring about the revolt of a tribe from the Persian, or to save a revolting tribe from destruction, or by some means or other to involve the Great King in trouble so that he will be unable to annoy the Greeks? Nay, when his fatherland was actually at war with Greeks, he did not neglect the common good of Greece, but went out with a fleet to do what harm he could to the barbarian.

8. Another quality that should not go unrecorded is his urbanity. For although he held honour in fee, and had power at his beck, and to

these added sovereignty — sovereignty not plotted against but regarded with affection — yet no traces of arrogance could have been detected in him, whereas signs of a fatherly affection and readiness to serve his friends, even if unsought, were evident. [2] He delighted, moreover, to take his part in light talk, yet he showed an eager sympathy with friends in all their serious concerns. Thanks to his optimism, good humour, and cheerfulness he was a centre of attraction to many, who came not merely for purposes of business, but to pass the day more pleasantly. Little inclined to boastfulness himself, he heard without annoyance the self-praise of others, thinking that, by indulging in it, they did no harm and gave earnest of high endeavour. [3] On the other hand, one must not omit a reference to the dignity that he showed on appropriate occasions. Thus, when the Persian envoy who came with Calleeas, the Lacedaemonian, handed him a letter from the Great King containing offers of friendship and hospitality, he declined to accept it. “Tell his Majesty,” he said to the bearer, “that there is no need for him to send me private letters, but, if he gives proof of friendship for Lacedaemon, and goodwill towards Greece, I on my part will be his friend with all my heart. But if he is found plotting against them, let him not hope to have a friend in me, however many letters I may receive.” [4] In this contempt for the king’s hospitality, as nothing in comparison with the approval of the Greeks, I find one more reason for praising Agesilaus. Admirable too was his opinion that it is not for the ruler with the deeper coffers and the longer roll of subjects to set himself above his rival, but for him who is the better leader of the better people. [5]

Again, an instance of his foresight that I find worthy of praise is this: believing it to be good for Greece that as many satraps as possible should revolt from the king, he was not prevailed on either by gifts or by the king’s power to accept his hospitality, but was careful not to give cause to those who wanted to revolt for mistrusting him. [6]

There is yet another side of his character that everyone must admire. It was the belief of the Persian king that by possessing himself of colossal wealth, he would put all things in subjection to himself. In this belief he tried to engross all the gold, all the silver

and all the most costly things in the world. Agesilaus, on the contrary, adopted such a simple style in his home that he needed none of these things. [7] If anyone doubts this, let him mark what sort of a house contented him, and in particular, let him look at the doors: one might imagine that they were the very doors that Aristodemus, the descendant of Heracles set up with his own hands in the days of his home-coming. Let him try to picture the scene within; note how he entertained on days of sacrifice, hear how his daughter used to go down to Amyclae in a public car. [8] And so, thanks to this nice adjustment of his expenditure to his income, he was never compelled to commit an act of injustice for the sake of money. Doubtless it is thought noble to build oneself fortresses impregnable to an enemy: but in my judgment it is far nobler to fortify one's own soul against all the assaults of lucre, of pleasure, and of fear.

9. I will next point out the contrast between his behaviour and the imposture of the Persian king. In the first place the Persian thought his dignity required that he should be seldom seen: Agesilaus delighted to be constantly visible, believing that, whereas secrecy was becoming to an ugly career, the light shed lustre on a life of noble purpose. [2] In the second place, the one prided himself on being difficult of approach: the other was glad to make himself accessible to all. And the one affected tardiness in negotiation: the other was best pleased when he could dismiss his suitors quickly with their requests granted. [3]

In the matter of personal comfort, moreover, it is worth noticing how much simpler and how much more easily satisfied were the tastes of Agesilaus. The Persian king has vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate; an army of cooks contrives dishes for his delight; and the trouble his lackeys take that he may sleep is indescribable. But Agesilaus, thanks to his love of toil, enjoyed any drink that was at hand and any food that came his way; and any place was good enough to give him soft repose. [4] Nor was he happy only in this behaviour: he was also proud to reflect that, while he was surrounded with good cheer, he saw the barbarian constrained to draw from the ends of the world the material for his enjoyment, if he would live without discomfort. [5] And it cheered his heart to know that he could accommodate himself to the divine

ordering of the world, whereas he saw his rival shunning heat and shunning cold through weakness of character, imitating the life, not of brave men, but of the weakest of the brutes. [6]

Surely, too, he did what was seemly and dignified when he adorned his own estate with works and possessions worthy of a man, keeping many hounds and war horses, but persuaded his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses, and showed by her victory that such a stud marks the owner as a person of wealth, but not necessarily of merit. [7] How clearly his true nobility comes out in his opinion that a victory in the chariot race over private citizens would add not a whit to his renown; but if he held the first place in the affection of the people, gained the most friends and best all over the world, outstripped all others in serving his fatherland and his comrades and in punishing his adversaries, then he would be victor in the noblest and most splendid contests, and would gain high renown both in life and after death.

10. Such, then, are the qualities for which I praise Agesilaus. These are the marks that distinguish him, say, from the man who, lighting on a treasure, becomes wealthier but not wiser in business, or from the man who wins victory through an outbreak of sickness among the enemy, and adds to his success but not to his knowledge of strategy. The man who is foremost in endurance when the hour comes for toil, in valour when the contest calls for courage, in wisdom when the need is for counsel — he is the man, I think, who may fairly be regarded as the perfect embodiment of goodness. [2] If line and rule are a noble discovery of man as aids to the production of good work, I think that the virtue of Agesilaus may well stand as a noble example for those to follow who wish to make moral goodness a habit. For who that imitates a pious, a just, a sober, a self-controlled man, can come to be unrighteous, unjust, violent, wanton? In point of fact, Agesilaus prided himself less on reigning over others than on ruling himself, less on leading the people against their enemies than on guiding them to all virtue. [3]

However, let it not be thought, because one whose life is ended is the theme of my praise, that these words are meant for a funeral dirge. They are far more truly the language of eulogy. In the first place the words now applied to him are the very same that he heard

in his lifetime. And, in the second place, what theme is less appropriate to a dirge than a life of fame and a death well-timed? What more worthy of eulogies than victories most glorious and deeds of sovereign worth? [4] Justly may the man be counted blessed who was in love with glory from early youth and won more of it than any man of his age; who, being by nature very covetous of honour, never once knew defeat from the day that he became a king; who, after living to the utmost limit of human life, died without one blunder to his account, either concerning the men whom he led or in dealing with those on whom he made war.

11. I propose to go through the story of his virtue again, and to summarize it, in order that the praise of it may be more easily remembered.

Agesilaus revered holy places even when they belonged to an enemy, thinking that he ought to make allies of the gods no less in hostile than in friendly countries.

To suppliants of the gods, even if his foes, he did no violence, believing it unreasonable to call robbers of temples sacrilegious and yet to consider those who dragged suppliants from altars pious men. [2]

My hero never failed to dwell on his opinion that the gods have pleasure in righteous deeds no less than in holy temples.

In the hour of success he was not puffed up with pride, but gave thanks to the gods. He offered more sacrifices when confident than prayers when in doubt.

He was wont to look cheerful when in fear, and to be humble when successful. [3]

Of his friends he welcomed most heartily not the most powerful, but the most devoted.

He hated not the man who defended himself when injured, but such as showed no gratitude for a favour.

He rejoiced to see the avaricious poor and to enrich the upright, desiring to render right more profitable than wrong. [4]

It was his habit to associate with all sorts and conditions of men, but to be intimate with the good.

Whenever he heard men praise or blame others, he thought that he gained as much insight into the character of the critics as of the

persons they criticized.

If friends proved deceivers he forebore to blame their victims, but he heaped reproaches on those who let an enemy deceive them; and he pronounced deception clever or wicked according as it was practised on the suspicious or the confiding. [5]

The praise of those who were prepared to censure faults they disapproved was pleasing to him, and he never resented candour, but avoided dissimulation like a snare.

Slanderers he hated more than thieves, deeming loss of friends graver than loss of money. [6] The mistakes of private persons he judged leniently, because few interests suffer by their incompetence; but the errors of rulers he treated as serious, since they lead to many troubles.

Kingship, he held, demands not indolence, but manly virtue. [7]

He would not allow a statue of himself to be set up, though many wanted to give him one, but on memorials of his mind he laboured unceasingly, thinking the one to be the sculptor's work, the other his own, the one appropriate to the rich, the other to the good. [8]

In the use of money he was not only just but generous, thinking that a just man may be content to leave other men's money alone, but the generous man is required also to spend his own in the service of others.

He was ever god-fearing, believing that they who are living life well are not yet happy, but only they who have died gloriously are blessed. [9]

He held it a greater calamity to neglect that which is good knowingly than in ignorance.

No fame attracted him unless he did the right work to achieve it.

He seemed to me one of the few men who count virtue not a task to be endured but a comfort to be enjoyed. At any rate praise gave him more pleasure than money.

Courage, as he displayed it, was joined with prudence rather than boldness, and wisdom he cultivated more by action than in words. [10]

Very gentle with friends, he was very formidable to enemies; and while he resisted fatigue obstinately, he yielded most readily to a comrade, though fair deeds appealed more to his heart than fair faces.

To moderation in times of prosperity he added confidence in the

midst of danger. [11]

His urbanity found its habitual expression not in jokes but in his manner; and when on his dignity, he was never arrogant, but always reasonable; at least, if he showed his contempt for the haughty, he was humbler than the average man. For he prided himself on the simplicity of his own dress and the splendid equipment of his army, on a strict limitation of his own needs and a boundless generosity to his friends. [12] Added to this, he was the bitterest of adversaries, but the mildest of conquerors; wary with enemies, but very compliant to friends.

While ever ensuring security to his own side, he ever made it his business to bring to nought the designs of his enemy. [13]

By his relatives he was described as “devoted to his family,” by his intimates as “an unfailing friend,” by those who served him as “unforgetful,” by the oppressed as “a champion,” by his comrades in danger as “a saviour second to the gods.”

In one respect, I think, he was unique. [14] He proved that, though the bodily strength decays, the vigour of good men’s souls is ageless. At any rate, he never wearied in the pursuit of great and noble glory so long as his body could support the vigour of his soul. [15] What man’s youth, then, did not seem weaker than his old age? For who in his prime was so formidable to his foes as Agesilaus at the very limit of human life? Whose removal brought such welcome relief to the enemy as the death of Agesilaus, despite his years? Who gave such confidence to allies as Agesilaus, though now on the threshold of death? What young man was more regretted by his friends than Agesilaus, though he died full of years? [16] So complete was the record of his service to his fatherland that it did not end even when he died: he was still a bountiful benefactor of the state when he was brought home to be laid in his eternal resting-place, and, having raised up monuments of his virtue throughout the world, was buried with royal ceremony in his own land.

Socratic Works



Koroneia, Boeotia — Xenophon was exiled from Athens, most likely because he fought under the Spartan king Agesilaus II against Athens at Koroneia.

MEMORABILIA



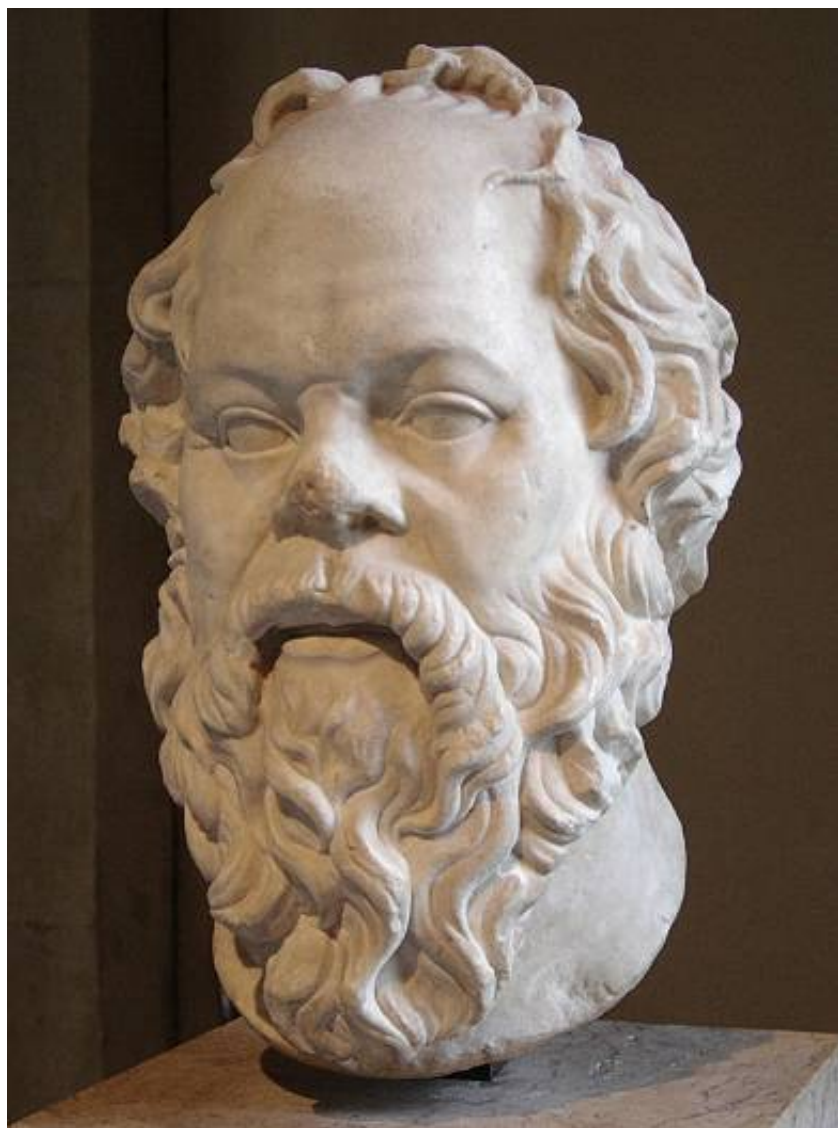
Translated by E. C. Marchant

This collection of Socratic dialogues represents Xenophon's principal defence of Socrates, offering examples of Socrates' conversations and activities along with occasional commentary from Xenophon. The *Memorabilia* contains 39 chapters broken into four books; opening with a direct defence of Socrates, with the rest of Book I consisting of an account of Socrates' piety and self-control. Books II and III are devoted to demonstrating how Socrates benefitted his family, friends and various Athenians that came to him for advice. Book IV turns to a more detailed account of how Socrates educated one particular student, Euthydemus, including an early example of the Argument from Design (the Teleological Argument).

Xenophon devotes the rest of the *Memorabilia* to identifying how Socrates benefitted his friends and a wide range of other Athenians. The collection consists of episodes, mostly short and none more than a few pages in length, in which Socrates engages with a variety of persons, both named and unnamed companions, rival teachers, famous and less famous Athenians. A few of the interlocutors appear several times. Typically Xenophon introduces the reason why he is writing about a particular conversation and he occasionally interjects a remark into the narrative, or as it reaches its conclusion.

Xenophon's portrayal of Socrates was influential in antiquity, helping us to understand how various schools of ancient thought made use of the teachings of Socratic thought. The self-control of Xenophon's Socrates is in keeping with his role of inspiring ancient cynicism, which was traditionally said to be founded by Socrates' follower Antisthenes. It is clear that the Stoics made considerable use of Xenophon's version of the argument from design and their account of natural law also owed something to Socrates, if not only

to Xenophon's Socrates.



Roman marble bust of Socrates, 1st century, most likely a copy of a lost bronze statue made by Lysippos

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BOOK I.

1. I have often wondered by what arguments those who drew up the indictment against Socrates could persuade the Athenians that his life was forfeit to the state. The indictment against him was to this effect: Socrates is guilty of rejecting the gods acknowledged by the state and of bringing in strange deities: he is also guilty of corrupting the youth. [2]

First then, that he rejected the gods acknowledged by the state — what evidence did they produce of that? He offered sacrifices constantly, and made no secret of it, now in his home, now at the altars of the state temples, and he made use of divination with as little secrecy. Indeed it had become notorious that Socrates claimed to be guided by ‘the deity:’ it was out of this claim, I think, that the charge of bringing in strange deities arose. [3] He was no more bringing in anything strange than are other believers in divination, who rely on augury, oracles, coincidences and sacrifices. For these men’s belief is not that the birds or the folk met by accident know what profits the inquirer, but that they are the instruments by which the gods make this known; and that was Socrates’ belief too. [4] Only, whereas most men say that the birds or the folk they meet dissuade or encourage them, Socrates said what he meant: for he said that the deity gave him a sign. Many of his companions were counselled by him to do this or not to do that in accordance with the warnings of the deity: and those who followed his advice prospered, and those who rejected it had cause for regret. [5] And yet who would not admit that he wished to appear neither a knave nor a fool to his companions? but he would have been thought both, had he proved to be mistaken when he alleged that his counsel was in accordance with divine revelation. Obviously, then, he would not have given the counsel if he had not been confident that what he said would come true. And who could have inspired him with that confidence but a god? And since he had confidence in the gods, how can he have disbelieved in the existence of the gods? [6] Another way he had of dealing with intimate friends was this: if there was no room for doubt, he advised them to act as they thought best; but if the

consequences could not be foreseen, he sent them to the oracle to inquire whether the thing ought to be done. [7] Those who intended to control a house or a city, he said, needed the help of divination. For the craft of carpenter, smith, farmer or ruler, and the theory of such crafts, and arithmetic and economics and generalship might be learned and mastered by the application of human powers; [8] but the deepest secrets of these matters the gods reserved to themselves; they were dark to men. You may plant a field well; but you know not who shall gather the fruits: you may build a house well; but you know not who shall dwell in it: able to command, you cannot know whether it is profitable to command: versed in statecraft, you know not whether it is profitable to guide the state: though, for your delight, you marry a pretty woman, you cannot tell whether she will bring you sorrow: though you form a party among men mighty in the state, you know not whether they will cause you to be driven from the state. [9] If any man thinks that these matters are wholly within the grasp of the human mind and nothing in them is beyond our reason, that man, he said, is irrational. But it is no less irrational to seek the guidance of heaven in matters which men are permitted by the gods to decide for themselves by study: to ask, for instance, Is it better to get an experienced coachman to drive my carriage or a man without experience? Is it better to get an experienced seaman to steer my ship or a man without experience? So too with what we may know by reckoning, measurement or weighing. To put such questions to the gods seemed to his mind profane. In short, what the gods have granted us to do by help of learning, we must learn; what is hidden from mortals we should try to find out from the gods by divination: for to him that is in their grace the gods grant a sign. [10]

Moreover, Socrates lived ever in the open; for early in the morning he went to the public promenades and training-grounds; in the forenoon he was seen in the market; and the rest of the day he passed just where most people were to be met: he was generally talking, and anyone might listen. Yet none ever knew him to offend against piety and religion in deed or word. [11] He did not even discuss that topic so favoured by other talkers, "the Nature of the Universe": and avoided speculation on the so-called "Cosmos" of the Professors, how it works, and on the laws that govern the phenomena

of the heavens: indeed he would argue that to trouble one's mind with such problems is sheer folly. [12] In the first place, he would inquire, did these thinkers suppose that their knowledge of human affairs was so complete that they must seek these new fields for the exercise of their brains; or that it was their duty to neglect human affairs and consider only things divine? [13] Moreover, he marvelled at their blindness in not seeing that man cannot solve these riddles; since even the most conceited talkers on these problems did not agree in their theories, but behaved to one another like madmen. [14] As some madmen have no fear of danger and others are afraid where there is nothing to be afraid of, as some will do or say anything in a crowd with no sense of shame, while others shrink even from going abroad among men, some respect neither temple nor altar nor any other sacred thing, others worship stocks and stones and beasts, so is it, he held, with those who worry with "Universal Nature." Some hold that "What is" is one, others that it is infinite in number: some that all things are in perpetual motion, others that nothing can ever be moved at any time: some that all life is birth and decay, others that nothing can ever be born or ever die. [15] Nor were those the only questions he asked about such theorists. Students of human nature, he said, think that they will apply their knowledge in due course for the good of themselves and any others they choose. Do those who pry into heavenly phenomena imagine that, once they have discovered the laws by which these are produced, they will create at their will winds, waters, seasons and such things to their need? Or have they no such expectation, and are they satisfied with knowing the causes of these various phenomena? [16]

Such, then, was his criticism of those who meddle with these matters. His own conversation was ever of human things. The problems he discussed were, What is godly, what is ungodly; what is beautiful, what is ugly; what is just, what is unjust; what is prudence, what is madness; what is courage, what is cowardice; what is a state, what is a statesman; what is government, and what is a governor; — these and others like them, of which the knowledge made a "gentleman," in his estimation, while ignorance should involve the reproach of "slavishness." [17]

So, in pronouncing on opinions of his that were unknown to them

it is not surprising that the jury erred: but is it not astonishing that they should have ignored matters of common knowledge? [18] For instance, when he was on the Council and had taken the counsellor's oath by which he bound himself to give counsel in accordance with the laws, it fell to his lot to preside in the Assembly when the people wanted to condemn Thrasyllus and Erasinides and their colleagues to death by a single vote. That was illegal, and he refused the motion in spite of popular rancour and the threats of many powerful persons. It was more to him that he should keep his oath than that he should humour the people in an unjust demand and shield himself from threats. [19] For, like most men, indeed, he believed that the gods are heedful of mankind, but with an important difference; for whereas they do not believe in the omniscience of the gods, Socrates thought that they know all things, our words and deeds and secret purposes; that they are present everywhere, and grant signs to men of all that concerns man. [20]

I wonder, then, how the Athenians can have been persuaded that Socrates was a freethinker, when he never said or did anything contrary to sound religion, and his utterances about the gods and his behaviour towards them were the words and actions of a man who is truly religious and deserves to be thought so.

2. No less wonderful is it to me that some believed the charge brought against Socrates of corrupting the youth. In the first place, apart from what I have said, in control of his own passions and appetites he was the strictest of men; further, in endurance of cold and heat and every kind of toil he was most resolute; and besides, his needs were so schooled to moderation that having very little he was yet very content. [2] Such was his own character: how then can he have led others into impiety, crime, gluttony, lust, or sloth? On the contrary, he cured these vices in many, by putting into them a desire for goodness, and by giving them confidence that self-discipline would make them gentlemen. [3] To be sure he never professed to teach this; but, by letting his own light shine, he led his disciples to hope that they through imitation of him would attain to such excellence. [4] Furthermore, he himself never neglected the body, and reproved such neglect in others. Thus over-eating followed by over-exertion he disapproved. But he approved of taking as much hard

exercise as is agreeable to the soul; for the habit not only insured good health, but did not hamper the care of the soul. [5] On the other hand, he disliked foppery and pretentiousness in the fashion of clothes or shoes or in behaviour. Nor, again, did he encourage love of money in his companions. For while he checked their other desires, he would not make money himself out of their desire for his companionship. [6] He held that this self-denying ordinance insured his liberty. Those who charged a fee for their society he denounced for selling themselves into bondage; since they were bound to converse with all from whom they took the fee. [7] He marvelled that anyone should make money by the profession of virtue, and should not reflect that his highest reward would be the gain of a good friend; as though he who became a true gentleman could fail to feel deep gratitude for a benefit so great. [8] Socrates indeed never promised any such boon to anyone; but he was confident that those of his companions who adopted his principles of conduct would throughout life be good friends to him and to one another. How, then, should such a man “corrupt the youth”? Unless, perchance, it be corruption to foster virtue. [9]

But, said his accuser, he taught his companions to despise the established laws by insisting on the folly of appointing public officials by lot, when none would choose a pilot or builder or flautist by lot, nor any other craftsman for work in which mistakes are far less disastrous than mistakes in statecraft. Such sayings, he argued, led the young to despise the established constitution and made them violent. [10] But I hold that they who cultivate wisdom and think they will be able to guide the people in prudent policy never lapse into violence: they know that enmities and dangers are inseparable from violence, but persuasion produces the same results safely and amicably. For violence, by making its victims sensible of loss, rouses their hatred: but persuasion, by seeming to confer a favour, wins goodwill. It is not, then, cultivation of wisdom that leads to violent methods, but the possession of power without prudence. [11] Besides, many supporters are necessary to him who ventures to use force: but he who can persuade needs no confederate, having confidence in his own unaided power of persuasion. And such a man has no occasion to shed blood; for who would rather take a man’s life than have a live

and willing follower?

But his accuser argued thus. [12] Among the associates of Socrates were Critias and Alcibiades; and none wrought so many evils to the state. For Critias in the days of the oligarchy bore the palm for greed and violence: Alcibiades, for his part, exceeded all in licentiousness and insolence under the democracy. [13] Now I have no intention of excusing the wrong these two men wrought the state; but I will explain how they came to be with Socrates. [14] Ambition was the very life-blood of both: no Athenian was ever like them. They were eager to get control of everything and to outstrip every rival in notoriety. They knew that Socrates was living on very little, and yet was wholly independent; that he was strictly moderate in all his pleasures; and that in argument he could do what he liked with any disputant. [15] Sharing this knowledge and the principles I have indicated, is it to be supposed that these two men wanted to adopt the simple life of Socrates, and with this object in view sought his society? Did they not rather think that by associating with him they would attain the utmost proficiency in speech and action? [16] For my part I believe that, had heaven granted them the choice between the life they saw Socrates leading and death, they would have chosen rather to die. Their conduct betrayed their purpose; for as soon as they thought themselves superior to their fellow-disciples they sprang away from Socrates and took to politics; it was for political ends that they had wanted Socrates. [17]

But it may be answered: Socrates should have taught his companions prudence before politics. I do not deny it; but I find that all teachers show their disciples how they themselves practise what they teach, and lead them on by argument. And I know that it was so with Socrates: he showed his companions that he was a gentleman himself, and talked most excellently of goodness and of all things that concern man. [18] I know further that even those two were prudent so long as they were with Socrates, not from fear of fine or blow, but because at that time they really believed in prudent conduct. [19]

But many self-styled lovers of wisdom may reply: A just man can never become unjust; a prudent man can never become wanton; in fact no one having learned any kind of knowledge can become

ignorant of it. I do not hold with this view. I notice that as those who do not train the body cannot perform the functions proper to the body, so those who do not train the soul cannot perform the functions of the soul: for they cannot do what they ought to do nor avoid what they ought not to do. [20] For this cause fathers try to keep their sons, even if they are prudent lads, out of bad company: for the society of honest men is a training in virtue, but the society of the bad is virtue's undoing. As one of the poets says:

““From the good shalt thou learn good things; but if thou minglest with the bad thou shalt lose even what thou hast of wisdom.”
“

Theognis

And another says:

““Ah, but a good man is at one time noble, at another base.”
“

unknown

[21]

My testimony agrees with theirs; for I see that, just as poetry is forgotten unless it is often repeated, so instruction, when no longer heeded, fades from the mind. To forget good counsel is to forget the experiences that prompted the soul to desire prudence: and when those are forgotten, it is not surprising that prudence itself is forgotten. [22] I see also that men who take to drink or get involved in love intrigues lose the power of caring about right conduct and avoiding evil. For many who are careful with their money no sooner fall in love than they begin to waste it: and when they have spent it all, they no longer shrink from making more by methods which they formerly avoided because they thought them disgraceful. [23] How then can it be impossible for one who was prudent to lose his prudence, for one who was capable of just action to become incapable? To me indeed it seems that whatever is honourable, whatever is good in conduct is the result of training, and that this is especially true of prudence. For in the same body along with the soul are planted the pleasures which call to her: “Abandon prudence, and

make haste to gratify us and the body.” [24]

And indeed it was thus with Critias and Alcibiades. So long as they were with Socrates, they found in him an ally who gave them strength to conquer their evil passions. But when they parted from him, Critias fled to Thessaly, and got among men who put lawlessness before justice; while Alcibiades, on account of his beauty, was hunted by many great ladies, and because of his influence at Athens and among her allies he was spoilt by many powerful men: and as athletes who gain an easy victory in the games are apt to neglect their training, so the honour in which he was held, the cheap triumph he won with the people, led him to neglect himself. [25] Such was their fortune: and when to pride of birth, confidence in wealth, vainglory and much yielding to temptation were added corruption and long separation from Socrates, what wonder if they grew overbearing? [26] For their wrongdoing, then, is Socrates to be called to account by his accuser? And does he deserve no word of praise for having controlled them in the days of their youth, when they would naturally be most reckless and licentious? Other cases, at least, are not so judged. [27] For what teacher of flute, lyre, or anything else, after making his pupils proficient, is held to blame if they leave him for another master, and then turn out incompetent? What father, whose son bears a good character so long as he is with one master, but goes wrong after he has attached himself to another, throws the blame on the earlier teacher? Is it not true that the worse the boy turns out with the second, the higher is his father's praise of the first? Nay, fathers themselves, living with their sons, are not held responsible for their boys' wrongdoing if they are themselves prudent men. [28] This is the test which should have been applied to Socrates too. If there was anything base in his own life, he might fairly have been thought vicious. But, if his own conduct was always prudent, how can he be fairly held to blame for the evil that was not in him? [29]

Nevertheless, although he was himself free from vice, if he saw and approved of base conduct in them, he would be open to censure. Well, when he found that Critias loved Euthydemus and wanted to lead him astray, he tried to restrain him by saying that it was mean and unbecoming in a gentleman to sue like a beggar to the object of

his affection, whose good opinion he coveted, stooping to ask a favour that it was wrong to grant. [30] As Critias paid no heed whatever to this protest, Socrates, it is said, exclaimed in the presence of Euthydemus and many others, "Critias seems to have the feelings of a pig: he can no more keep away from Euthydemus than pigs can help rubbing themselves against stones." [31] Now Critias bore a grudge against Socrates for this; and when he was one of the Thirty and was drafting laws with Charicles, he bore it in mind. He inserted a clause which made it illegal "to teach the art of words." It was a calculated insult to Socrates, whom he saw no means of attacking, except by imputing to him the practice constantly attributed to philosophers, and so making him unpopular. For I myself never heard Socrates indulge in the practice, nor knew of anyone who professed to have heard him do so. The truth came out. [32] When the Thirty were putting to death many citizens of the highest respectability and were encouraging many in crime, Socrates had remarked: "It seems strange enough to me that a herdsman who lets his cattle decrease and go to the bad should not admit that he is a poor cowherd; but stranger still that a statesman when he causes the citizens to decrease and go to the bad, should feel no shame nor think himself a poor statesman." [33] This remark was reported to Critias and Charicles, who sent for Socrates, showed him the law and forbade him to hold conversation with the young.

"May I question you," asked Socrates, "in case I do not understand any point in your orders?"

"You may," said they.

"Well now," said he, [34] "I am ready to obey the laws. But lest I unwittingly transgress through ignorance, I want clear directions from you. Do you think that the art of words from which you bid me abstain is associated with sound or unsound reasoning? For if with sound, then clearly I must abstain from sound reasoning: but if with unsound, clearly I must try to reason soundly." [35]

"Since you are ignorant, Socrates," said Charicles in an angry tone, "we put our order into language easier to understand. You may not hold any converse whatever with the young."

"Well then," said Socrates, "that there may be no question raised about my obedience, please fix the age limit below which a man is to

be accounted young.”

“So long,” replied Charicles, “as he is not permitted to sit in the Council, because as yet he lacks wisdom. You shall not converse with anyone who is under thirty.” [36]

“Suppose I want to buy something, am I not even then to ask the price if the seller is under thirty?”

“Oh yes,” answered Charicles, “you may in such cases. But the fact is, Socrates, you are in the habit of asking questions to which you know the answer: so that is what you are not to do.”

“Am I to give no answer, then, if a young man asks me something that I know? — for instance, ‘Where does Charicles live?’ or ‘Where is Critias?’”

“Oh yes,” answered Charicles, “you may, in such cases.” [37]

“But you see, Socrates,” explained Critias, “you will have to avoid your favourite topic, — the cobblers, builders and metal workers; for it is already worn to rags by you in my opinion.”

“Then must I keep off the subjects of which these supply illustrations, Justice, Holiness, and so forth?”

“Indeed yes,” said Charicles, “and cowherds too: else you may find the cattle decrease.” [38]

Thus the truth was out: the remark about the cattle had been repeated to them: and it was this that made them angry with him.

So much, then, for the connexion of Critias with Socrates and their relation to each other. [39] I venture to lay it down that learners get nothing from a teacher with whom they are out of sympathy. Now, all the time that Critias and Alcibiades associated with Socrates they were out of sympathy with him, but from the very first their ambition was political advancement. For while they were still with him, they tried to converse, whenever possible, with prominent politicians. [40] Indeed, there is a story told of Alcibiades, that, when he was less than twenty years old, he had a talk about laws with Pericles, his guardian, the first citizen in the State. [41]

“Tell me, Pericles,” he said, “can you teach me what a law is?”

“Certainly,” he replied.

“Then pray teach me. For whenever I hear men praised for keeping the laws, it occurs to me that no one can really deserve that praise who does not know what a law is.” [42]

“Well, Alcibiades, there is no great difficulty about what you desire. You wish to know what a law is. Laws are all the rules approved and enacted by the majority in assembly, whereby they declare what ought and what ought not to be done.”

“Do they suppose it is right to do good or evil?”

“Good, of course, young man, — not evil.” [43]

“But if, as happens under an oligarchy, not the majority, but a minority meet and enact rules of conduct, what are these?”

“Whatsoever the sovereign power in the State, after deliberation, enacts and directs to be done is known as a law.”

“If, then, a despot, being the sovereign power, enacts what the citizens are to do, are his orders also a law?”

“Yes, whatever a despot as ruler enacts is also known as a law.” [44]

“But force, the negation of law, what is that, Pericles? Is it not the action of the stronger when he constrains the weaker to do whatever he chooses, not by persuasion, but by force?”

“That is my opinion.”

“Then whatever a despot by enactment constrains the citizens to do without persuasion, is the negation of law?”

“I think so: and I withdraw my answer that whatever a despot enacts without persuasion is a law.” [45]

“And when the minority passes enactments, not by persuading the majority, but through using its power, are we to call that force or not?”

“Everything, I think, that men constrain others to do ‘without persuasion,’ whether by enactment or not, is not law, but force.”

“It follows then, that whatever the assembled majority, through using its power over the owners of property, enacts without persuasion is not law, but force?” [46]

“Alcibiades,” said Pericles, “at your age, I may tell you, we, too, were very clever at this sort of thing. For the puzzles we thought about and exercised our wits on were just such as you seem to think about now.”

“Ah, Pericles,” cried Alcibiades, “if only I had known you intimately when you were at your cleverest in these things!” [47]

So soon, then, as they presumed themselves to be the superiors of

the politicians, they no longer came near Socrates. For apart from their general want of sympathy with him, they resented being cross-examined about their errors when they came. Politics had brought them to Socrates, and for politics they left him. [48] But Criton was a true associate of Socrates, as were Chaerophon, Chaerecrates, Hermogenes, Simmias, Cebes, Phaedondas, and others who consorted with him not that they might shine in the courts or the assembly, but that they might become gentlemen, and be able to do their duty by house and household, and relatives and friends, and city and citizens. Of these not one, in his youth or old age, did evil or incurred censure. [49]

“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates taught sons to treat their fathers with contempt: he persuaded them that he made his companions wiser than their fathers: he said that the law allowed a son to put his father in prison if he convinced a jury that he was insane; and this was a proof that it was lawful for the wiser to keep the more ignorant in gaol.” [50] In reality Socrates held that, if you clap fetters on a man for his ignorance, you deserve to be kept in gaol yourself by those whose knowledge is greater than your own: and such reasoning led him frequently to consider the difference between Madness and Ignorance. That madmen should be kept in prison was expedient, he thought, both for themselves and for their friends: but those who are ignorant of what they ought to know deserve to learn from those who know it. [51]

“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates caused his companions to dishonour not only their fathers, but their other relations as well, by saying that invalids and litigants get benefit not from their relations, but from their doctor or their counsel. [52] Of friends too he said that their goodwill was worthless, unless they could combine with it some power to help one: only those deserved honour who knew what was the right thing to do, and could explain it. Thus by leading the young to think that he excelled in wisdom and in ability to make others wise, he had such an effect on his companions that no one counted for anything in their estimation in comparison with him.” [53] Now I know that he did use this language about fathers, relations and friends. And, what is more, he would say that so soon as the soul, the only seat of intelligence, is gone out of a man, even though he be our

nearest and dearest, we carry out his body and hide it in the tomb. [54] Moreover, a man's dearest friend is himself: yet, even in his lifetime he removes or lets another remove from his body whatever is useless and unprofitable. He removes his own nails, hair, corns: he lets the surgeon cut and cauterize him, and, aches and pains notwithstanding, feels bound to thank and fee him for it. He spits out the saliva from his mouth as far away as he can, because to retain it doesn't help him, but harms him rather. [55]

Now in saying all this, he was not giving a lesson on "the duty of burying one's father alive, or making mincemeat of one's body": he meant to show that unreason is unworth, and was urging the necessity of cultivating sound sense and usefulness, in order that he who would fain be valued by father or by brother or by anyone else may not rely on the bond of familiarity and neglect him, but may try to be useful to all those by whom he would be valued. [56]

Again, his accuser alleged that he selected from the most famous poets the most immoral passages, and used them as evidence in teaching his companions to be tyrants and malefactors: for example, Hesiod's line:

““No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.”
“

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He was charged with explaining this line as an injunction to refrain from no work, dishonest or disgraceful, but to do anything for gain. [57] Now, though Socrates would fully agree that it is a benefit and a blessing to a man to be a worker, and a disadvantage and an evil to be an idler — that work, in fact, is a blessing, idleness an evil — "working," "being a worker," meant to him doing good work; but gambling and any occupation that is immoral and leads to loss he called idling. When thus interpreted there is nothing amiss with the line:

““No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.”
“

[58] Again, his accuser said that he often quoted the passage from Homer, showing how Odysseus:

““Whenever he found one that was a captain and a man of mark, stood by his side, and restrained him with gentle words: ‘Good sir, it is not seemly to affright thee like a coward, but do thou sit thyself and make all thy folk sit down...’ But whatever man of the people he saw and found him shouting, him he drove with his sceptre and chid him with loud words: ‘Good sir, sit still and hearken to the words of others that are thy betters: but thou art no warrior and a weakling, never reckoned whether in battle or in council.’”

“

This passage, it was said, he explained to mean that the poet approved of chastising common and poor folk. [59] But Socrates never said that: indeed, on that view he would have thought himself worthy of chastisement. But what he did say was that those who render no service either by word or deed, who cannot help army or city or the people itself in time of need, ought to be stopped, even if they have riches in abundance, above all if they are insolent as well as inefficient. [60] But Socrates, at least, was just the opposite of all that: he showed himself to be one of the people and a friend of mankind. For although he had many eager disciples among citizens and strangers, yet he never exacted a fee for his society from one of them, but of his abundance he gave without stint to all. Some indeed, after getting from him a few trifles for nothing, became vendors of them at a great price to others, and showed none of his sympathy with the people, refusing to talk with those who had no money to give them. [61] But Socrates did far more to win respect for the State in the world at large than Lichas, whose services to Sparta have made his name immortal. For Lichas used to entertain the strangers staying at Sparta during the Feast of the Dancing Boys; but Socrates spent his life in lavishing his gifts and rendering the greatest services to all who cared to receive them. For he always made his associates better men before he parted with them.

Such was the character of Socrates. [62] To me he seemed to

deserve honour rather than death at the hands of the State. And a consideration of his case in its legal aspect will confirm my opinion. Under the laws, death is the penalty inflicted on persons proved to be thieves, highwaymen, cutpurses, kidnappers, robbers of temples; and from such criminals no man was so widely separated as he. [63] Moreover, to the State he was never the cause of disaster in war, or strife or treason or any evil whatever. Again, in private life no man by him was ever deprived of good or involved in ill. [64] None of these crimes was ever so much as imputed to him. How then could he be guilty of the charges? For so far was he from “rejecting the gods,” as charged in the indictment, that no man was more conspicuous for his devotion to the service of the gods: so far from “corrupting the youth,” as his accuser actually charged against him, that if any among his companions had evil desires, he openly tried to reform them and exhorted them to desire the fairest and noblest virtue, by which men prosper in public life and in their homes. By this conduct did he not deserve high honour from the State?

3. In order to support my opinion that he benefited his companions, alike by actions that revealed his own character and by his conversation, I will set down what I recollect of these.

First, then, for his attitude towards religion; his deeds and words were clearly in harmony with the answer given by the Priestess at Delphi to such questions as “What is my duty about sacrifice?” or about “cult of ancestors.” For the answer of the Priestess is, “Follow the custom of the State: that is the way to act piously.” And so Socrates acted himself and counselled others to act. To take any other course he considered presumption and folly. [2]

And again, when he prayed he asked simply for good gifts, “for the gods know best what things are good.” To pray for gold or silver or sovereignty or any other such thing, was just like praying for a gamble or a fight or anything of which the result is obviously uncertain. [3]

Though his sacrifices were humble, according to his means, he thought himself not a whit inferior to those who made frequent and magnificent sacrifices out of great possessions. The gods (he said) could not well delight more in great offerings than in small — for in that case must the gifts of the wicked often have found more favour

in their sight than the gifts of the upright — and man would not find life worth having, if the gifts of the wicked were received with more favour by the gods than the gifts of the upright. No, the greater the piety of the giver, the greater (he thought) was the delight of the gods in the gift. He would quote with approval the line:

““According to thy power render sacrifice to the immortal gods,”
“

and he would add that in our treatment of friends and strangers, and in all our behaviour, it is a noble principle to render according to our power. [4] If ever any warning seemed to be given him from heaven, he would more easily have been persuaded to choose a blind guide who did not know the road in preference to one who could see and knew the way, than to disregard the admonition. All men, in fact, who flouted the warnings of the gods in their anxiety to avoid the censure of men, he denounced for their foolishness. He himself despised all human opinions in comparison with counsel given by the gods. [5]

He schooled his body and soul by following, a system which, in all human calculation, would give him a life of confidence and security, and would make it easy to meet his expenses. For he was so frugal that it is hardly possible to imagine a man doing so little work as not to earn enough to satisfy the needs of Socrates. He ate just sufficient food to make eating a pleasure, and he was so ready for his food that he found appetite the best sauce: and any kind of drink he found pleasant, because he drank only when he was thirsty. [6] Whenever he accepted an invitation to dinner, he resisted without difficulty the common temptation to exceed the limit of satiety; and he advised those who could not do likewise to avoid appetizers that encouraged them to eat and drink what they did not want: for such trash was the ruin of stomach and brain and soul. [7] “I believe,” he said in jest, “it was by providing a feast of such things that Circe made swine; and it was partly by the prompting of Hermes, partly through his own self-restraint and avoidance of excessive indulgence in such things, that Odysseus was not turned into a pig.” [8] This was how he would talk on the subject, half joking, half in earnest.

Of sensual passion he would say: "Avoid it resolutely: it is not easy to control yourself once you meddle with that sort of thing." Thus, on hearing that Critobulus had kissed Alcibiades' pretty boy, he put this question to Xenophon before Critobulus: [9] "Tell me, Xenophon, did you not suppose Critobulus to be a sober person, and by no means rash; prudent, and not thoughtless or adventurous?"

"Certainly," said Xenophon.

"Then you are to look on him henceforth as utterly hot-headed and reckless: the man would do a somersault into a ring of knives; he would jump into fire." [10]

"What on earth has he done to make you think so badly of him?" asked Xenophon.

"What has the man done? He dared to kiss Alcibiades' son, and the boy is very good-looking and attractive."

"Oh, if that is the sort of adventure you mean, I think I might make that venture myself."

"Poor fellow! [11] What do you think will happen to you through kissing a pretty face? Won't you lose your liberty in a trice and become a slave, begin spending large sums on harmful pleasures, have no time to give to anything fit for a gentleman, be forced to concern yourself with things that no madman even would care about?" [12]

"Heracles! what alarming power in a kiss!" cried Xenophon.

"What? Does that surprise you?" continued Socrates. "Don't you know that the scorpion, though smaller than a farthing, if it but fasten on the tongue, inflicts excruciating and maddening pain?"

"Yes, to be sure; for the scorpion injects something by its bite." [13]

"And do you think, you foolish fellow, that the fair inject nothing when they kiss, just because you don't see it? Don't you know that this creature called 'fair and young' is more dangerous than the scorpion, seeing that it need not even come in contact, like the insect, but at any distance can inject a maddening poison into anyone who only looks at it?"

"Maybe, too, the loves are called archers for this reason, that the fair can wound even at a distance.

"Nay, I advise you, Xenophon, as soon as you see a pretty face to take to your heels and fly: and you, Critobulus, I advise to spend a

year abroad. It will certainly take you at least as long as that to recover from the bite.” [14]

Thus in the matter of carnal appetite, he held that those whose passions were not under complete control should limit themselves to such indulgence as the soul would reject unless the need of the body were pressing, and such as would do no harm when the need was there. As for his own conduct in this matter, it was evident that he had trained himself to avoid the fairest and most attractive more easily than others avoid the ugliest and most repulsive. [15] Concerning eating and drinking then and carnal indulgence such were his views, and he thought that a due portion of pleasure would be no more lacking to him than to those who give themselves much to these, and that much less trouble would fall to his lot.

4. If any hold the opinion expressed in some written and spoken criticisms of Socrates that are based on inference, and think, that though he was consummate in exhorting men to virtue, he was an incompetent guide to it, let them consider not only the searching cross-examination with which he chastised those who thought themselves omniscient, but his daily talks with his familiar friends, and then judge whether he was capable of improving his companions. [2]

I will first state what I once heard him say about the godhead in conversation with Aristodemus the dwarf, as he was called. On learning that he was not known to sacrifice or pray or use divination, and actually made a mock of those who did so, he said: “Tell me, Aristodemus, do you admire any human beings for wisdom?”

“I do,” he answered. [3]

“Tell us their names.”

“In epic poetry Homer comes first, in my opinion; in dithyramb, Melanippides; in tragedy, Sophocles; in sculpture, Polycleitus; in painting, Zeuxis.” [4]

“Which, think you, deserve the greater admiration, the creators of phantoms without sense and motion, or the creators of living, intelligent, and active beings?”

“Oh, of living beings, by far, provided only they are created by design and not mere chance.”

“Suppose that it is impossible to guess the purpose of one

creature's existence, and obvious that another's serves a useful end, which, in your judgment, is the work of chance, and which of design?"

"Presumably the creature that serves some useful end is the work of design." [5]

"Do you not think then that he who created man from the beginning had some useful end in view when he endowed him with his several senses, giving eyes to see visible objects, ears to hear sounds? Would odours again be of any use to us had we not been endowed with nostrils? What perception should we have of sweet and bitter and all things pleasant to the palate had we no tongue in our mouth to discriminate between them? [6] Besides these, are there not other contrivances that look like the results of forethought? Thus the eyeballs, being weak, are set behind eyelids, that open like doors when we want to see, and close when we sleep: on the lids grow lashes through which the very winds filter harmlessly: above the eyes is a coping of brows that lets no drop of sweat from the head hurt them. The ears catch all sounds, but are never choked with them. Again, the incisors of all creatures are adapted for cutting, the molars for receiving food from them and grinding it. And again, the mouth, through which the food they want goes in, is set near the eyes and nostrils; but since what goes out is unpleasant, the ducts through which it passes are turned away and removed as far as possible from the organs of sense. With such signs of forethought in these arrangements, can you doubt whether they are the works of chance or design?"

"No, of course not. [7] When I regard them in this light they do look very like the handiwork of a wise and loving creator."

"What of the natural desire to beget children, the mother's desire to rear her babe, the child's strong will to live and strong fear of death?"

"Undoubtedly these, too, look like the contrivances of one who deliberately willed the existence of living creatures." [8]

"Do you think you have any wisdom yourself?"

"Oh! Ask me a question and judge from my answer."

"And do you suppose that wisdom is nowhere else to be found, although you know that you have a mere speck of all the earth in

your body and a mere drop of all the water, and that of all the other mighty elements you received, I suppose, just a scrap towards the fashioning of your body? But as for mind, which alone, it seems, is without mass, do you think that you snapped it up by a lucky accident, and that the orderly ranks of all these huge masses, infinite in number, are due, forsooth, to a sort of absurdity?" [9]

"Yes; for I don't see the master hand, whereas I see the makers of things in this world."

"Neither do you see your own soul, which has the mastery of the body; so that, as far as that goes, you may say that you do nothing by design, but everything by chance."

Here Aristodemus exclaimed: [10] "Really, Socrates, I don't despise the godhead. But I think it is too great to need my service."

"Then the greater the power that deigns to serve you, the more honour it demands of you." [11]

"I assure you, that if I believed that the gods pay any heed to man, I would not neglect them."

"Then do you think them unheeding? In the first place, man is the only living creature that they have caused to stand upright; and the upright position gives him a wider range of vision in front and a better view of things above, and exposes him less to injury. Secondly, to grovelling creatures they have given feet that afford only the power of moving, whereas they have endowed man with hands, which are the instruments to which we chiefly owe our greater happiness. [12] Again, though all creatures have a tongue, the tongue of man alone has been formed by them to be capable of contact with different parts of the mouth, so as to enable us to articulate the voice and express all our wants to one another. Once more, for all other creatures they have prescribed a fixed season of sexual indulgence; in our case the only time limit they have set is old age. [13]

"Nor was the deity content to care for man's body. What is of yet higher moment, he has implanted in him the noblest type of soul. For in the first place what other creature's soul has apprehended the existence of gods who set in order the universe, greatest and fairest of things? And what race of living things other than man worships gods? And what soul is more apt than man's to make provision against hunger and thirst, cold and heat, to relieve sickness and

promote health, to acquire knowledge by toil, and to remember accurately all that is heard, seen, or learned? [14] For is it not obvious to you that, in comparison with the other animals, men live like gods, by nature peerless both in body and in soul? For with a man's reason and the body of an ox we could not carry out our wishes, and the possession of hands without reason is of little worth. Do you, then, having received the two most precious gifts, yet think that the gods take no care of you? What are they to do, to make you believe that they are heedful of you?" [15]

"I will believe when they send counsellors, as you declare they do, saying, 'Do this, avoid that.'"

"But when the Athenians inquire of them by divination and they reply, do you not suppose that to you, too, the answer is given? Or when they send portents for warning to the Greeks, or to all the world? Are you their one exception, the only one consigned to neglect? [16] Or do you suppose that the gods would have put into man a belief in their ability to help and harm, if they had not that power; and that man throughout the ages would never have detected the fraud? Do you not see that the wisest and most enduring of human institutions, cities and nations, are most god-fearing, and that the most thoughtful period of life is the most religious? [17] Be well assured, my good friend, that the mind within you directs your body according to its will; and equally you must think that Thought indwelling in the Universal disposes all things according to its pleasure. For think not that your eye can travel over many furlongs and yet god's eye cannot see the the whole world at once; that your soul can ponder on things in Egypt and in Sicily, and god's thought is not sufficient to pay heed to the whole world at once. [18] Nay, but just as by serving men you find out who is willing to serve you in return, by being kind who will be kind to you in return, and by taking counsel, discover the masters of thought, so try the gods by serving them, and see whether they will vouchsafe to counsel you in matters hidden from man. Then you will know that such is the greatness and such the nature of the deity that he sees all things and hears all things alike, and is present in all places and heedful of all things." [19]

To me at least it seemed that by these sayings he kept his companions from impiety, injustice, and baseness, and that not only

when they were seen by men, but even in solitude; since they ever felt that no deed of theirs could at any time escape the gods.

5. But if Self-control too is a fair and noble possession, let us now consider whether he led men up to that virtue by discourse like the following:

“My friends, if we were at war and wanted to choose a leader most capable of helping us to save ourselves and conquer the enemy, should we choose one whom we knew to be the slave of the belly, or of wine, or lust, or sleep? How could we expect that such an one would either save us or defeat the enemy? [2] Or if at the end of our life we should wish to appoint a guardian to educate our boys or protect our girls or to take care of our goods, should we think a loose liver a trustworthy man to choose? Should we entrust live stock or storehouses or the management of works to a vicious slave? Should we be willing to take as a gift a page or an errandboy with such a character? [3] Surely then, if we should refuse a vicious slave, the master must look to it that he does not grow vicious himself? For whereas the covetous, by robbing other men of their goods, seem to enrich themselves, a vicious man reaps no advantage from the harm he does to others. If he is a worker of mischief to others, he brings much greater mischief on himself, if indeed the greatest mischief of all is to ruin not one’s home merely, but the body and the soul. [4] In social intercourse what pleasure could you find in such a man, knowing that he prefers your sauces and your wines to your friends, and likes the women better than the company? Should not every man hold self-control to be the foundation of all virtue, and first lay this foundation firmly in his soul? [5] For who without this can learn any good or practise it worthily? Or what man that is the slave of his pleasures is not in an evil plight body and soul alike? From my heart I declare that every free man should pray not to have such a man among his slaves; and every man who is a slave to such pleasures should entreat the gods to give him good masters: thus, and only thus, may he find salvation.” [6]

Such were his words; but his own self-control was shown yet more clearly by his deeds than by his words. For he kept in subjection not only the pleasures of the body, but those too that money brings, in the belief that he who takes money from any casual

giver puts himself under a master and endures the basest form of slavery.

6. It is due to him that a conversation he had with Antiphon the Sophist should not go unrecorded. Antiphon came to Socrates with the intention of drawing his companions away from him, and spoke thus in their presence. [2]

“Socrates, I supposed that philosophy must add to one’s store of happiness. But the fruits you have reaped from philosophy are apparently very different. For example, you are living a life that would drive even a slave to desert his master. Your meat and drink are of the poorest: the cloak you wear is not only a poor thing, but is never changed summer or winter; and you never wear shoes or tunic. [3] Besides you refuse to take money, the mere getting of which is a joy, while its possession makes one more independent and happier. Now the professors of other subjects try to make their pupils copy their teachers: if you too intend to make your companions do that, you must consider yourself a professor of unhappiness.” [4]

To this Socrates replied:

“Antiphon, you seem to have a notion that my life is so miserable, that I feel sure you would choose death in preference to a life like mine. Come then, let us consider together what hardship you have noticed in my life. [5] Is it that those who take money are bound to carry out the work for which they get a fee, while I, because I refuse to take it, am not obliged to talk with anyone against my will? Or do you think my food poor because it is less wholesome than yours or less nourishing? or because my viands are harder to get than yours, being scarcer and more expensive? or because your diet is more enjoyable than mine? Do you not know that the greater the enjoyment of eating the less the need of sauce; the greater the enjoyment of drinking, the less the desire for drinks that are not available? [6] As for cloaks, they are changed, as you know, on account of cold or heat. And shoes are worn as a protection to the feet against pain and inconvenience in walking. Now did you ever know me to stay indoors more than others on account of the cold, or to fight with any man for the shade because of the heat, or to be prevented from walking anywhere by sore feet? [7] Do you not know that by training, a puny weakling comes to be better at any form of

exercise he practises, and gets more staying power, than the muscular prodigy who neglects to train? Seeing then that I am always training my body to answer any and every call on its powers, do you not think that I can stand every strain better than you can without training? [8] For avoiding slavery to the belly or to sleep and incontinence, is there, think you, any more effective specific than the possession of other and greater pleasures, which are delightful not only to enjoy, but also because they arouse hopes of lasting benefit? And again, you surely know that while he who supposes that nothing goes well with him is unhappy, he who believes that he is successful in farming or a shipping concern or any other business he is engaged in is happy in the thought of his prosperity. [9] Do you think then that out of all this thinking there comes anything so pleasant as the thought: 'I am growing in goodness and I am making better friends?' And that, I may say, is my constant thought.

"Further, if help is wanted by friends or city, which of the two has more leisure to supply their needs, he who lives as I am living or he whose life you call happy? Which will find soldiering the easier task, he who cannot exist without expensive food or he who is content with what he can get? Which when besieged will surrender first, he who wants what is very hard to come by or he who can make shift with whatever is at hand? [10]

"You seem, Antiphon, to imagine that happiness consists in luxury and extravagance. But my belief is that to have no wants is divine; to have as few as possible comes next to the divine; and as that which is divine is supreme, so that which approaches nearest to its nature is nearest to the supreme." [11]

In another conversation with Socrates Antiphon said:

"Socrates, I for my part believe you to be a just, but by no means a wise man. And I think you realise it yourself. Anyhow, you decline to take money for your society. Yet if you believed your cloak or house or anything you possess to be worth money, you would not part with it for nothing or even for less than its value. [12] Clearly, then, if you set any value on your society, you would insist on getting the proper price for that too. It may well be that you are a just man because you do not cheat people through avarice; but wise you cannot be, since your knowledge is not worth anything." [13]

To this Socrates replied:

“Antiphon, it is common opinion among us in regard to beauty and wisdom that there is an honourable and a shameful way of bestowing them. For to offer one’s beauty for money to all comers is called prostitution; but we think it virtuous to become friendly with a lover who is known to be a man of honour. So is it with wisdom. Those who offer it to all comers for money are known as sophists, prostitutes of wisdom, but we think that he who makes a friend of one whom he knows to be gifted by nature, and teaches him all the good he can, fulfils the duty of a citizen and a gentleman. [14] That is my own view, Antiphon. Others have a fancy for a good horse or dog or bird: my fancy, stronger even than theirs, is for good friends. And I teach them all the good I can, and recommend them to others from whom I think they will get some moral benefit. And the treasures that the wise men of old have left us in their writings I open and explore with my friends. If we come on any good thing, we extract it, and we set much store on being useful to one another.”

For my part, when I heard these words fall from his lips, I judged him to be a happy man himself and to be putting his hearers in the way of being gentlemen. [15]

On yet another occasion Antiphon asked him: “How can you suppose that you make politicians of others, when you yourself avoid politics even if you understand them?”

“How now, Antiphon?” he retorted, “should I play a more important part in politics by engaging in them alone or by taking pains to turn out as many competent politicians as possible?”

7. Let us next consider whether by discouraging imposture he encouraged his companions to cultivate virtue. For he always said that the best road to glory is the way that makes a man as good as he wishes to be thought. And this was how he demonstrated the truth of this saying: [2]

“Suppose a bad flute-player wants to be thought a good one, let us note what he must do. Must he not imitate good players in the accessories of the art? First, as they wear fine clothes and travel with many attendants, he must do the same. Further, seeing that they win the applause of crowds, he must provide himself with a large claque. But, of course, he must never accept an engagement, or he will

promptly expose himself to ridicule as an incompetent player and an impostor to boot. And so, what with incurring heavy expense and gaining nothing, and bringing disgrace on himself as well, he will make his life burdensome, unprofitable and ridiculous. [3] So too if a man who is not a general or a pilot wanted to be thought a good one, let us imagine what would happen to him. If his efforts to seem proficient in these duties failed to carry conviction, would not his failure be galling to him? if they succeeded, would not his success be still more disastrous? for it is certain that if a man who knew nothing about piloting a ship or commanding an army were appointed to such work, he would lose those whom he least wanted to lose and would bring ruin and disgrace on himself.” [4]

By similar reasoning he would show how unprofitable is a reputation for wealth or courage or strength when it is undeserved. “Tasks beyond their powers,” he would say, “are laid on the incompetent, and no mercy is shown to them when they disappoint the expectation formed of their capability. [5] The man who persuades you to lend him money or goods and then keeps them is without doubt a rogue; but much the greatest rogue of all is the man who has gulled his city into the belief that he is fit to direct it.”

For my part I thought that such talks did discourage imposture among his companions.

BOOK II.

1. In other conversations I thought that he exhorted his companions to practise self-control in the matter of eating and drinking, and sexual indulgence, and sleeping, and endurance of cold and heat and toil. Aware that one of his companions was rather intemperate in such matters, he said: "Tell me, Aristippus, if you were required to take charge of two youths and educate them so that the one would be fit to rule and the other would never think of putting himself forward, how would you educate them? Shall we consider it, beginning with the elementary question of food?"

"Oh yes," replied Aristippus, "food does seem to come first; for one can't live without food." [2]

"Well, now, will not a desire for food naturally arise in both at certain times?"

"Yes, naturally."

"Now which of the two should we train in the habit of transacting urgent business before he satisfies his hunger?"

"The one who is being trained to rule, undoubtedly; else State business might be neglected during his tenure."

"And must not the same one be given power to resist thirst when both want to drink?"

"Certainly." [3]

"And to which shall we give the power of limiting his sleep so that he can go late to bed and get up early, and do without sleep if need be?"

"To the same again."

"And the power to control his passions, so that he may not be hindered in doing necessary work?"

"To the same again."

"And to which shall we give the habit of not shirking a task, but undertaking it willingly?"

"That too will go to the one who is being trained to rule."

"And to which would the knowledge needful for overcoming enemies be more appropriately given?"

"Without doubt to the one who is being trained to rule; for the

other lessons would be useless without such knowledge.” [4]

“Don’t you think that with this education he will be less likely to be caught by his enemy than other creatures? Some of them, you know, are so greedy, that in spite of extreme timidity in some cases, they are drawn irresistibly to the bait to get food, and are caught; and others are snared by drink.”

“Yes, certainly.”

“Others again — quails and partridges, for instance — are so amorous, that when they hear the cry of the female, they are carried away by desire and anticipation, throw caution to the winds and blunder into the nets. Is it not so?” [5]

He agreed again.

“Now, don’t you think it disgraceful that a man should be in the same plight as the silliest of wild creatures? Thus an adulterer enters the women’s quarters, knowing that by committing adultery he is in danger of incurring the penalties threatened by the law, and that he may be trapped, caught and ill-treated. When such misery and disgrace hang over the adulterer’s head, and there are many remedies to relieve him of his carnal desire without risk, is it not sheer lunacy to plunge headlong into danger?”

“Yes, I think it is.” [6]

“And considering that the great majority of essential occupations, warfare, agriculture and very many others, are carried on in the open air, don’t you think it gross negligence that so many men are untrained to withstand cold and heat?”

He agreed again.

“Don’t you think then, that one who is going to rule must adapt himself to bear them lightly?”

“Certainly.” [7]

“If then we classify those who control themselves in all these matters as ‘fit to rule,’ shall we not classify those who cannot behave so as men with no claim to be rulers?”

He agreed again.

“Well now, as you know the category to which each of these species belongs, have you ever considered in which category you ought to put yourself?” [8]

“I have; and I do not for a moment put myself in the category of

those who want to be rulers. For considering how hard a matter it is to provide for one's own needs, I think it absurd not to be content to do that, but to shoulder the burden of supplying the wants of the community as well. That anyone should sacrifice a large part of his own wishes and make himself accountable as head of the state for the least failure to carry out all the wishes of the community is surely the height of folly. [9] For states claim to treat their rulers just as I claim to treat my servants. I expect my men to provide me with necessities in abundance, but not to touch any of them; and states hold it to be the business of the ruler to supply them with all manner of good things, and to abstain from all of them himself. And so, should anyone want to bring plenty of trouble on himself and others, I would educate him as you propose and number him with 'those fitted to be rulers': but myself I classify with those who wish for a life of the greatest ease and pleasure that can be had."

Here Socrates asked: [10] "Shall we then consider whether the rulers or the ruled live the pleasanter life?"

"Certainly," replied Aristippus.

"To take first the nations known to us. In Asia the rulers are the Persians; the Syrians, Lydians and Phrygians are the ruled. In Europe the Scythians rule, and the Maeotians are ruled. In Africa the Carthaginians rule, and the Libyans are ruled. Which of the two classes, think you, enjoys the pleasanter life? Or take the Greeks, of whom you yourself are one; do you think that the controlling or the controlled communities enjoy the pleasanter life?" [11]

"Nay," replied Aristippus, "for my part I am no candidate for slavery; but there is, as I hold, a middle path in which I am fain to walk. That way leads neither through rule nor slavery, but through liberty, which is the royal road to happiness." [12]

"Ah," said Socrates, "if only that path can avoid the world as well as rule and slavery, there may be something in what you say. But, since you are in the world, if you intend neither to rule nor to be ruled, and do not choose to truckle to the rulers [13] — I think you must see that the stronger have a way of making the weaker rue their lot both in public and in private life, and treating them like slaves. You cannot be unaware that where some have sown and planted, others cut their corn and fell their trees, and in all manner of ways

harass the weaker if they refuse to bow down, until they are persuaded to accept slavery as an escape from war with the stronger. So, too, in private life do not brave and mighty men enslave and plunder the cowardly and feeble folk?"

"Yes, but my plan for avoiding such treatment is this. I do not shut myself up in the four corners of a community, but am a stranger in every land." [14]

"A very cunning trick, that!" cried Socrates, "for ever since the death of Sinis and Sceiron and Procrustes no one injures strangers! And yet nowadays those who take a hand in the affairs of their homeland pass laws to protect themselves from injury, get friends to help them over and above those whom nature has given them, encompass their cities with fortresses, get themselves weapons to ward off the workers of mischief; and besides all this seek to make allies in other lands; and in spite of all these precautions, they are still wronged. [15] But you, with none of these advantages, spend much time on the open road, where so many come to harm; and into whatever city you enter, you rank below all its citizens, and are one of those specially marked down for attack by intending wrongdoers; and yet, because you are a stranger, do you expect to escape injury? What gives you confidence? Is it that the cities by proclamation guarantee your safety in your coming and going? Or is it the thought that no master would find you worth having among his slaves? For who would care to have a man in his house who wants to do no work and has a weakness for high living? [16]

"But now let us see how masters treat such servants. Do they not starve them to keep them from immorality, lock up the stores to stop their stealing, clap fetters on them so that they can't run away, and beat the laziness out of them with whips? What do you do yourself to cure such faults among your servants?" [17]

"I make their lives a burden to them until I reduce them to submission. But how about those who are trained in the art of kingship, Socrates, which you appear to identify with happiness? How are they better off than those whose sufferings are compulsory, if they must bear hunger, thirst, cold, sleeplessness, and endure all these tortures willingly? For if the same back gets the flogging whether its owner kicks or consents, or, in short, if the same body,

consenting or objecting, is besieged by all these torments, I see no difference, apart from the folly of voluntary suffering.” [18]

“What, Aristippus,” exclaimed Socrates, “don’t you think that there is just this difference between these voluntary and involuntary sufferings, that if you bear hunger or thirst willingly, you can eat, drink, or what not, when you choose, whereas compulsory suffering is not to be ended at will? Besides, he who endures willingly enjoys his work because he is comforted by hope; hunters, for instance, toil gladly in hope of game. [19] Rewards like these are indeed of little worth after all the toil; but what of those who toil to win good friends, or to subdue enemies, or to make themselves capable in body and soul of managing their own homes well, of helping their friends and serving their country? Surely these toil gladly for such prizes and live a joyous life, well content with themselves, praised and envied by everyone else? [20] Moreover, indolence and present enjoyment can never bring the body into good condition, as trainers say, neither do they put into the soul knowledge of any value, but strenuous effort leads up to good and noble deeds, as good men say. And so says Hesiod somewhere:

“‘Wickedness can be had in abundance easily: smooth is the road and very nigh she dwells. But in front of virtue the gods immortal have put sweat: long and steep is the path to her and rough at first; but when you reach the top, then at length the road is easy, hard though it was.’

“

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“And we have the testimony of Epicharmus too in the line:

“‘The gods demand of us toil as the price of all good things.’

“

Epicharmus

“And elsewhere he says:

“‘Knave, yearn not for the soft things, lest thou earn the hard.’

Epicharmus

[21]

“Aye, and Prodicus the wise expresses himself to the like effect concerning Virtue in the essay ‘On Heracles’ that he recites to throngs of listeners. This, so far as I remember, is how he puts it:

“When Heracles was passing from boyhood to youth’s estate, wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or the path of vice, he went out into a quiet place, [22] and sat pondering which road to take. And there appeared two women of great stature making towards him. The one was fair to see and of high bearing; and her limbs were adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty; sober was her figure, and her robe was white. The other was plump and soft, with high feeding. Her face was made up to heighten its natural white and pink, her figure to exaggerate her height. Open-eyed was she; and dressed so as to disclose all her charms. Now she eyed herself; anon looked whether any noticed her; and often stole a glance at her own shadow.

[23]

“When they drew nigh to Heracles, the first pursued the even tenor of her way: but the other, all eager to outdo her, ran to meet him, crying: ‘Heracles, I see that you are in doubt which path to take towards life. Make me your friend; follow me, and I will lead you along the pleasantest and easiest road. You shall taste all the sweets of life; and hardship you shall never know. [24] First, of wars and worries you shall not think, but shall ever be considering what choice food or drink you can find, what sight or sound will delight you, what touch or perfume; what tender love can give you most joy, what bed the softest slumbers; and how to come by all these pleasures with least trouble. [25] And should there arise misgiving that lack of means may stint your enjoyments, never fear that I may lead you into winning them by toil and anguish of body and soul. Nay; you shall have the fruits of others’ toil, and refrain from nothing that can bring you gain. For to my companions I give authority to pluck advantage where they will.’ [26]

“Now when Heracles heard this, he asked, ‘Lady, pray what is

your name?’

“‘My friends call me Happiness,’ she said, ‘but among those that hate me I am nicknamed Vice.’ [27]

“Meantime the other had drawn near, and she said: ‘I, too, am come to you, Heracles: I know your parents and I have taken note of your character during the time of your education. Therefore I hope that, if you take the road that leads to me, you will turn out a right good doer of high and noble deeds, and I shall be yet more highly honoured and more illustrious for the blessings I bestow. But I will not deceive you by a pleasant prelude: I will rather tell you truly the things that are, as the gods have ordained them. [28] For of all things good and fair, the gods give nothing to man without toil and effort. If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship the gods: if you desire the love of friends, you must do good to your friends: if you covet honour from a city, you must aid that city: if you are fain to win the admiration of all Hellas for virtue, you must strive to do good to Hellas: if you want land to yield you fruits in abundance, you must cultivate that land: if you are resolved to get wealth from flocks, you must care for those flocks: if you essay to grow great through war and want power to liberate your friends and subdue your foes, you must learn the arts of war from those who know them and must practise their right use: and if you want your body to be strong, you must accustom your body to be the servant of your mind, and train it with toil and sweat.’ [29]

“And Vice, as Prodicus tells, answered and said: ‘Heracles, mark you how hard and long is that road to joy, of which this woman tells? but I will lead you by a short and easy road to happiness.’

“And Virtue said: [30] ‘What good thing is thine, poor wretch, or what pleasant thing dost thou know, if thou wilt do nought to win them? Thou dost not even tarry for the desire of pleasant things, but fillest thyself with all things before thou desirest them, eating before thou art hungry, drinking before thou art thirsty, getting thee cooks, to give zest to eating, buying thee costly wines and running to and fro in search of snow in summer, to give zest to drinking; to soothe thy slumbers it is not enough for thee to buy soft coverlets, but thou must have frames for thy beds. For not toil, but the tedium of having nothing to do, makes thee long for sleep. Thou dost rouse lust by

many a trick, when there is no need, using men as women: thus thou trainest thy friends, waxing wanton by night, consuming in sleep the best hours of day. [31] Immortal art thou, yet the outcast of the gods, the scorn of good men. Praise, sweetest of all things to hear, thou hearest not: the sweetest of all sights thou beholdest not, for never yet hast thou beheld a good work wrought by thyself. Who will believe what thou dost say? who will grant what thou dost ask? Or what sane man will dare join thy throng? While thy votaries are young their bodies are weak, when they wax old, their souls are without sense; idle and sleek they thrive in youth, withered and weary they journey through old age, and their past deeds bring them shame, their present deeds distress. Pleasure they ran through in their youth: hardship they laid up for their old age. [32] But I company with gods and good men, and no fair deed of god or man is done without my aid. I am first in honour among the gods and among men that are akin to me: to craftsmen a beloved fellow-worker, to masters a faithful guardian of the house, to servants a kindly protector: good helpmate in the toils of peace, staunch ally in the deeds of war, best partner in friendship. [33] To my friends meat and drink bring sweet and simple enjoyment: for they wait till they crave them. And a sweeter sleep falls on them than on idle folk: they are not vexed at awaking from it, nor for its sake do they neglect to do their duties. The young rejoice to win the praise of the old; the elders are glad to be honoured by the young; with joy they recall their deeds past, and their present well-doing is joy to them, for through me they are dear to the gods, lovely to friends, precious to their native land. And when comes the appointed end, they lie not forgotten and dishonoured, but live on, sung and remembered for all time. O Heracles, thou son of goodly parents, if thou wilt labour earnestly on this wise, thou mayest have for thine own the most blessed happiness.' [34]

“Such, in outline, is Prodicus’ story of the training of Heracles by Virtue; only he has clothed the thoughts in even finer phrases than I have done now. But anyhow, Aristippus, it were well that you should think on these things and try to show some regard for the life that lies before you.”

2. On noticing that his eldest son, Lamprocles, was out of humour with his mother, he said: “Tell me, my boy, do you know that some

men are called ungrateful?”

“Indeed I do,” replied the young man.

“Do you realise how they come to have this bad name?”

“I do; the word is used of those who do not show the gratitude that it is in their power to show for benefits received.”

“You take it, then, that the ungrateful are reckoned among the unjust?”

“Yes.” [2]

“Now, seeing that enslavement is considered a just or an unjust act according as the victims are friends or enemies, have you ever considered whether the case of ingratitude is analogous, ingratitude being unjust towards friends, but just towards enemies?”

“Indeed I have; and I think that it is always unjust not to show gratitude for a favour from whomsoever it is received, be he friend or enemy.” [3]

“If that is so, must not ingratitude be injustice pure and simple?”

He assented.

“Therefore the greater the benefits received the greater the injustice of not showing gratitude?”

He agreed again.

“Now what deeper obligation can we find than that of children to their parents? To their parents children owe their being and their portion of all fair sights and all blessings that the gods bestow on men — gifts so highly prized by us that all will sacrifice anything rather than lose them; and the reason why governments have made death the penalty for the greatest crimes is that the fear of it is the strongest deterrent against crime. [4] Of course you don’t suppose that lust provokes men to beget children, when the streets and the stews are full of means to satisfy that? We obviously select for wives the women who will bear us the best children, and then marry them to raise a family. [5] The man supports the woman who is to share with him the duty of parentage and provides for the expected children whatever he thinks will contribute to their benefit in life, and accumulates as much of it as he can. The woman conceives and bears her burden in travail, risking her life, and giving of her own food; and, with much labour, having endured to the end and brought forth her child, she rears and cares for it, although she has not received any

good thing, and the babe neither recognises its benefactress nor can make its wants known to her: still she guesses what is good for it and what it likes, and seeks to supply these things, and rears it for a long season, enduring toil day and night, nothing knowing what return she will get. [6]

“Nor are the parents content just to supply food, but so soon as their children seem capable of learning they teach them what they can for their good, and if they think that another is more competent to teach them anything, they send them to him at a cost, and strive their utmost that the children may turn out as well as possible.”

To this the young man replied: [7] “Nay, but even if she has done all this and far more than this, no one could put up with her vile temper.”

“Which, think you,” asked Socrates, “is the harder to bear, a wild beast’s brutality or a mother’s?”

“I should say a mother’s, when she is like mine.”

“Well now, many people get bitten or kicked by wild beasts; has she ever done you an injury of that sort?” [8]

“Oh no, but she says things one wouldn’t listen to for anything in the world.”

“Well, how much trouble do you think you have given her by your peevish words and froward acts day and night since you were a little child; and how much pain when you were ill?”

“But I have never yet said or done anything to cause her shame.” [9]

“Now do you really think it harder for you to listen to what she says than for actors when they abuse one another in a tragedy?”

“But an actor, I suppose, doesn’t think that a question put to him will lead to punishment, or that a threat means any harm: and so he makes light of it.”

“And why should you be annoyed? You know well that there is no malice in what your mother says to you; on the contrary, she wishes you to be blessed above all other beings — unless, indeed, you suppose that your mother is maliciously set against you?”

“Oh no, I don’t think that.”

Then Socrates exclaimed: [10] “So this mother of yours is kindly disposed towards you; she nurses you devotedly in sickness and sees

that you want for nothing; more than that, she prays the gods to bless you abundantly and pays vows on your behalf; and yet you say she is a trial! It seems to me that, if you can't endure a mother like her, you can't endure a good thing. [11] Now tell me, is there any other being whom you feel bound to regard? Or are you set on trying to please nobody, and obeying neither general nor other ruler?"

"Of course not!" [12]

"Do you want to please your neighbour, for instance, so that he may kindle a fire for you at your need, may support you in prosperity, and in case of accident or failure may be ready to hold out a helping hand?"

"Yes, I do."

"When you find yourself with a travelling companion on land or at sea, or happen to meet anyone, is it a matter of indifference to you whether he prove a friend or an enemy? Or do you think his goodwill worth cultivating?"

"Yes, I do." [13]

"And yet, when you are resolved to cultivate these, you don't think courtesy is due to your mother, who loves you more than all? Don't you know that even the state ignores all other forms of ingratitude and pronounces no judgment on them, caring nothing if the recipient of a favour neglects to thank his benefactor, but inflicts penalties on the man who is discourteous to his parents and rejects him as unworthy of office, holding that it would be a sin for him to offer sacrifices on behalf of the state and that he is unlikely to do anything else honourably and rightly? Aye, and if one fail to honour his parents' graves, the state inquires into that too, when it examines the candidates for office. [14] Therefore, my boy, if you are prudent, you will pray the gods to pardon your neglect of your mother, lest they in turn refuse to be kind to you, thinking you an ingrate; and you will beware of men, lest all cast you out, perceiving that you care nothing for your parents, and in the end you are found to be without a friend. For, should men suppose you to be ungrateful to your parents, none would think you would be grateful for any kindness he might show you."

3. On another occasion he found that two brothers, Chaerophon and Chaerecrates, whom he knew well, were quarrelling. On seeing

the latter, he cried, "Surely, Chaerecrates, you are not one of those who hold that there is more value in goods and chattels than in a brother, when they are senseless but he is sensible; they are helpless but he is helpful; when, moreover, you have many goods, but only one brother. [2] It is strange too that a man should think he loses by his brothers because he cannot have their possessions as well as his own, and yet should not think that he loses by his fellow-citizens because their possessions are not his; and whereas in this case men can reflect that it is better to belong to a community, secure in the possession of a sufficiency, than to dwell in solitude with a precarious hold on all the property of their fellow-citizens, they fail to see that the same principle applies to brothers. [3] Again, those who have the means by servants to relieve them of work, and make friends because they feel the need of help; but they care nothing for their brothers, as though friendship can exist between fellow-citizens, but not between brothers! [4] Yet common parentage and common upbringing are strong ties of affection, for even brute beasts reared together feel a natural yearning for one another. Besides, our fellow-men respect those of us who have brothers more than those who have none, and are less ready to quarrel with them." [5]

"If only the difference between us were a slight one, Socrates," replied Chaerecrates, "it might perhaps be my duty to put up with my brother and not allow trifles to separate us. For a brother who behaves like a brother is, as you say, a blessing; but if his conduct is nothing like that, and is, in fact, just the opposite of what it should be, what is the use of attempting impossibilities?" [6]

"Does everyone find Chaerophon as disagreeable as you do, Chaerecrates, or do some people think him very pleasant?"

"Ah, Socrates," replied he, "this is precisely my reason for hating him: he is pleasant enough to other people, but whenever he is near me, he invariably says and does more to hurt than to help me." [7]

"Well now," said Socrates, "if you try to manage a horse without knowing the right way, he hurts you. Is it so with a brother? Does he hurt if you try to deal with him when you don't know the way?" [8]

"What," exclaimed Chaerecrates, "don't I know how to deal with a brother, when I know how to requite a kind word and a generous deed? But I can't speak or act kindly to one who tries to annoy me by

his words and actions — and what's more, I won't try."

"Chaerecrates, you astonish me! [9] Had you a sheep dog that was friendly to the shepherds, but growled when you came near him, it would never occur to you to get angry, but you would try to tame him by kindness. You say that, if your brother treated you like a brother, he would be a great blessing, and you confess that you know how to speak and act kindly: yet you don't set yourself to contriving that he shall be the greatest possible blessing to you." [10]

"I fear, Socrates, that I lack the wisdom to make Chaerophon treat me as he should."

"And yet," said Socrates, "there is no need, so far as I see, of any subtle or strange contriving on your part: I think you know the way to win him and to get his good opinion." [11]

"If you have observed that I know some spell without being conscious of my knowledge, pray tell me at once."

"Then tell me, now; if you wanted to get an invitation to dine with an acquaintance when he offers sacrifice, what would you do?"

"Of course I should begin by inviting him myself when I offered sacrifice." [12]

"And suppose you wanted to encourage one of your friends to look after your affairs during your absence from home, what would you do?"

"Of course I should first undertake to look after his affairs in his absence." [13]

"And suppose you wanted a stranger to entertain you when you visited his city, what would you do?"

"Obviously I should first entertain him when he came to Athens. Yes, and if I wanted him to show himself eager in forwarding the business on which I had come, it is obvious that I should first have to do the same by him." [14]

"It seems that you have long concealed a knowledge of all spells that were ever discovered. Or is it that you hesitate to make a beginning, for fear of disgracing yourself by first showing kindness to your brother? Yet it is generally thought worthy of the highest praise to anticipate the malevolence of an enemy and the benevolence of a friend. So if I thought Chaerophon more capable than you of showing the way to this friendship, I would try to

persuade him to take the first step towards an understanding with you. But as things are, I think the enterprise more likely to succeed under your direction.”

“Strange sentiments, these, Socrates! [15] It’s quite unlike you to urge me, the junior, to lead the way! And surely all hold the contrary opinion, that the senior, I mean, should always act and speak first?”

“How so?” said Socrates. [16] “Is it not the general opinion that a young man should make way for an older when they meet, offer his seat to him, give him a comfortable bed, let him have the first word? My good friend, don’t hesitate, but take up the task of pacifying your man, and in no time he will respond to your overtures. Don’t you see how keen and frank he is? Low fellows, it is true, yield most readily to gifts, but kindness is the weapon most likely to prevail with a gentleman.” [17]

“And what,” asked Chaerecrates, “if all my efforts lead to no improvement?”

“Well, in that case, I presume you will have shown that you are honest and brotherly, he that he is base and unworthy of kindness. But I am confident that no such result will follow; for I think that, as soon as he is aware of your challenge to this contest, he will be all eagerness to outdo your kind words and actions. [18] What if a pair of hands refused the office of mutual help for which God made them, and tried to thwart each other; or if a pair of feet neglected the duty of working together, for which they were fashioned, and took to hampering each other? That is how you two are behaving at present. [19] Would it not be utterly senseless and disastrous to use for hindrance instruments that were made for help? And, moreover, a pair of brothers, in my judgment, were made by God to render better service one to the other than a pair of hands and feet and eyes and all the instruments that he meant to be used as fellows. For the hands cannot deal simultaneously with things that are more than six feet or so apart: the feet cannot reach in a single stride things that are even six feet apart: and the eyes, though they seem to have a longer range, cannot at the same moment see things still nearer than that, if some are in front and some behind. But two brothers, when they are friends, act simultaneously for mutual benefit, however far parted one from the other.”

4. Again, I once heard him give a discourse on friendship that was likely, as I thought, to help greatly in the acquisition and use of friends.

For he said that he often heard it stated that of all possessions the most precious is a good and sincere friend. “And yet,” he said, “there is no transaction most men are so careless about as the acquisition of friends. [2] For I find that they are careful about getting houses and lands and slaves and cattle and furniture, and anxious to keep what they have; but though they tell one that a friend is the greatest blessing, I find that most men take no thought how to get new friends or how to keep their old ones. [3] Indeed, if one of their friends and one of their servants fall ill at the same time, I find that some call in the doctor to attend the servant and are careful to provide everything that may contribute to his recovery, whereas they take no heed of the friend. In the event of both dying, they are vexed at losing the servant, but don’t feel that the death of the friend matters in the least. And though none of their other possessions is uncared for and unconsidered, they are deaf to their friends’ need of attention. [4] And besides all this, I find that most men know the number of their other possessions, however great it may be, yet cannot tell the number of their friends, few as they are; and, if they are asked and try to make a list, they will insert names and presently remove them. So much for the thought they give to their friends! [5] Yet surely there is no other possession that can compare with a good friend. For what horse, what yoke of oxen is so good a servant as the good friend? What slave so loyal and constant? or what possession so serviceable? [6] The good friend is on the watch to supply whatever his friend wants for building up his private fortune and forwarding his public career. If generosity is called for, he does his part: if fear harasses, he comes to the rescue, shares expenses, helps to persuade, bears down opposition: he is foremost in delighting him when he is prosperous and raising him up when he falls. [7] Of all that a man can do with his hands, see for himself with his eyes, hear for himself with his ears or accomplish with his feet, in nothing is a friend backward in helping. Nevertheless, while some strive to cultivate a tree for its fruit, most bestow but an idle and listless care on their most fruitful possession, the name of which is ‘friend.’”

5. Again, I once heard him exhort a listener — for so I interpreted his words — to examine himself and to ask how much he was worth to his friends. For he had noticed that one of his companions was neglecting a poverty-stricken friend; so he put a question to Antisthenes in the presence of several others, including the careless friend. [2] “Antisthenes,” he said, “have friends like servants their own values? For one servant, I suppose, may be worth two minas, another less than half a mina, another five minas, another no less than ten. Nicias, son of Niceratus, is said to have given a whole talent for a manager of his silver-mine. So I am led to inquire whether friends too may not differ in value.” [3]

“Oh yes,” replied Antisthenes, “there are men whose friendship I, at any rate, would rather have than two minas: others I should value at less than half a mina: others I would prefer to ten minas: others I would sacrifice any sum and take any trouble to have among my friends.” [4]

“Then if that is so,” said Socrates, “were it not well that one should ask himself how much he is really worth to his friends, and try to make himself as precious as possible, in order that his friends may not be tempted to betray him? For my part, I often hear complaints of this sort: ‘A friend betrayed me,’ ‘one whom I regarded as my friend gave me up for the sake of a mina.’ [5] I think over such matters and reflect that, when a man sells a bad slave he takes anything he can get for him; and perhaps it is tempting to sell a bad friend when there is a chance of getting more than he is worth. Good servants, I find, are not offered for sale, nor are good friends betrayed.”

6. In the following conversation I thought he gave instruction for testing the qualities that make a man’s friendship worth winning.

“Tell me, Critobulus,” he said, “if we wanted a good friend, how should we start on the quest? Should we seek first for one who is no slave to eating and drinking, lust, sleep, idleness? For the thrall of these masters cannot do his duty by himself or his friend.”

“No, of course not.”

“Then you think we should avoid one who is subject to them?”

“I do, certainly.” [2]

“Now what about the spendthrift who is never satisfied, who is

always appealing to his neighbours for help, if he receives something, makes no return, if he receives nothing, resents it? Don't you think he too is a troublesome friend?"

"Certainly."

"Then we must avoid him too?"

"We must indeed." [3]

"Again, what about the skilful man of business who is eager to make money, and consequently drives a hard bargain, who likes to receive but is disinclined to repay?"

"So far as I see, he is even worse than the last." [4]

"And what of the man who is such a keen man of business that he has no leisure for anything but the selfish pursuit of gain?"

"We must avoid him too, I think. There is no profit in knowing him."

"And what of the quarrelsome person who is willing to provide his friends with plenty of enemies?"

"We must shun him too, of course."

"Suppose that a man is free from all these faults, but stoops to receive kindness with no thought of returning it?"

"There is no profit in him either. But what are the qualities for which we shall try to win a man's friendship, Socrates?"

"The opposite of these, I suppose. [5] We shall look for one who controls his indulgence in the pleasures of the body, who is truly hospitable and fair in his dealings and eager to do as much for his benefactors as he receives from them, so that he is worth knowing." [6]

"Then how can we test these qualities, Socrates, before intimacy begins?"

"What test do we apply to a sculptor? We don't judge by what he says, but we look at his statues, and if we see that the works he has already produced are beautiful, we feel confident that his future works will be as good." [7]

"You mean that anyone whose good works wrought upon his old friends are manifest will clearly prove a benefactor to new friends also?"

"Yes; for when I find that an owner of horses has been in the habit of treating his beasts well I think that he will treat others equally

well.” [8]

“Granted! but when we have found a man who seems worthy of our friendship, how are we to set about making him our friend?”

“First we should seek guidance from the gods, whether they counsel us to make a friend of him.”

“And next? Supposing that we have chosen and the gods approve him, can you say how is he to be hunted?” [9]

“Surely not like a hare by swift pursuit, nor like birds by cunning, nor like enemies by force. It is no light task to capture a friend against his will, and hard to keep him a prisoner like a slave. Hatred, rather than friendship, comes of that treatment.” [10]

“But how does friendship come?”

“There are spells, they say, wherewith those who know charm whom they will and make friends of them, and drugs which those who know give to whom they choose and win their love.” [11]

“How then can we learn them?”

“You have heard from Homer the spell that the Sirens put on Odysseus. It begins like this:

“‘Hither, come hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans.’
“

“Then did the Sirens chant in this strain for other folk too, Socrates, so as to keep those who were under the spell from leaving them?” [12]

“No, only for those that yearned for the fame that virtue gives.”

“You mean, I take it, that the spell must be fitted to the listener, so that he may not take the praise for mockery.”

“Yes; for to praise one for his beauty, his stature and his strength who is conscious that he is short, ugly and puny, is the way to repel him and make him dislike you more.”

“Do you know any other spells?” [13]

“No, but I have heard that Pericles knew many and put them on the city, and so made her love him.”

“And how did Themistocles make the city love him?”

“Not by spells: no, no; but by hanging some good amulet about

her.” [14]

“I think you mean, Socrates, that if we are to win a good man’s friendship, we ourselves must be good in word and deed alike?”

“But you imagined that a bad man could win the friendship of honest men?” [15]

“I did,” answered Critobulus, “for I saw that poor orators have good speakers among their friends, and some who are incapable of commanding an army are intimate with great generals.” [16]

“Coming then to the point under discussion, do you know cases of useless persons making useful friends?”

“Assuredly not; but if it is impossible that the bad should gain the friendship of gentlemen, then I am anxious to know whether it is quite easy for a gentleman as a matter of course to be the friend of gentlemen?” [17]

“Your trouble is, Critobulus, that you often find men who do good and shun evil not on friendly terms, but apt to quarrel and treat one another more harshly than worthless fellows.” [18]

“Yes,” said Critobulus, “and such conduct is not confined to individuals, but even the cities that care most for the right and have least liking for the wrong are often at enmity. [19] These thoughts make me despair about the acquisition of friends. For I see on the one hand that rogues cannot be friends with one another — for how could the ungrateful, the careless, the selfish, the faithless, the incontinent, form friendships? I feel sure, then, that rogues are by their nature enemies rather than friends. [20] But then, as you point out, neither can rogues ever join in friendship with honest men, for how can wrongdoers become friendly with those who hate their conduct? And if we must add that the votaries of virtue strive with one another for headship in cities, and envy and hate one another, who then will be friends and where shall loyalty and faithfulness be found?” [21]

“Ah, Critobulus, but there is a strange complication in these matters. Some elements in man’s nature make for friendship: men need one another, feel pity, work together for their common good, and, conscious of the facts, are grateful to one another. But there are hostile elements in men. For, holding the same things to be honourable and pleasant, they fight for them, fall out and take sides.

Strife and anger lead to hostility, covetousness to enmity, jealousy to hatred. [22] Nevertheless through all these barriers friendship slips, and unites the gentle natures. For thanks to their virtue these prize the untroubled security of moderate possessions above sovereignty won by war; despite hunger and thirst, they can share their food and drink without a pang; and although they delight in the charms of beauty they can resist the lure and avoid offending those whom they should respect; [23] they can not only share wealth lawfully and keep from covetousness, but also supply one another's wants; they can compose strife not only without pain, but with advantage to one another, and prevent anger from pursuing its way towards remorse: but jealousy they take away utterly, regarding their own good things as belonging to their friends, and thinking their friend's good things to be their own. [24] Surely, then, it is likely that true gentlemen will share public honours too not only without harm to one another, but to their common benefit? For those who desire to win honour and to bear rule in their cities that they may have power to embezzle, to treat others with violence, to live in luxury, are bound to be unjust, unscrupulous, incapable of unity. [25] But if a man seeks to be honoured in a state that he may not be the victim of injustice himself and may help his friends in a just cause, and when he takes office may try to do some good to his country, why should he be incapable of union with one like himself? Will his connexion with other gentlemen render him less capable of serving his friends? Will he be less able to benefit his city with the help of other gentlemen? [26] Even in the public games it is clear that, if the strongest competitors were allowed to join forces against the weaker, they would win all the events, they would carry off all the prizes. True, that is not permitted in the games; but in politics, where the gentlemen are the strongest, nobody prevents anyone from forming any combination he may choose for the benefit of the state; surely, then, in public life it is a gain to make friends with the best, and to see in them partners and fellow-workers in a common cause, and not rivals. [27] But, again, it is equally clear that anyone who goes to war will need allies, and more of them if he is to fight an army of gentlemen. Moreover, those who are willing to fight at your side must be well treated that they may be willing to exert themselves; and it is a far sounder plan to

show kindness to the best, who are fewer in number, than to the worst, who are the greater company; for the bad want many more kindnesses than the good. [28] Courage, Critobulus; try to be good, and when you have achieved that, set about catching your gentleman. Maybe, I myself, as an adept in love, can lend you a hand in the pursuit of gentlemen. For when I want to catch anyone it's surprising how I strain every nerve to have my love returned, my longing reciprocated by him, in my eagerness that he shall want me as much as I want him. [29] I see that you too will feel this need when you want to form a friendship. So do not hide from me the names of those whom you wish to make your friends; for I am careful to please him who pleases me, and so, I think, I am not without experience in the pursuit of men." [30]

"Well, Socrates," said Critobulus in reply, "these are the lessons I have long wished to learn, especially if the same skill will serve to win a good soul and a fair face." [31]

"Ah no, Critobulus," said Socrates, "it belongs not to my skill to lay hands on the fair and force them to submit. I am convinced that the reason why men fled from Scylla was that she laid hands on them; but the Sirens laid hands on no man; from far away they sang to all, and therefore, we are told, all submitted, and hearing were enchanted." [32]

"I am not going to put a hand on anyone," said Critobulus, "so teach me any good plan you know for making friends."

"Then won't you put lip to lip either?"

"Courage!" answered Critobulus, "I won't touch a lip with mine either — unless the owner is fair!"

"That's an unfortunate beginning for you, Critobulus! The fair won't submit to such conduct; but the ugly like it, supposing that they are called fair for the beauty of their souls." [33]

"A kiss for the fair," exclaimed Critobulus, "and a thousand kisses for the good! That shall be my motto, so take courage, and teach me the art of catching friends."

"Well then, Critobulus," said Socrates, "when you want to make a new friend, will you let me warn him that you admire him and want his friendship?"

"Warn him by all means: no one hates those who praise him, so

far as I know.” [34]

“Suppose I go on to warn him that your admiration makes you well disposed towards him, you won’t think I am slandering you, will you?”

“Nay; when I guess that anyone feels well disposed towards me, a like goodwill towards him is begotten in me.” [35]

“Then you will permit me to say this about you to those whose friendship you desire. Now if you will give me permission to tell them besides that you are devoted to your friends and nothing gives you so much pleasure as good friends; that you take as much pride in your friends’ fair achievements as in your own, and as much pleasure in your friends’ good as in your own, and never weary of contriving it for your friend’s; and you have made up your mind that a man’s virtue consists in outdoing his friends in kindness and his enemies in mischief; then I think you will find me a useful companion in the quest of good friends.” [36]

“Now why do you say this to me? as if you were not free to say what you choose about me.”

“Not so indeed: I can quote Aspasia against you. She once told me that good matchmakers are successful in making marriages only when the good reports they carry to and fro are true; false reports she would not recommend, for the victims of deception hate one another and the matchmaker too. I am convinced that this is sound, and so I think it is not open to me to say anything in your praise that I can’t say truthfully.” [37]

“It appears, Socrates, that you are the sort of friend to help me if I am in any way qualified to make friends: but if not, you won’t make up a story to help me.”

“How do you think I shall help you best, Critobulus, by false praise, or by urging you to try to be a good man? [38] If you don’t yet see clearly, take the following cases as illustrations. Suppose that I wanted to get a shipmaster to make you his friend, and as a recommendation told him that you are a good skipper, which is untrue; and suppose that he believed me and put you in charge of his ship in spite of your not knowing how to steer it: have you any reason to hope that you would not lose the ship and your life as well? Or suppose that I falsely represented to the Assembly that you are a

born general, jurist and statesman in one, and so persuaded the state to commit her fortunes to you, what do you suppose would happen to the state and to yourself under your guidance? Or again, suppose that I falsely described you to certain citizens in private as a thrifty, careful person, and persuaded them to place their affairs in your hands, wouldn't you do them harm and look ridiculous when you came to the test? [39] Nay, Critobulus, if you want to be thought good at anything, you must try to be so; that is the quickest, the surest, the best way. You will find on reflection that every kind of virtue named among men is increased by study and practice. Such is the view I take of our duty, Critobulus. If you have anything to say against it, tell me."

"Why, Socrates," said Critobulus, "I should be ashamed to contradict you, for I should be saying what is neither honourable nor true."

7. To pass to another subject. The distresses of his friends that arose from ignorance he tried to cure by advice, those that were due to want by telling them how to help one another according to their power. On this subject too I will state what I know about him.

One day, noticing that Aristarchus looked glum, he said: "Aristarchus, you seem to have a burden on your mind. You should let your friends share it; possibly we may do something to ease you." [2]

"Ah yes, Socrates," replied Aristarchus, "I am in great distress. Since the revolution there has been an exodus to the Piraeus, and a crowd of my women-folk, being left behind, are come to me, — sisters, nieces and cousins, — so that we are fourteen in the house without counting the slaves. We get nothing from our land, because our enemies have seized it, and nothing from our house property, now there are so few residents in the city. Portable property finds no buyers, and it's quite impossible to borrow money anywhere: I really think a search in the street would have better result than an application for a loan. It's hard, Socrates, to let one's people die, but impossible to keep so many in times like these."

When Socrates heard this, he asked: [3] "How is it that with so many mouths to feed Ceramon not only contrives to provide for the needs of himself and his family, but actually saves enough to make

him a rich man, whereas you, with so many mouths to feed, fear you will all be starved to death?"

"The explanation, of course, is this: my dependants are gentlefolk, his are slaves." [4]

"And which do you think are the better, his slaves or your gentlefolk?"

"My gentlefolk, I think."

"Then is it not disgraceful that you with your gentlefolk should be in distress, while he is kept in affluence by his meaner household?"

"Of course his dependants are artisans, while mine have had a liberal education." [5]

"What is an artisan? one who knows how to produce something useful?"

"Certainly."

"Are groats useful?"

"Yes, very."

"And bread?"

"No less so."

"What about men's and women's cloaks, shirts, capes, smocks?"

"Yes, all these things too are very useful."

"Then don't the members of your household know how to make any of these?"

"I believe they can make all of them." [6]

"Don't you know, then, that by manufacturing one of these commodities, namely groats, Nausicydes keeps not only himself and his family, but large herds of swine and cattle as well, and has so much to spare that he often undertakes costly public duties; that Cyrebus feeds his whole family well and lives in luxury by baking bread, Demeas of Collytus by making capes, Menon by making cloaks; and most of the Megarians make a good living out of smocks?"

"Yes, of course; for they buy foreign slaves and can force them to make what is convenient, but my household is made up of gentlefolk and relations." [7]

"And so, just because they are gentlefolk and related to you, you think they should do nothing but eat and sleep? Do you find that other gentlefolk who live this sort of life are better off and happier

than those who are usefully employed in work that they understand? Or is it your experience that idleness and carelessness help men to learn what they ought to know and remember what they learn, to make themselves healthy and strong, and to get and keep things that are of practical use, but industry and carefulness are useless things? [8] When these women learned the work that you say they understand, did they regard it as of no practical use, and had they no intention of taking it up, or did they mean to occupy themselves in it and obtain some benefit from it? Which makes men more prudent, idleness or useful employment? Which makes men more just, work or idle discussions about supplies? [9] Besides, at present, I fancy, you don't love these ladies and they don't love you: you think they are a tax on you, and they see that you feel them to be a burden. And the danger in this state of things is that dislike may grow and their former gratitude fade away; but if you exert your authority and make them work, you will love them, when you find that they are profitable to you, and they will be fond of you, when they feel that you are pleased with them. Both you and they will like to recall past kindnesses and will strengthen the feeling of gratitude that these engender; thus you will be better friends and feel more at home. [10] To be sure, if they were going to do something disgraceful, death would be a better fate. But in point of fact the work they understand is, as it appears, the work considered the most honourable and the most suitable for a woman; and the work that is understood is always done with the greatest ease, speed, pride and pleasure. So do not hesitate to offer them work that will yield a return both to you and to them, and probably they will welcome your proposal." [11]

"Well, well," said Aristarchus, "your advice seems so good, Socrates, that I think I shall now bring myself to borrow capital to make a start. Hitherto I have had no inclination to do so, knowing that when I had spent the loan I should not have the wherewithal to repay it." [12]

The consequence was that capital was provided and wool purchased. The women worked during dinner and only stopped at the supper hour. There were happy instead of gloomy faces: suspicious glances were exchanged for pleasant smiles. They loved him as a guardian and he liked them because they were useful. Finally

Aristarchus came to Socrates and told him this with delight. "One objection they have to me," he added: "I am the only member of the household who eats the bread of idleness." [13]

"Then why not tell them the story of the dog?" asked Socrates. "It is said that when beasts could talk, a sheep said to her master: 'It is strange that you give us sheep nothing but what we get from the land, though we supply you with wool and lambs and cheese, and yet you share your own food with your dog, who supplies you with none of these things.' The dog heard this, and said: [14] 'Of course he does. Do not I keep you from being stolen by thieves, and carried off by wolves? Why, but for my protection you couldn't even feed for fear of being killed.' And so, they say, the sheep admitted the dog's claim to preference. Do you then tell these women that you are their watch-dog and keeper, and it is due to you that they live and work in safety and comfort, with none to harm them."

8. Again, on meeting an old comrade after long absence he said: "Where do you come from, Eutherus?"

"I came home when the war ended, Socrates, and am now living here," he replied. "Since we have lost our foreign property, and my father left me nothing in Attica, I am forced to settle down here now and work for my living with my hands. I think it's better than begging, especially as I have no security to offer for a loan." [2]

"And how long will you have the strength, do you think, to earn your living by your work?"

"Oh, not long, of course."

"But remember, when you get old you will have to spend money, and nobody will be willing to pay you for your labour."

"True." [3]

"Then it would be better to take up some kind of work at once that will assure you a competence when you get old, and to go to somebody who is better off and wants an assistant, and get a return for your services by acting as his bailiff, helping to get in his crops and looking after his property." [4]

"I shouldn't like to make myself a slave, Socrates."

"But surely those who control their cities and take charge of public affairs are thought more respectable, not more slavish on that account." [5]

“Briefly, Socrates, I have no inclination to expose myself to any man’s censure.”

“But, you see, Eutherus, it is by no means easy to find a post in which one is not liable to censure. Whatever one does, it is difficult to avoid mistakes, and it is difficult to escape unfair criticism even if one makes no mistakes. I wonder if you find it easy to avoid complaints entirely even from your present employers. [6] You should try, therefore, to have no truck with grumblers and to attach yourself to considerate masters; to undertake such duties as you can perform and beware of any that are too much for you, and, whatever you do, to give of your best and put your heart into the business. In this way, I think, you are most likely to escape censure, find relief from your difficulties, live in ease and security, and obtain an ample competence for old age.”

9. I remember that he once heard Criton say that life at Athens was difficult for a man who wanted to mind his own business. “At this moment,” Criton added, “actions are pending against me not because I have done the plaintiffs an injury, but because they think that I would sooner pay than have trouble.” [2]

“Tell me, Criton,” said Socrates, “do you keep dogs to fend the wolves from your sheep?”

“Certainly,” replied Criton, “because it pays me better to keep them.”

“Then why not keep a man who may be able and willing to fend off the attempts to injure you?”

“I would gladly do so were I not afraid that he might turn on me.” [3]

“What? don’t you see that it is much pleasanter to profit by humouring a man like you than by quarrelling with him? I assure you there are men in this city who would take pride in your friendship.” [4]

Thereupon they sought out Archdemus, an excellent speaker and man of affairs, but poor. For he was not one of those who make money unscrupulously, but an honest man, and he would say that it was easy to take forfeit from false accusers. So whenever Criton was storing corn, oil, wine, wool or other farm produce, he would make a present of a portion to Archdemus, and when he sacrificed, he

invited him, and in fact lost no similar opportunity of showing courtesy. [5] Archedemus came to regard Criton's house as a haven of refuge and constantly paid his respects to him. He soon found out that Criton's false accusers had much to answer for and many enemies. He brought one of them to trial on a charge involving damages or imprisonment. [6] The defendant, conscious that he was guilty on many counts, did all he could to get quit of Archedemus. But Archedemus refused to let him off until he withdrew the action against Criton and compensated him. [7] Archedemus carried through several other enterprises of a similar kind; and now many of Criton's friends begged him to make Archedemus their protector, just as when a shepherd has a good dog the other shepherds want to pen their flocks near his, in order to get the use of his dog. [8] Archedemus was glad to humour Criton, and so there was peace not only for Criton but for his friends as well. If anyone whom he had offended reproached Archedemus with flattering Criton because he found him useful, he would answer: "Which, then, is disgraceful: to have honest men for your friends, by accepting and returning their favours, and to fall out with rogues; or to treat gentlemen as enemies by trying to injure them, and to make friends of rogues by siding with them, and to prefer their intimacy?"

Henceforward Archedemus was respected by Criton's friends and was himself numbered among them.

10. Again I recall the following conversation between him and his companion Diodorus.

"Tell me, Diodorus," he said, "if one of your servants runs away, do you take steps to bring him back safe?" [2]

"Yes, of course," he replied, "and I invite others to help, by offering a reward for the recovery of the man."

"And further, if one of your servants is ill, do you take care of him and call in doctors to prevent him dying?"

"Indeed I do."

"Well, suppose that one of your acquaintance, who is much more useful than your servants, is near being ruined by want, don't you think it worth your while to take steps to save him? [3] Now you know that Hermogenes is a conscientious man and would be ashamed to take a favour from you without making a return. Yet

surely it is worth many servants to have a willing, loyal, staunch subordinate, capable of doing what he is told, and not only so, but able to make himself useful unbidden, to think clearly and give advice. [4] Good householders, you know, say that the right time to buy is when a valuable article can be bought at a low price; and in these times the circumstances afford an opportunity of acquiring good friends very cheap.” [5]

“Thank you, Socrates,” said Diodorus, “pray bid Hermogenes call on me.”

“No, indeed I won’t,” said he; “for in my opinion it is at least as good for you to go to him yourself as to invite him to come to you, and you have quite as much to gain as he by doing so.” [6]

The consequence was that Diodorus set off to visit Hermogenes; and in return for a small sum he acquired a friend who made a point of thinking how he could help and please him either by word or deed.

BOOK III.

1. I will now explain how he helped those who were eager to win distinction by making them qualify themselves for the honours they coveted.

He once heard that Dionysodorus had arrived at Athens, and gave out that he was going to teach generalship. Being aware that one of his companions wished to obtain the office of general from the state, he addressed him thus: [2] “Young man, surely it would be disgraceful for one who wishes to be a general in the state to neglect the opportunity of learning the duties, and he would deserve to be punished by the state much more than one who carved statues without having learned to be a sculptor. [3] For in the dangerous times of war the whole state is in the general’s hands, and great good may come from his success and great evil from his failure. Therefore anyone who exerts himself to gain the votes, but neglects to learn the business, deserves punishment.”

This speech persuaded the man to go and learn. [4] When he had learnt his lesson and returned, Socrates chaffed him. “Don’t you think, sirs,” he said, “that our friend looks more ‘majestic,’ as Homer called Agamemnon, now that he has learnt generalship? For just as he who has learnt to play the harp is a harper even when he doesn’t play, and he who has studied medicine is a doctor even though he doesn’t practise, so our friend will be a general for ever, even if no one votes for him. But your ignoramus is neither general nor doctor, even if he gets every vote. [5] But,” he continued, “in order that any one of us who may happen to command a regiment or platoon under you may have a better knowledge of warfare, tell us the first lesson he gave you in generalship.”

“The first was like the last,” he replied; “he taught me tactics — nothing else.” [6]

“But then that is only a small part of generalship. For a general must also be capable of furnishing military equipment and providing supplies for the men; he must be resourceful, active, careful, hardy and quick-witted; he must be both gentle and brutal, at once straightforward and designing, capable of both caution and surprise,

lavish and rapacious, generous and mean, skilful in defence and attack; and there are many other qualifications, some natural, some acquired, that are necessary to one who would succeed as a general. [7] It is well to understand tactics too; for there is a wide difference between right and wrong disposition of the troops, just as stones, bricks, timber and tiles flung together anyhow are useless, whereas when the materials that neither rot nor decay, that is, the stones and tiles, are placed at the bottom and the top, and the bricks and timber are put together in the middle, as in building, the result is something of great value, a house, in fact.” [8]

“Your analogy is perfect, Socrates,” said the youth; “for in war one must put the best men in the van and the rear, and the worst in the centre, that they may be led by the van and driven forward by the rearguard.” [9]

“Well and good, provided that he taught you also to distinguish the good and the bad men. If not, what have you gained by your lessons? No more than you would have gained if he had ordered you to put the best money at the head and tail, and the worst in the middle, without telling you how to distinguish good from base coin.”

“I assure you he didn’t; so we should have to judge for ourselves which are the good men and which are the bad.” [10]

“Then we had better consider how we may avoid mistaking them.”

“I want to do so,” said the youth.

“Well now,” said Socrates, “if we had to lay hands on a sum of money, would not the right arrangement be to put the most covetous men in the front?”

“I think so.”

“And what should we do with those who are going to face danger? Should our first line consist of the most ambitious?”

“Oh yes: they are the men who will face danger for the sake of glory. About these, now, there is no mystery: they are conspicuous everywhere, and so it is easy to find them.” [11]

“But,” said Socrates, “did he teach you only the disposition of an army, or did he include where and how to use each formation?”

“Not at all.”

“And yet there are many situations that call for a modification of

tactics and strategy.”

“I assure you he didn’t explain that.”

“Then pray go back and ask him. If he knows and has a conscience, he will be ashamed to send you home ill-taught, after taking your money.”

2. One day when he met a man who had been chosen general, he asked him, “For what reason, think you, is Agamemnon dubbed ‘Shepherd of the people’ by Homer? Is it because a shepherd must see that his sheep are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they are kept is attained, and a general must see that his men are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they fight is attained, or, in other words, that victory over the enemy may add to their happiness? [2] Or what reason can Homer have for praising Agamemnon as

“‘both a good king and a doughty warrior too’?
“

Is it that he would be ‘a doughty warrior too’ not if he alone were a good fighter, but if he made all his men like himself; and ‘a good king’ not if he merely ordered his own life aright, but if he made his subjects happy as well? [3] Because a king is chosen, not to take good care of himself, but for the good of those who have chosen him; and all men fight in order that they may get the best life possible, and choose generals to guide them to it. [4] Therefore it is the duty of a commander to contrive this for those who have chosen him for general. For anything more honourable than that is not easy to find, or anything more disgraceful than its opposite.”

By these reflections on what constitutes a good leader he stripped away all other virtues, and left just the power to make his followers happy.

3. Again, when someone had been chosen a leader of cavalry, I remember that Socrates conversed with him in the following manner:

“Young man,” he said, “can you tell us why you hankered after a cavalry command? I presume it was not to be first of the cavalry in the charge; for that privilege belongs to the mounted archers; at any rate they ride ahead of their commanders even.”

“True.”

“Nor was it to get yourself known either. Even madmen are known to everyone.”

“True again.” [2]

“But perhaps you think you can hand over the cavalry in better condition to the state when you retire, and can do something for the good of the state as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm?”

“Yes, certainly,” said he.

“Yes,” said Socrates, “and no doubt it is a fine thing if you can do that. The command, I presume, for which you have been chosen, is the command of horses and riders.”

“Indeed it is.” [3]

“Come then, tell us first how you propose to improve the horses.”

“Oh, but I don’t think that is my business. Every man must look after his own horse.” [4]

“Then if some of your men appear on parade with their horses ailing or suffering from bad feet or sore legs, others with underfed animals that can’t go the pace, others with restive brutes that won’t keep in line, others with such bad kickers that it is impossible to line them up at all, what will you be able to make of your cavalry? how will you be able to do the state any good with a command like that?”

“I am much obliged to you,” he replied, “and I will try to look after the horses carefully.” [5]

“Won’t you also try to improve the men?” said Socrates.

“I will.”

“Then will you first train them to mount better?”

“Oh yes, I must, so that if anyone is thrown he may have a better chance of saving himself.” [6]

“Further, when there is some danger before you, will you order them to draw the enemy into the sandy ground where your manoeuvres are held, or will you try to carry out your training in the kind of country that the enemy occupy?”

“Oh yes, that is the better way.” [7]

“And again, will you pay much attention to bringing down as many of the enemy as possible without dismounting?”

“Oh yes, that too is the better way.”

“Have you thought of fostering a keen spirit among the men and

hatred of the enemy, so as to make them more gallant in action?"

"Well, at any rate, I will try to do so now." [8]

"And have you considered how to make the men obey you? Because without that horses and men, however good and gallant, are of no use."

"True, but what is the best way of encouraging them to obey, Socrates?" [9]

"Well, I suppose you know that under all conditions human beings are most willing to obey those whom they believe to be the best. Thus in sickness they most readily obey the doctor, on board ship the pilot, on a farm the farmer, whom they think to be most skilled in his business."

"Yes, certainly."

"Then it is likely that in horsemanship too, one who clearly knows best what ought to be done will most easily gain the obedience of the others." [10]

"If then, Socrates, I am plainly the best horseman among them, will that suffice to gain their obedience?"

"Yes, if you also show them that it will be safer and more honourable for them to obey you."

"How, then, shall I show that?"

"Well, it's far easier than if you had to show them that bad is better than good and more profitable." [11]

"Do you mean that in addition to his other duties a cavalry leader must take care to be a good speaker?"

"Did you suppose that a commander of cavalry should be mum? Did you never reflect that all the best we learned according to custom — the learning, I mean, that teaches us how to live — we learned by means of words, and that every other good lesson to be learned is learned by means of words; that the best teachers rely most on the spoken word and those with the deepest knowledge of the greatest subjects are the best talkers? [12] Did you never reflect that, whenever one chorus is selected from the citizens of this state — for instance, the chorus that is sent to Delos — no choir from any other place can compare with it, and no state can collect so goodly a company?"

"True." [13]

"And yet the reason is that Athenians excel all others not so much

in singing or in stature or in strength, as in love of honour, which is the strongest incentive to deeds of honour and renown.”

“True again.” [14]

“Then don’t you think that if one took the same pains with our cavalry, they too would greatly excel others in arms and horses and discipline and readiness to face the enemy, if they thought that they would win glory and honour by it?”

“I expect so.” [15]

“Don’t hesitate then, but try to encourage this keenness among the men: both you and your fellow-citizens will benefit by the results of your efforts.”

“Most certainly I will try.”

4. Once on seeing Nicomachides returning from the elections, he asked, “Who have been chosen generals, Nicomachides?”

“Isn’t it like the Athenians?” replied he; “they haven’t chosen me after all the hard work I have done, since I was called up, in the command of company or regiment, though I have been so often wounded in action” (and here he uncovered and showed his scars); “yet they have chosen Antisthenes, who has never served in a marching regiment nor distinguished himself in the cavalry and understands nothing but money-making.” [2]

“Isn’t that a recommendation,” said Socrates, “supposing he proves capable of supplying the men’s needs?”

“Why,” retorted Nicomachides, “merchants too are capable of making money, but that doesn’t make them fit to command an army.” [3]

“But,” cried Socrates, “Antisthenes also is eager for victory, and that is a good point in a general. Whenever he has been choragus, you know, his choir has always won.”

“No doubt,” said Nicomachides, “but there is no analogy between the handling of a choir and of an army.” [4]

“But, you see,” said Socrates, “though Antisthenes knows nothing about music or choir training, he showed himself capable of finding the best experts in these.”

“In the army too, then,” said Nicomachides, “he will find other to command for him, and others to do the fighting.” [5]

“And therefore,” said Socrates, “if he finds out and prefers the

best men in warfare as in choir training it is likely that he will be victorious in that too; and probably he will be more ready to spend on winning a battle with the whole state than on winning a choral competition with his tribe.” [6]

“Do you mean to say, Socrates, that the man who succeeds with a chorus will also succeed with an army?”

“I mean that, whatever a man controls, if he knows what he wants and can get it he will be a good controller, whether he control a chorus, an estate, a city or an army.” [7]

“Really, Socrates,” cried Nicomachides, “I should never have thought to hear you say that a good business man would make a good general.”

“Come then, let us review the duties of each that we may know whether they are the same or different.”

“By all means.” [8]

“Is it not the duty of both to make their subordinates willing and obedient?”

“Decidedly.”

“And to put the right man in the right place?”

“That is so.”

“I suppose, moreover, that both should punish the bad and reward the good.”

“Yes, certainly.” [9]

“Of course both will do well to win the goodwill of those under them?”

“That is so.”

“Do you think that it is to the interest of both to attract allies and helpers?”

“Yes, certainly.”

“And should not both be able to keep what they have got?”

“They should indeed.”

“And should not both be strenuous and industrious in their own work?” [10]

“All these are common to both; but fighting is not.”

“But surely both are bound to find enemies?”

“Oh yes, they are.”

“Then is it not important for both to get the better of them?” [11]

“Undoubtedly; but you don’t say how business capacity will help when it comes to fighting.”

“That is just where it will be most helpful. For the good business man, through his knowledge that nothing profits or pays like a victory in the field, and nothing is so utterly unprofitable and entails such heavy loss as a defeat, will be eager to seek and furnish all aids to victory, careful to consider and avoid what leads to defeat, prompt to engage the enemy if he sees he is strong enough to win, and, above all, will avoid an engagement when he is not ready. [12] Don’t look down on business men, Nicomachides. For the management of private concerns differs only in point of number from that of public affairs. In other respects they are much alike, and particularly in this, that neither can be carried on without men, and the men employed in private and public transactions are the same. For those who take charge of public affairs employ just the same men when they attend to their own; and those who understand how to employ them are successful directors of public and private concerns, and those who do not, fail in both.”

5. Once when talking with the son of the great Pericles, he said: “For my part, Pericles, I feel hopeful that, now you have become general, our city will be more efficient and more famous in the art of war, and will defeat our enemies.”

“I could wish,” answered Pericles, “that it might be as you say, Socrates; but how these changes are to come about I cannot see.”

“Should you like to discuss them with me, then,” said Socrates, “and consider how they can be brought about?”

“I should.” [2]

“Do you know then, that in point of numbers the Athenians are not inferior to the Boeotians?”

“Yes, I know.”

“Do you think that the larger number of fine, well-developed men could be selected from among the Boeotians or the Athenians?”

“In that matter too they seem to be at no disadvantage.”

“Which do you think are the more united?”

“The Athenians, I should say, for many of the Boeotians resent the selfish behaviour of the Thebans. At Athens I see nothing of that sort.” [3]

“And again, the Athenians are more ambitious and more high-minded than other peoples; and these qualities are among the strongest incentives to heroism and patriotic self-sacrifice.”

“Yes, in these respects too the Athenians need not fear criticism.”

“And besides, none have inherited a past more crowded with great deeds; and many are heartened by such a heritage and encouraged to care for virtue and prove their gallantry.”

“All you have said is true, Socrates. [4] But, you see, since the disasters sustained by Tolmides and the Thousand at Lebedea and by Hippocrates at Delium, the relations of the Athenians and Boeotians are changed: the glory of the Athenians is brought low, the pride of the Thebans is exalted; and now the Boeotians, who formerly would not venture, even in their own country, to face the Athenians without help from Sparta and the rest of the Peloponnese, threaten to invade Attica by themselves, and the Athenians, who formerly overran Boeotia, fear that the Boeotians may plunder Attica.” [5]

“Ah, I am aware of that,” answered Socrates; “but the disposition of our city is now more to a good ruler’s liking. For confidence breeds carelessness, slackness, disobedience: fear makes men more attentive, more obedient, more amenable to discipline. The behaviour of sailors is a case in point. [6] So long as they have nothing to fear, they are, I believe, an unruly lot, but when they expect a storm or an attack, they not only carry out all orders, but watch in silence for the word of command like choristers.” [7]

“Well,” exclaimed Pericles, “if they are now in the mood for obedience, it seems time to say how we can revive in them a longing for the old virtue and fame and happiness.” [8]

“If then,” said Socrates, “we wanted them to claim money that others held, the best way of egging them on to seize it would be to show them that it was their fathers’ money and belongs to them. As we want them to strive for pre-eminence in virtue, we must show that this belonged to them in old days, and that by striving for it they will surpass all other men.” [9]

“How then can we teach this?”

“I think by reminding them that their earliest ancestors of whom we have any account were, as they themselves have been told, the most valiant.” [10]

“Do you refer to the judgment of the gods, which Cecrops delivered in his court because of his virtue?”

“Yes, and the care and birth of Erectheus, and the war waged in his day with all the adjacent country, and the war between the sons of Heracles and the Peloponnesians, and all the wars waged in the days of Theseus, in all of which it is manifest that they were champions among the men of their time. [11] You may add the victories of their descendants, who lived not long before our own day: some they gained unaided in their struggle with the lords of all Asia and of Europe as far as Macedonia, the owners of more power and wealth than the world had ever seen, who had wrought deeds that none had equalled; in others they were fellow-champions with the Peloponnesians both on land and sea. These men, like their fathers, are reported to have been far superior to all other men of their time.”

“Yes, that is the report of them.” [12]

“Therefore, though there have been many migrations in Greece, these continued to dwell in their own land: many referred to them their rival claims, many found a refuge with them from the brutality of the oppressor.” [13]

“Yes, Socrates,” cried Pericles, “and I wonder how our city can have become so degenerate.”

“My own view,” replied Socrates, “is that the Athenians, as a consequence of their great superiority, grew careless of themselves, and have thus become degenerate, much as athletes who are in a class by themselves and win the championship easily are apt to grow slack and drop below their rivals. [14]

“How, then, can they now recover their old virtue?”

“There is no mystery about it, as I think. If they find out the customs of their ancestors and practise them as well as they did, they will come to be as good as they were; or failing that, they need but to imitate those who now have the pre-eminence and to practise their customs, and if they are equally careful in observing them, they will be as good as they, and, if more careful, even better.” [15]

“That means that it is a long march for our city to perfection. For when will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age, seeing that they despise all their elders, beginning with their own fathers? When will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training,

seeing that they not only neglect to make themselves fit, but mock at those who take the trouble to do so? [16] When will they reach that standard of obedience to their rulers, seeing that they make contempt of rulers a point of honour? Or when will they attain that harmony, seeing that, instead of working together for the general good, they are more envious and bitter against one another than against the rest of the world, are the most quarrelsome of men in public and private assemblies, most often go to law with one another, and would rather make profit of one another so than by mutual service, and while regarding public affairs as alien to themselves, yet fight over them too, and find their chief enjoyment in having the means to carry on such strife? [17] So it comes about that mischief and evil grow apace in the city, enmity and mutual hatred spring up among the people, so that I am always dreading that some evil past bearing may befall the city.” [18]

“No, no, Pericles, don’t think the wickedness of the Athenians so utterly past remedy. Don’t you see what good discipline they maintain in their fleets, how well they obey the umpires in athletic contests, how they take orders from the choir-trainers as readily as any?” [19]

“Ah yes, and strange indeed it is that such men submit themselves to their masters, and yet the infantry and cavalry, who are supposed to be the pick of the citizens for good character, are the most insubordinate.” [20]

Then Socrates asked, “But what of the Court of the Areopagus, Pericles? Are not its members persons who have won approval?”

“Certainly.”

“Then do you know of any who decide the cases that come before them and perform all their other functions more honourably, more in accordance with law, with more dignity and justice?”

“I am not finding fault with the Areopagus.”

“Then you must not despair of Athenian discipline.” [21]

“But, you see, in the army, where good conduct, discipline, submission are most necessary, our people pay no attention to these things.”

“This may be due to the incompetence of the officers. You must have noticed that no one attempts to exercise authority over our

harpists, choristers and dancers, if he is incompetent, nor over wrestlers or wrestlers who also box? All who have authority over them can tell where they learned their business; but most of our generals are improvisors. [22] However, I don't suppose you are one of this sort. I suppose you can say when you began to learn strategy as well as when you began wrestling. Many of the principles, I think, you have inherited from your father, and many others you have gathered from every source from which you could learn anything useful to a general. [23] I think, too, that you take much trouble that you may not unconsciously lack any knowledge useful to a general; and if you find that you don't know anything, you seek out those who have the knowledge, grudging neither gifts nor thanks, that you may learn what you don't know from them and may have the help of good coaching." [24]

"I can see, Socrates, that in saying this you don't really think I study these things, but you are trying to show me that one who is going to command an army must study all of them; and of course I admit that you are right." [25]

"Have you observed, Pericles, that our frontier is protected by great mountains extending to Boeotia, through which there are steep and narrow passes leading into our land, and that the interior is cut across by rugged mountains?"

"Certainly." [26]

"Further, have you heard that the Mysians and Pisidians, occupying very rugged country in the Great King's territory and lightly armed, contrive to overrun and damage the King's territory and to preserve their own freedom?"

"Yes, I have heard so." [27]

"And don't you think that active young Athenians, more lightly armed and occupying the mountains that protect our country, would prove a thorn in the side of the enemy and a strong bulwark of defence to our people?"

"Socrates," replied Pericles, "I think all these suggestions too have a practical value." [28]

"Then, since you like them, adopt them, my good fellow. Any part of them that you carry out will bring honour to you and good to the state; and should you fail in part, you will neither harm the state nor

disgrace yourself.”

6. Ariston’s son, Glaucon, was attempting to become an orator and striving for headship in the state, though he was less than twenty years old; and none of his friends or relations could check him, though he would get himself dragged from the platform and make himself a laughing-stock. Only Socrates, who took an interest in him for the sake of Plato and Glaucon’s son Charmides, managed to check him. [2]

For once on meeting him, he stopped him and contrived to engage his attention by saying: “Glaucon, have you made up your mind to be our chief man in the state?”

“I have, Socrates.”

“Well, upon my word there’s no more honourable ambition in the world; for obviously, if you gain your object, you will be able to get whatever you want, and you will have the means of helping your friends: you will lift up your father’s house and exalt your fatherland; and you will make a name for yourself first at home, later on in Greece, and possibly, like Themistocles, in foreign lands as well; wherever you go, you will be a man of mark.” [3]

When Glaucon heard this, he felt proud and gladly lingered.

Next Socrates asked, “Well, Glaucon, as you want to win honour, is it not obvious that you must benefit your city?”

“Most certainly.”

“Pray don’t be reticent, then; but tell us how you propose to begin your services to the state.” [4]

As Glaucon remained dumb, apparently considering for the first time how to begin, Socrates said: “If you wanted to add to a friend’s fortune, you would set about making him richer. Will you try, then, to make your city richer?”

“Certainly.” [5]

“Would she not be richer if she had a larger revenue?”

“Oh yes, presumably.”

“Now tell me, from what sources are the city’s revenues at present derived and what is their total? No doubt you have gone into this matter, in order to raise the amount of any that are deficient and supply any that are lacking.”

“Certainly not,” exclaimed Glaucon, “I haven’t gone into that.” [6]

“Well, if you have left that out, tell us the expenditure of the city. No doubt you intend to cut down any items that are excessive.”

“The fact is, I haven’t had time yet for that either.”

“Oh, then we will postpone the business of making the city richer; for how is it possible to look after income and expenditure without knowing what they are?” [7]

“Well, Socrates, one can make our enemies contribute to the city’s wealth.”

“Yes, of course, provided he is stronger than they; but if he be weaker, he may lose what she has got instead.”

“True.” [8]

“Therefore, in order to advise her whom to fight, it is necessary to know the strength of the city and of the enemy, so that, if the city be stronger, one may recommend her to go to war, but if weaker than the enemy, may persuade her to beware.”

“You are right.” [9]

“First, then, tell us the naval and military strength of our city, and then that of her enemies.”

“No, of course I can’t tell you out of my head.”

“Well, if you have made notes, fetch them, for I should greatly like to hear this.”

“But, I tell you, I haven’t yet made any notes either.” [10]

“Then we will postpone offering advice about war too for the present. You are new to power, and perhaps have not had time to investigate such big problems. But the defence of the country, now, I feel sure you have thought about that, and know how many of the garrisons are well placed and how many are not, and how many of the guards are efficient and how many are not; and you will propose to strengthen the well-placed garrisons and to do away with those that are superfluous.” [11]

“No, no; I shall propose to do away with them all, for the only effect of maintaining them is that our crops are stolen.”

“But if you do away with the garrisons, don’t you think that anyone will be at liberty to rob us openly? However, have you been on a tour of inspection, or how do you know that they are badly maintained?”

“By guess-work.”

“Then shall we wait to offer advice on this question too until we really know, instead of merely guessing?”

“Perhaps it would be better.”

“Now for the silver mines. [12] I am sure you have not visited them, and so cannot tell why the amount derived from them has fallen.”

“No, indeed, I have not been there.”

“To be sure: the district is considered unhealthy, and so when you have to offer advice on the problem, this excuse will serve.”

“You’re chaffing me.” [13]

“Ah, but there’s one problem I feel sure you haven’t overlooked: no doubt you have reckoned how long the corn grown in the country will maintain the population, and how much is needed annually, so that you may not be caught napping, should the city at any time be short, and may come to the rescue and relieve the city by giving expert advice about food.”

“What an overwhelming task, if one has got to include such things as that in one’s duties!” [14]

“But, you know, no one will ever manage even his own household successfully unless he knows all its needs and sees that they are all supplied. Seeing that our city contains more than ten thousand houses, and it is difficult to look after so many families at once, you must have tried to make a start by doing something for one, I mean your uncle’s? It needs it; and if you succeed with that one, you can set to work on a larger number. But if you can’t do anything for one, how are you going to succeed with many? If a man can’t carry one talent, it’s absurd for him to try to carry more than one, isn’t it?” [15]

“Well, I could do something for uncle’s household if only he would listen to me.”

“What? You can’t persuade your uncle, and yet you suppose you will be able to persuade all the Athenians, including your uncle, to listen to you? [16] Pray take care, Glaucon, that your daring ambition doesn’t lead to a fall! Don’t you see how risky it is to say or do what you don’t understand? Think of others whom you know to be the sort of men who say and do what they obviously don’t understand. Do you think they get praise or blame by it? [17] And think of those who understand what they say and what they do. You will find, I take it,

that the men who are famous and admired always come from those who have the widest knowledge, and the infamous and despised from the most ignorant. [18] Therefore, if you want to win fame and admiration in public life, try to get a thorough knowledge of what you propose to do. If you enter on a public career with this advantage over others, I should not be surprised if you gained the object of your ambition quite easily.”

7. Seeing that Glaucon’s son, Charmides, was a respectable man and far more capable than the politicians of the day, and nevertheless shrank from speaking in the assembly and taking a part in politics, he said: “Tell me, Charmides, what would you think of a man who was capable of gaining a victory in the great games and consequently of winning honour for himself and adding to his country’s fame in the Greek world, and yet refused to compete?”

“I should think him a poltroon and a coward, of course.” [2]

“Then if a man were to shrink from state business though capable of discharging it with advantage to the state and honour to himself, wouldn’t it be reasonable to think him a coward?”

“Perhaps; but why ask me that?”

“Because I fancy that you shrink from work that is within your powers, work in which it is your duty as a citizen to take a hand.”

“What makes you think so? [3] In what sort of work have you discovered my powers?”

“In your intercourse with public men. Whenever they take counsel with you, I find that you give excellent advice, and whenever they make a mistake, your criticism is sound.” [4]

“A private conversation is a very different thing from a crowded debate, Socrates.”

“But, you know, a man who is good at figures counts as well in a crowd as in solitude; and those who play the harp best in private excel no less in a crowd.” [5]

“But surely you see that bashfulness and timidity come natural to a man, and affect him far more powerfully in the presence of a multitude than in private society?”

“Yes, and I mean to give you a lesson. The wisest do not make you bashful, and the strongest do not make you timid; yet you are ashamed to address an audience of mere dunces and weaklings. Who

are they that make you ashamed? [6] The fullers or the cobblers or the builders or the smiths or the farmers or the merchants, or the traffickers in the market-place who think of nothing but buying cheap and selling dear? For these are the people who make up the Assembly. [7] You behave like a man who can beat trained athletes and is afraid of amateurs! You are at your ease when you talk with the first men in the state, some of whom despise you, and you are a far better talker than the ordinary run of politicians; and yet you are shy of addressing men who never gave a thought to public affairs and haven't learnt to despise you — all because you fear ridicule!" [8]

"Well, don't you think the Assembly often laughs at sound argument?"

"Yes, and so do the others; and that's why I am surprised that you, who find it easy to manage them when they do it, think you will be quite unable to deal with the Assembly. [9] My good man, don't be ignorant of yourself: don't fall into the common error. For so many are in such a hurry to pry into other people's business that they never turn aside to examine themselves. Don't refuse to face this duty then: strive more earnestly to pay heed to yourself; and don't neglect public affairs, if you have the power to improve them. If they go well, not only the people, but your friends and you yourself at least as much as they will profit."

8. When Aristippus attempted to cross-examine Socrates in the same fashion as he had been cross-examined by him in their previous encounter, Socrates, wishing to benefit his companions, answered like a man who is resolved to do what is right, and not like a debater guarding against any distortion of the argument. [2]

Aristippus asked if he knew of anything good, in order that if Socrates mentioned some good thing, such as food, drink, money, health, strength, or daring, he might show that it is sometimes bad. But he, knowing that when anything troubles us we need what will put an end to the trouble, gave the best answer: [3] "Are you asking me," he said, "whether I know of anything good for a fever?"

"No, not that."

"For ophthalmia?"

"No, nor that."

"For hunger?"

“No, not for hunger either.”

“Well, but if you are asking me whether I know of anything good in relation to nothing, I neither know nor want to know.” [4]

Again Aristippus asked him whether he knew of anything beautiful: “Yes, many things,” he replied.

“All like one another?”

“On the contrary, some are as unlike as they can be.”

“How then can that which is unlike the beautiful be beautiful?”

“The reason, of course, is that a beautiful wrestler is unlike a beautiful runner, a shield beautiful for defence is utterly unlike a javelin beautiful for swift and powerful hurling.” [5]

“That is the same answer as you gave to my question whether you knew of anything good.”

“You think, do you, that good is one thing and beautiful another? Don’t you know that all things are both beautiful and good in relation to the same things? In the first place, Virtue is not a good thing in relation to some things and a beautiful thing in relation to others. Men, again, are called ‘beautiful and good’ in the same respect and in relation to the same things: it is in relation to the same things that men’s bodies look beautiful and good and that all other things men use are thought beautiful and good, namely, in relation to those things for which they are useful.” [6]

“Is a dung basket beautiful then?”

“Of course, and a golden shield is ugly, if the one is well made for its special work and the other badly.”

“Do you mean that the same things are both beautiful and ugly?”

“Of course — and both good and bad. [7] For what is good for hunger is often bad for fever, and what is good for fever bad for hunger; what is beautiful for running is often ugly for wrestling, and what is beautiful for wrestling ugly for running. For all things are good and beautiful in relation to those purposes for which they are well adapted, bad and ugly in relation to those for which they are ill adapted.” [8]

Again his dictum about houses, that the same house is both beautiful and useful, was a lesson in the art of building houses as they ought to be.

He approached the problem thus:

“When one means to have the right sort of house, must he contrive to make it as pleasant to live in and as useful as can be?” [9]

And this being admitted, “Is it pleasant,” he asked, “to have it cool in summer and warm in winter?”

And when they agreed with this also, “Now in houses with a south aspect, the sun’s rays penetrate into the porticoes in winter, but in summer the path of the sun is right over our heads and above the roof, so that there is shade. If, then, this is the best arrangement, we should build the south side loftier to get the winter sun and the north side lower to keep out the cold winds. [10] To put it shortly, the house in which the owner can find a pleasant retreat at all seasons and can store his belongings safely is presumably at once the pleasantest and the most beautiful. As for paintings and decorations, they rob one of more delights than they give.”

For temples and altars the most suitable position, he said, was a conspicuous site remote from traffic; for it is pleasant to breathe a prayer at the sight of them, and pleasant to approach them filled with holy thoughts.

9. When asked again whether Courage could be taught or came by nature, he replied: “I think that just as one man’s body is naturally stronger than another’s for labour, so one man’s soul is naturally braver than another’s in danger. For I notice that men brought up under the same laws and customs differ widely in daring. [2] Nevertheless, I think that every man’s nature acquires more courage by learning and practice. Of course Scythians and Thracians would not dare to take bronze shield and spear and fight Lacedaemonians; and of course Lacedaemonians would not be willing to face Thracians with leather shields and javelins, nor Scythians with bows for weapons. [3] And similarly in all other points, I find that human beings naturally differ one from another and greatly improve by application. Hence it is clear that all men, whatever their natural gifts, the talented and the dullards alike, must learn and practise what they want to excel in.” [4]

Between Wisdom and Prudence he drew no distinction; but if a man knows and practises what is beautiful and good, knows and avoids what is base, that man he judged to be both wise and prudent. When asked further whether he thought that those who know what

they ought to do and yet do the opposite are at once wise and vicious, he answered: "No; not so much that, as both unwise and vicious. For I think that all men have a choice between various courses, and choose and follow the one which they think conduces most to their advantage. Therefore I hold that those who follow the wrong course are neither wise nor prudent." [5]

He said that Justice and every other form of Virtue is Wisdom. "For just actions and all forms of virtuous activity are beautiful and good. He who knows the beautiful and good will never choose anything else, he who is ignorant of them cannot do them, and even if he tries, will fail. Hence the wise do what is beautiful and good, the unwise cannot and fail if they try. Therefore since just actions and all other forms of beautiful and good activity are virtuous actions, it is clear that Justice and every other form of Virtue is Wisdom." [6]

Madness, again, according to him, was the opposite of Wisdom. Nevertheless he did not identify Ignorance with Madness; but not to know yourself, and to assume and think that you know what you do not, he put next to Madness. "Most men, however," he declared, "do not call those mad who err in matters that lie outside the knowledge of ordinary people: madness is the name they give to errors in matters of common knowledge. [7] For instance, if a man imagines himself to be so tall as to stoop when he goes through the gateways in the Wall, or so strong as to try to lift houses or to perform any other feat that everybody knows to be impossible, they say he's mad. They don't think a slight error implies madness, but just as they call strong desire love, so they name a great delusion madness." [8]

Considering the nature of Envy, he found it to be a kind of pain, not, however, at a friend's misfortune, nor at an enemy's good fortune, but the envious are those only who are annoyed at their friends' successes. Some expressed surprise that anyone who loves another should be pained at his success, but he reminded them that many stand in this relation towards others, that they cannot disregard them in time of trouble, but aid them in their misfortune, and yet they are pained to see them prospering. This, however, could not happen to a man of sense, but it is always the case with fools. [9]

Considering the nature of Leisure, he said his conclusion was that almost all men do something. Even draught-players and jesters do

something, but all these are at leisure, for they might go and do something better. But nobody has leisure to go from a better to a worse occupation. If anyone does so, he acts wrongly, having no leisure. [10]

Kings and rulers, he said, are not those who hold the sceptre, nor those who are chosen by the multitude, nor those on whom the lot falls, nor those who owe their power to force or deception; but those who know how to rule. [11] For once it was granted that it is the business of the ruler to give orders and of the ruled to obey, he went on to show that on a ship the one who knows, rules, and the owner and all the others on board obey the one who knows: in farming the landowners, in illness the patients, in training those who are in training, in fact everybody concerned with anything that needs care, look after it themselves if they think they know how, but, if not, they obey those who know, and not only when such are present, but they even send for them when absent, that they may obey them and do the right thing. In spinning wool, again, he would point out, the women govern the men because they know how to do it and men do not. [12]

If anyone objected that a despot may refuse to obey a good counsellor, "How can he refuse," he would ask, "when a penalty waits on disregard of good counsel? All disregard of good counsel is bound surely to result in error, and his error will not go unpunished." [13]

If anyone said that a despot can kill a loyal subject, "Do you think," he retorted, "that he who kills the best of his allies suffers no loss, or that his loss is trifling? Do you think that this conduct brings him safety, or rather swift destruction?" [14]

When someone asked him what seemed to him the best pursuit for a man, he answered: "Doing well." Questioned further, whether he thought good luck a pursuit, he said: "On the contrary, I think luck and doing are opposite poles. To hit on something right by luck without search I call good luck, to do something well after study and practice I call doing well; and those who pursue this seem to me to do well. [15] And the best men and dearest to the gods," he added, "are those who do their work well; if it is farming, as good farmers; if medicine, as good doctors; if politics, as good politicians. He who does nothing well is neither useful in any way nor dear to the gods."

10. Then again, whenever he talked with artists who followed their art as a business, he was as useful to them as to others.

Thus, on entering the house of Parrhasius the painter one day, he asked in the course of a conversation with him: "Is painting a representation of things seen, Parrhasius? Anyhow, you painters with your colours represent and reproduce figures high and low, in light and in shadow, hard and soft, rough and smooth, young and old."

"True." [2]

"And further, when you copy types of beauty, it is so difficult to find a perfect model that you combine the most beautiful details of several, and thus contrive to make the whole figure look beautiful."

[3]

"Yes, we do!"

"Well now, do you also reproduce the character of the soul, the character that is in the highest degree captivating, delightful, friendly, fascinating, lovable? Or is it impossible to imitate that?"

"Oh no, Socrates; for how could one imitate that which has neither shape nor colour nor any of the qualities you mentioned just now, and is not even visible?" [4]

"Do human beings commonly express the feelings of sympathy and aversion by their looks?"

"I think so."

"Then cannot thus much be imitated in the eyes?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Do you think that the joys and sorrows of their friends produce the same expression on men's faces, whether they really care or not?"

"Oh no, of course not: they look radiant at their joys, downcast at their sorrows."

"Then is it possible to represent these looks too?"

"Undoubtedly." [5]

"Moreover, nobility and dignity, self-abasement and servility, prudence and understanding, insolence and vulgarity, are reflected in the face and in the attitudes of the body whether still or in motion."

"True."

"Then these, too, can be imitated, can they not?"

"Undoubtedly."

“Now which do you think the more pleasing sight, one whose features and bearing reflect a beautiful and good and lovable character, or one who is the embodiment of what is ugly and depraved and hateful?”

“No doubt there is a great difference, Socrates.” [6]

On another occasion he visited Cleiton the sculptor, and while conversing with him said: “Cleiton, that your statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers and fighters are beautiful I see and know. But how do you produce in them that illusion of life which is their most alluring charm to the beholder?” [7]

As Cleiton was puzzled and did not reply at once, “Is it,” he added, “by faithfully representing the form of living beings that you make your statues look as if they lived?”

“Undoubtedly.”

“Then is it not by accurately representing the different parts of the body as they are affected by the pose — the flesh wrinkled or tense, the limbs compressed or outstretched, the muscles taut or loose — that you make them look more like real members and more convincing?”

“Yes, certainly.” [8]

“Does not the exact imitation of the feelings that affect bodies in action also produce a sense of satisfaction in the spectator?”

“Oh yes, presumably.”

“Then must not the threatening look in the eyes of fighters be accurately represented, and the triumphant expression on the face of conquerors be imitated?”

“Most certainly.”

“It follows, then, that the sculptor must represent in his figures the activities of the soul.” [9]

On visiting Pistias the armourer, who showed him some well-made breastplates, Socrates exclaimed: “Upon my word, Pistias, it’s a beautiful invention, for the breastplate covers the parts that need protection without impeding the use of the hands. [10] But tell me, Pistias,” he added, “why do you charge more for your breastplates than any other maker, though they are no stronger and cost no more to make?”

“Because the proportions of mine are better, Socrates.”

“And how do you show their proportions when you ask a higher price — by weight or measure? For I presume you don’t make them all of the same weight or the same size, that is, if you make them to fit.”

“Fit? Why, of course! a breastplate is of no use without that!” [11]

“Then are not some human bodies well, others ill proportioned?”

“Certainly.”

“Then if a breastplate is to fit an ill-proportioned body, how do you make it well-proportioned?”

“By making it fit; for if it is a good fit it is well-proportioned.” [12]

“Apparently you mean well-proportioned not absolutely, but in relation to the wearer, as you might call a shield well-proportioned for the man whom it fits, or a military cape — and this seems to apply to everything according to you. [13] And perhaps there is another important advantage in a good fit.”

“Tell it me, if you know, Socrates.”

“The good fit is less heavy to wear than the misfit, though both are of the same weight. For the misfit, hanging entirely from the shoulders, or pressing on some other part of the body, proves uncomfortable and irksome; but the good fit, with its weight distributed over the collar-bone and shoulder-blades, the shoulders, chest, back and belly, may almost be called an accessory rather than an encumbrance.” [14]

“The advantage you speak of is the very one which I think makes my work worth a big price. Some, however, prefer to buy the ornamented and the gold-plated breastplates.”

“Still, if the consequence is that they buy misfits, it seems to me they buy ornamented and gold-plated trash. [15] However, as the body is not rigid, but now bent, now straight, how can tight breastplates fit?”

“They can’t.”

“You mean that the good fits are not the tight ones, but those that don’t chafe the wearer?”

“That is your own meaning, Socrates, and you have hit the right nail on the head.”

11. At one time there was in Athens a beautiful woman named Theodote/, who was ready to keep company with anyone who

pleased her. One of the bystanders mentioned her name, declaring that words failed him to describe the lady's beauty, and adding that artists visited her to paint her portrait, and she showed them as much as decency allowed. "We had better go and see her," cried Socrates; "of course what beggars description can't very well be learned by hearsay." [2]

"Come with me at once," returned his informant. So off they went to Theodote's house, where they found her posing before a painter, and looked on.

When the painter had finished, Socrates said: "My friends, ought we to be more grateful to Theodote/ for showing us her beauty, or she to us for looking at it? Does the obligation rest with her, if she profits more by showing it, but with us, if we profit more by looking?" [3]

When someone answered that this was a fair way of putting it, "Well now," he went on, "she already has our praise to her credit, and when we spread the news, she will profit yet more; whereas we already long to touch what we have seen, and we shall go away excited and shall miss her when we are gone. The natural consequence is that we become her adorers, she the adored."

"Then, if that is so," exclaimed Theodote/, "of course I ought to be grateful to you for looking." [4]

At this point Socrates noticed that she was sumptuously dressed, and that her mother at her side was wearing fine clothes and jewellery; and she had many pretty maids, who also were well cared for, and her house was lavishly furnished.

"Tell me, Theodote/," he said, "have you a farm?"

"Not I," she answered.

"Or a house, perhaps, that brings in money?"

"No, nor a house."

"Some craftsmen, possibly?"

"No, none."

"Then where do you get your supplies from?"

"I live on the generosity of any friend I pick up." [5]

"A fine property, upon my word, Theodote/, and much better than abundance of sheep and goats and oxen. But," he went on, "do you trust to luck, waiting for friends to settle on you like flies, or have

you some contrivance of your own?" [6]

"How could I invent a contrivance for that?"

"Much more conveniently, I assure you, than the spiders. For you know how they hunt for a living: they weave a thin web, I believe, and feed on anything that gets into it." [7]

"And do you advise me, then, to weave a trap of some sort?"

"Of course not. Don't suppose you are going to hunt friends, the noblest game in the world, by such crude methods. Don't you notice that many tricks are employed even for hunting such a poor thing as the hare? [8] Since hares feed by night, hounds specially adapted for night work are provided to hunt them; and since they run away at daybreak, another pack of hounds is obtained for tracking them by the scent along the run from the feeding ground to the form; and since they are so nimble that once they are off they actually escape in the open, yet a third pack of speedy hounds is formed to catch them by hot pursuit; and as some escape even so, nets are set up in the tracks where they escape, that they may be driven into them and stopped dead." [9]

"Then can I adapt this plan to the pursuit of friends?"

"Of course you can, if for the hound you substitute an agent who will track and find rich men with an eye for beauty, and will then contrive to chase them into your nets." [10]

"Nets! What nets have I got?"

"One, surely, that clips close enough — your body! And inside it you have a soul that teaches you what glance will please, what words delight, and tells you that your business is to give a warm welcome to an eager suitor, but to slam the door upon a coxcomb; yes, and when a friend has fallen sick, to show your anxiety by visiting him; and when he has had a stroke of good fortune, to congratulate him eagerly; and if he is eager in his suit, to put yourself at his service heart and soul. As for loving, you know how to do that, I am sure, both tenderly and truly; and that your friends give you satisfaction, you convince them, I know, not by words but by deeds."

"Upon my word," said Theodote/, "I don't contrive one of these things." [11]

"Nevertheless," he continued, "it is very important that your behaviour to a man should be both natural and correct. For assuredly

you can neither catch a friend nor keep him by violence; it is kindness and sweetness that catch the creature and hold him fast."

"True," she said. [12]

"First, then, you must ask such favours of your suitors as they will grant without a moment's hesitation; and next you must repay their favours in the same coin; for in this way they will prove most sincerely your friends, most constant in their affection and most generous. [13] And they will appreciate your favours most highly if you wait till they ask for them. The sweetest meats, you see, if served before they are wanted, seem sour, and to those who have had enough they are positively nauseating; but even poor fare is very welcome when offered to a hungry man." [14]

"And how can I make them hunger for my fare?"

"Why, in the first place, you must not offer it to them when they have had enough, nor prompt them until they have thrown off the surfeit and are beginning to want more; then, when they feel the want, you must prompt them by behaving as a model of propriety, by a show of reluctance to yield, and by holding back until they are as keen as can be; for then the same gifts are much more to the recipient than when they are offered before they are desired." [15]

"Then, Socrates," exclaimed Theodote/, "why don't you become my partner in the pursuit of friends?"

"By all means — if you persuade me."

"And how am I to persuade you?"

"That you will find out and contrive for yourself, if you want my help."

"Come and see me often, then." [16]

"Ah!" said Socrates, making fun of his own leisurely habits, "it's not so easy for me to find time. For I have much business to occupy me, private and public; and I have the dear girls, who won't leave me day or night; they are studying potions with me and spells." [17]

"Indeed! do you understand these things too, Socrates?"

"Why, what is the reason that master Apollodorus and Antisthenes never leave me, do you suppose? And why do Cebes and Simmias come to me from Thebes? I assure you these things don't happen without the help of many potions and spells and magic wheels." [18]

"Do lend me your wheel, that I may turn it first to draw you."

“But of course I don’t want to be drawn to you: I want you to come to me.”

“Oh, I’ll come: only mind you welcome me.”

“Oh, you shall be welcome — unless there’s a dearer girl with me!”

12. On noticing that Epigenes, one of his companions, was in poor condition, for a young man, he said: “You look as if you need exercise, Epigenes.”

“Well,” he replied, “I’m not an athlete, Socrates.”

“Just as much as the competitors entered for Olympia,” he retorted. “Or do you count the life and death struggle with their enemies, upon which, it may be, the Athenians will enter, but a small thing? [2] Why, many, thanks to their bad condition, lose their life in the perils of war or save it disgracefully: many, just for this same cause, are taken prisoners, and then either pass the rest of their days, perhaps, in slavery of the hardest kind, or, after meeting with cruel sufferings and paying, sometimes, more than they have, live on, destitute and in misery. Many, again, by their bodily weakness earn infamy, being thought cowards. [3] Or do you despise these, the rewards of bad condition, and think that you can easily endure such things? And yet I suppose that what has to be borne by anyone who takes care to keep his body in good condition is far lighter and far pleasanter than these things. Or is it that you think bad condition healthier and generally more serviceable than good, or do you despise the effects of good condition? [4] And yet the results of physical fitness are the direct opposite of those that follow from unfitness. The fit are healthy and strong; and many, as a consequence, save themselves decorously on the battle-field and escape all the dangers of war; many help friends and do good to their country and for this cause earn gratitude; get great glory and gain very high honours, and for this cause live henceforth a pleasanter and better life, and leave to their children better means of winning a livelihood. [5]

“I tell you, because military training is not publicly recognised by the state, you must not make that an excuse for being a whit less careful in attending to it yourself. For you may rest assured that there is no kind of struggle, apart from war, and no undertaking in which

you will be worse off by keeping your body in better fettle. For in everything that men do the body is useful; and in all uses of the body it is of great importance to be in as high a state of physical efficiency as possible. [6] Why, even in the process of thinking, in which the use of the body seems to be reduced to a minimum, it is matter of common knowledge that grave mistakes may often be traced to bad health. And because the body is in a bad condition, loss of memory, depression, discontent, insanity often assail the mind so violently as to drive whatever knowledge it contains clean out of it. [7] But a sound and healthy body is a strong protection to a man, and at least there is no danger then of such a calamity happening to him through physical weakness: on the contrary, it is likely that his sound condition will serve to produce effects the opposite of those that arise from bad condition. And surely a man of sense would submit to anything to obtain the effects that are the opposite of those mentioned in my list. [8]

“Besides, it is a disgrace to grow old through sheer carelessness before seeing what manner of man you may become by developing your bodily strength and beauty to their highest limit. But you cannot see that, if you are careless; for it will not come of its own accord.”

13. On a man who was angry because his greeting was not returned: “Ridiculous!” he exclaimed; “you would not have been angry if you had met a man in worse health; and yet you are annoyed because you have come across someone with ruder manners!” [2]

On another who declared that he found no pleasure in eating: “Acumenus,” he said, “has a good prescription for that ailment.” And when asked “What?” he answered, “Stop eating; and you will then find life pleasanter, cheaper, and healthier.” [3]

On yet another who complained that the drinking water at home was warm: “Consequently,” he said, “when you want warm water to wash in, you will have it at hand.”

“But it’s too cold for washing,” objected the other.

“Then do your servants complain when they use it both for drinking and washing?”

“Oh no: indeed I have often felt surprised that they are content with it for both these purposes.”

“Which is the warmer to drink, the water in your house or

Epidaurus water?"

"Epidaurus water."

"And which is the colder to wash in, yours or Oropus water?"

"Oropus water."

"Then reflect that you are apparently harder to please than servants and invalids." [4]

When someone punished his footman severely, he asked why he was angry with his man.

"Because he's a glutton and he's a fool," said the other: "he's rapacious and he's lazy."

"Have you ever considered, then, which deserves the more stripes, the master or the man?" [5]

When someone was afraid of the journey to Olympia, he said:

"Why do you fear the distance? When you are at home, don't you spend most of the day in walking about? on your way there you will take a walk before lunch, and another before dinner, and then take a rest. Don't you know that if you put together the walks you take in five or six days, you can easily cover the distance from Athens to Olympia? It is more comfortable, too, to start a day early rather than a day late, since to be forced to make the stages of the journey unduly long is unpleasant; but to take a day extra on the way makes easy going. So it is better to hurry over the start than on the road." [6]

When another said that he was worn out after a long journey, he asked him whether he had carried a load.

"Oh no," said the man; "only my cloak."

"Were you alone, or had you a footman with you?"

"I had."

"Empty-handed or carrying anything?"

"He carried the rugs and the rest of the baggage, of course."

"And how has he come out of the journey?"

"Better than I, so far as I can tell."

"Well then, if you had been forced to carry his load, how would you have felt, do you suppose?"

"Bad, of course; or rather, I couldn't have done it."

"Indeed! do you think a trained man ought to be so much less capable of work than his slave?"

14. Whenever some of the members of a dining-club brought more

meat than others, Socrates would tell the waiter either to put the small contribution into the common stock or to portion it out equally among the diners. So the high batteners felt obliged not only to take their share of the pool, but to pool their own supplies in return; and so they put their own supplies also into the common stock. And since they thus got no more than those who brought little with them, they gave up spending much on meat. [2]

He observed on one occasion that one of the company at dinner had ceased to take bread, and ate the meat by itself. Now the talk was of names and the actions to which they are properly applied. "Can we say, my friends," said Socrates, "what is the nature of the action for which a man is called greedy? For all, I presume, eat meat with their bread when they get the chance: but I don't think there is so far any reason for calling them greedy?"

"No, certainly not," said one of the company. [3]

"Well, suppose he eats the meat alone, without the bread, not because he's in training, but to tickle his palate, does he seem a greedy fellow or not?"

"If not, it's hard to say who does," was the reply.

Here another of the company queried, "And he who eats a scrap of bread with a large helping of meat?"

"He too seems to me to deserve the epithet," said Socrates. "Aye, and when others pray for a good wheat harvest, he, presumably, would pray for a good meat supply." [4]

The young man, guessing that these remarks of Socrates applied to him, did not stop eating his meat, but took some bread with it. When Socrates observed this, he cried: "Watch the fellow, you who are near him, and see whether he treats the bread as his meat or the meat as his bread." [5]

On another occasion he noticed one of the company at dinner tasting several dishes with each bite of bread. "Can you imagine," he asked, "a meal more extravagant and more ruinous to the victuals than his who eats many things together, and crams all sorts of sauces into his mouth at once? At any rate by mixing more ingredients than the cooks, he adds to the cost, and since he mixes ingredients that they regard as unsuitable in a mixture, if they are right, then he is wrong and is ruining their art. [6] Yet it is surely ridiculous for a

master to obtain highly skilled cooks, and then, though he claims no knowledge of the art, to alter their confections? There's another drawback, too, attaching to the habit of eating many things together. For if many dishes are not provided, one seems to go short because one misses the usual variety: whereas he who is accustomed to take one kind of meat along with one bit of bread can make the best of one dish when more are not forthcoming." [7]

He used to say too that the term "good feeding" in Attic was a synonym for "eating." The "good" in the compound implied the eating of food that could harm neither body nor soul and was not hard to come by. Thus he attributed even good feeding to sober livers.

BOOK IV.

1. Socrates was so useful in all circumstances and in all ways, that any observer gifted with ordinary perception can see that nothing was more useful than the companionship of Socrates, and time spent with him in any place and in any circumstances. The very recollection of him in absence brought no small good to his constant companions and followers; for even in his light moods they gained no less from his society than when he was serious. [2]

Thus he would often say he was “in love”; but clearly his heart was set not on those who were fair to outward view, but on those whose souls excelled in goodness. These excellent beings he recognised by their quickness to learn whatever subject they studied, ability to remember what they learned, and desire for every kind of knowledge on which depend good management of a household and estate and tactful dealing with men and the affairs of men. For education would make such beings not only happy in themselves, and successful in the management of their households, but capable of conferring happiness on their fellow-men and on states alike. His method of approach varied. [3] To those who thought themselves possessed of natural endowments and despised learning, he explained that the greater the natural gifts, the greater is the need of education; pointing out that thoroughbreds by their spirit and mettle develop into serviceable and splendid creatures, if they are broken in as colts, but if unbroken, prove intractable and sorry jades; and high-bred puppies, keen workers and good tacklers of game, make first-rate hounds and useful dogs, if well trained, but, if untrained, turn out stupid, crazy, disobedient brutes. It is the same with human beings. [4] The most highly gifted, the youths of ardent soul, capable of doing whatever they attempt, if educated and taught their duty grow into excellent and useful men; for manifold and great are their good deeds. But untrained and untaught, these same become utterly evil and mischievous; for without knowledge to discern their duty, they often put their hand to vile deeds, and through the very grandeur and vehemence of their nature, they are uncontrollable and intractable: therefore manifold and great are their evil deeds. [5]

Those who prided themselves on riches and thought they had no need of education, supposing that their wealth would suffice them for gaining the objects of their wishes and winning honour among men, he admonished thus. “Only a fool,” he said, “can think it possible to distinguish between things useful and things harmful without learning: only a fool can think that without distinguishing these he will get all he wants by means of his wealth and be able to do what is expedient: only a simpleton can think that without the power to do what is expedient he is doing well and has made good or sufficient provision for his life: only a simpleton can think that by his wealth alone without knowledge he will be reputed good at something, or will enjoy a good reputation without being reputed good at anything in particular.

2. I will now show his method of dealing with those who thought they had received the best education, and prided themselves on wisdom. He was informed that Euthydemus, the handsome, had formed a large collection of the works of celebrated poets and professors, and therefore supposed himself to be a prodigy of wisdom for his age, and was confident of surpassing all competitors in power of speech and action. At present, Socrates observed, he did not enter the Market-place owing to his youth, but when he wanted to get anything done, he would be found sitting in a saddler’s shop near the Market. So, to make an opening, Socrates went to this shop with some of his companions.

At the first visit, one of them asked: [2] “Was it by constant intercourse with some wise man or by natural ability that Themistocles stood out among his fellow-citizens as the man to whom the people naturally looked when they felt the want of a great leader?”

In order to set Euthydemus thinking, Socrates said:

“If in the minor arts great achievement is impossible without competent masters, surely it is absurd to imagine that the art of statesmanship, the greatest of all accomplishments, comes to a man of its own accord.” [3]

Some time afterwards, meeting Euthydemus again, he saw that he was reluctant to join the circle and anxious not to betray any admiration for the wisdom of Socrates: “Well, gentlemen,” said he,

“when our friend Euthydemus has attained his full powers, and some question of policy is before the Assembly, he won’t be backward in offering advice: that is obvious from his behaviour. I fancy he has prepared a noble exordium to his addresses, with due care not to give the impression that he is indebted to anyone for his knowledge. No doubt he will begin his speech with this introduction: [4]

“‘Men of Athens, I have never yet learnt anything from anyone, nor when I have been told of any man’s ability in speech and in action, have I sought to meet him, nor have I been at pains to find a teacher among the men who know. On the contrary, I have constantly avoided learning anything of anyone, and even the appearance of it. Nevertheless I shall recommend to your consideration anything that comes into my head.’ [5]

“This exordium might be adapted so as to suit candidates for the office of public physician. They might begin their speeches in this strain:

“‘Men of Athens, I have never yet studied medicine, nor sought to find a teacher among our physicians; for I have constantly avoided learning anything from the physicians, and even the appearance of having studied their art. Nevertheless I ask you to appoint me to the office of a physician, and I will endeavour to learn by experimenting on you.’”

The exordium set all the company laughing. [6]

Now when it became evident that Socrates had gained the attention of Euthydemus, but that Euthydemus still avoided breaking silence himself, and thought that he assumed an air of prudence by remaining dumb, Socrates wanted to put an end to that affectation. “How strange it is,” he said, “that those who want to play the harp or the flute, or to ride or to get skill in any similar accomplishment, work hard at the art they mean to master, and not by themselves but under the tuition of the most eminent professors, doing and bearing anything in their anxiety to do nothing without their teachers’ guidance, just because that is the only way to become proficient: and yet, among those who want to shine as speakers in the Assembly and as statesmen, there are some who think that they will be able to do so on a sudden, by instinct, without training or study. [7] Yet surely these arts are much the harder to learn; for many more are interested in

them and far fewer succeed. Clearly then these arts demand a longer and more intense application than the others.” [8]

For a time, then, Socrates continued to talk in this strain, while Euthydemus listened. But on finding him more tolerant of his conversation and more attentive, Socrates went alone to the saddler’s; and when Euthydemus had taken a seat beside him, he said: “Tell me, Euthydemus, am I rightly informed that you have a large collection of books written by the wise men of the past, as they are called?”

“By Zeus, yes, Socrates,” answered he, “and I am still adding to it, to make it as complete as possible.” [9]

“By Hera,” retorted Socrates, “I do admire you for valuing the treasures of wisdom above gold and silver. For you are evidently of opinion that, while gold and silver cannot make men better, the thoughts of the wise enrich their possessors with virtue.”

Now Euthydemus was glad to hear this, for he guessed that in the opinion of Socrates he was on the road to wisdom. [10] But Socrates, aware that he was pleased with his approbation, went on to say: “Tell me, Euthydemus, what kind of goodness do you want to get by collecting these books?”

And as Euthydemus was silent, considering what answer to give, “Possibly you want to be a doctor?” he guessed: “Medical treatises alone make a large collection.”

“Oh no, not at all.”

“But perhaps you wish to be an architect? One needs a well-stored mind for that too.”

“No, indeed I don’t.”

“Well, perhaps you want to be a good mathematician, like Theodorus?”

“No, not that either.”

“Well, perhaps you want to be an astronomer?” And as he again said no, “Perhaps a rhapsodist, then? They tell me you have a complete copy of Homer.”

“Oh no, not at all; for your rhapsodists, I know, are consummate as reciters, but they are very silly fellows themselves.”

Then Socrates exclaimed: [11] “Surely, Euthydemus, you don’t covet the kind of excellence that makes good statesmen and

managers, competent rulers and benefactors of themselves and mankind in general?"

"Yes, I do, Socrates," answered Euthydemus, "that kind of excellence I greatly desire."

"Why," cried Socrates, "it is the noblest kind of excellence, the greatest of arts that you covet, for it belongs to kings and is dubbed 'kingly.' However," he added, "have you reflected whether it be possible to excel in these matters without being a just man?"

"Yes, certainly; and it is, in fact, impossible to be a good citizen without justice." [12]

"Then tell me, have you got that?"

"Yes, Socrates, I think I can show myself to be as just as any man."

"And have just men, like carpenters, their works?"

"Yes, they have."

"And as carpenters can point out their works, should just men be able to rehearse theirs?"

"Do you suppose," retorted Euthydemus, "that I am unable to rehearse the works of justice? Of course I can, — and the works of injustice too, since there are many opportunities of seeing and hearing of them every day." [13]

"I propose, then, that we write J in this column and I in that, and then proceed to place under these letters, J and I, what we take to be the works of justice and injustice respectively."

"Do so, if you think it helps at all"

Having written down the letters as he proposed, Socrates went on:
[14] "Lying occurs among men, does it not?"

"Yes, it does."

"Under which heading, then, are we to put that?"

"Under the heading of injustice, clearly."

"Deceit, too, is found, is it not?"

"Certainly."

"Under which heading will that go?"

"Under injustice again, of course."

"What about doing mischief?"

"That too."

"Selling into slavery?"

“That too.”

“Then we shall assign none of these things to justice, Euthydemus?”

“No, it would be monstrous to do so.” [15]

“Now suppose a man who has been elected general enslaves an unjust and hostile city, shall we say that he acts unjustly?”

“Oh no!”

“We shall say that his actions are just, shall we not?”

“Certainly.”

“And what if he deceives the enemy when at war?”

“That too is just.”

“And if he steals and plunders their goods, will not his actions be just?”

“Certainly; but at first I assumed that your questions had reference only to friends.”

“Then everything that we assigned to injustice should be assigned to justice also?”

“Apparently.” [16]

“Then I propose to revise our classification, and to say: It is just to do such things to enemies, but it is unjust to do them to friends, towards whom one’s conduct should be scrupulously honest.”

“By all means.” [17]

“Now suppose that a general, seeing that his army is downhearted, tells a lie and says that reinforcements are approaching, and by means of this lie checks discouragement among the men, under which heading shall we put this deception?”

“Under justice, I think.”

“Suppose, again, that a man’s son refuses to take a dose of medicine when he needs it, and the father induces him to take it by pretending that it is food, and cures him by means of this lie, where shall we put this deception?”

“That too goes on the same side, I think.”

“And again, suppose one has a friend suffering from depression, and, for fear that he may make away with himself, one takes away his sword or something of the sort, under which heading shall we put that now?”

“That too goes under justice, of course.” [18]

“You mean, do you, that even with friends straightforward dealing is not invariably right?”

“It isn’t, indeed! I retract what I said before, if you will let me.”

“Why, I’m bound to let you; it’s far better than getting our lists wrong. [19] But now, consider deception practised on friends to their detriment: we mustn’t overlook that either. Which is the more unjust deception in that case, the intentional or unintentional?”

“Nay, Socrates, I have lost all confidence in my answers; for all the opinions that I expressed before seem now to have taken an entirely different form. Still I venture to say that the intentional deception is more unjust than the unintentional.” [20]

“Do you think there is a doctrine and science of the just, as there is of letters?”

“Yes.”

“Which, in your judgment, is the more literate, the man who intentionally blunders in writing and reading, or the man who blunders unintentionally?”

“The one who blunders intentionally, I presume; for he can always be accurate when he chooses.”

“May we not say, then, that the intentional blunderer is literate and the unintentional is illiterate?”

“Indeed we must.”

“And which knows what is just, the intentional liar and deceiver, or the unintentional?”

“The intentional, clearly.”

“You say, then, as I understand, that he who knows letters is more literate than he who is ignorant of them?”

“Yes”

“And he who knows what is just is more just than he who does not know?”

“Apparently; but here again I don’t feel sure of my own meaning.” [21]

“Now come, what do you think of the man who wants to tell the truth, but never sticks to what he says; when he shows you the way, tells you first that the road runs east, then that it runs west; and when he casts up figures, makes the total now larger, now smaller?”

“Why, I think he shows that he doesn’t know what he thought he

knew.” [22]

“Are you aware that some people are called slavish?”

“Yes.”

“To what do they owe the name, to knowledge or to ignorance?”

“To ignorance, obviously.”

“To ignorance of the smiths’ trade, shall we say?”

“Certainly not.”

“Ignorance of carpentry perhaps?”

“No, not to that either.”

“Of cobbling?”

“No, to none of these: on the contrary, those who are skilled in such trades are for the most part slavish.”

“Then is this name given to those who are ignorant of the beautiful and good and just?”

“That is my opinion.” [23]

“Then we must strain every nerve to escape being slaves.”

“Upon my word, Socrates, I did feel confident that I was a student of a philosophy that would provide me with the best education in all things needful to one who would be a gentleman. But you can imagine my dismay when I realise that in spite of all my pains I am even incapable of answering a question about things that one is bound to know, and yet find no other way that will lead to my improvement.”

Hereupon Socrates exclaimed: [24] “Tell me, Euthydemus, have you ever been to Delphi?”

“Yes, certainly; twice.”

“Then did you notice somewhere on the temple the inscription ‘Know thyself’?”

“I did.”

“And did you pay no heed to the inscription, or did you attend to it and try to consider who you were?”

“Indeed I did not; because I felt sure that I knew that already; for I could hardly know anything else if I did not even know myself.” [25]

“And what do you suppose a man must know to know himself, his own name merely? Or must he consider what sort of a creature he is for human use and get to know his own powers; just as those who buy horses don’t think that they know the beast they want to know

until they have considered whether he is docile or stubborn, strong or weak, fast or slow, and generally how he stands in all that makes a useful or a useless horse?”

“That leads me to think that he who does not know his own powers is ignorant of himself.” [26]

“Is it not clear too that through self-knowledge men come to much good, and through self-deception to much harm? For those who know themselves, know what things are expedient for themselves and discern their own powers and limitations. And by doing what they understand, they get what they want and prosper: by refraining from attempting what they do not understand, they make no mistakes and avoid failure. And consequently through their power of testing other men too, and through their intercourse with others, they get what is good and shun what is bad. [27] Those who do not know and are deceived in their estimate of their own powers, are in the like condition with regard to other men and other human affairs. They know neither what they want, nor what they do, nor those with whom they have intercourse; but mistaken in all these respects, they miss the good and stumble into the bad. [28] Furthermore, those who know what they do win fame and honour by attaining their ends. Their equals are glad to have dealings with them; and those who miss their objects look to them for counsel, look to them for protection, rest on them their hopes of better things, and for all these reasons love them above all other men. [29] But those who know not what they do, choose amiss, fail in what they attempt and, besides incurring direct loss and punishment thereby, they earn contempt through their failures, make themselves ridiculous and live in dishonour and humiliation.

“And the same is true of communities. You find that whenever a state, in ignorance of its own power, goes to war with a stronger people, it is exterminated or loses its liberty.” [30]

“Socrates,” answered Euthydemus, “you may rest assured that I fully appreciate the importance of knowing oneself. But where should the process of self-examination begin? I look to you for a statement, please.” [31]

“Well,” said Socrates, “I may assume, I take it, that you know what things are good and what are evil?”

“Of course, for if I don’t know so much as that, I must be worse than a slave.”

“Come then, state them for my benefit.”

“Well, that’s a simple matter. First health in itself is, I suppose, a good, sickness an evil. Next the various causes of these two conditions — meat, drink, habits — are good or evil according as they promote health or sickness.” [32]

“Then health and sickness too must be good when their effect is good, and evil when it is evil.”

“But when can health possibly be the cause of evil, or sickness of good?”

“Why, in many cases; for instance, a disastrous campaign or a fatal voyage: the able-bodied who go are lost, the weaklings who stay behind are saved.”

“True; but you see, in the successful adventures too the able-bodied take part, the weaklings are left behind.”

“Then since these bodily conditions sometimes lead to profit, and sometimes to loss, are they any more good than evil?”

“No, certainly not; at least so it appears from the argument. [33] But wisdom now, Socrates, — that at any rate is indisputably a good thing; for what is there that a wise man would not do better than a fool?”

“Indeed! have you not heard how Daedalus was seized by Minos because of his wisdom, and was forced to be his slave, and was robbed of his country and his liberty, and essaying to escape with his son, lost the boy and could not save himself, but was carried off to the barbarians and again lived as a slave there?”

“That is the story, of course.”

“And have you not heard the story of Palamedes? Surely, for all the poets sing of him, how that he was envied for his wisdom and done to death by Odysseus.”

“Another well-known tale!”

“And how many others, do you suppose, have been kidnapped on account of their wisdom, and haled off to the great King’s court, and live in slavery there?” [34]

“Happiness seems to be unquestionably a good, Socrates.”

“It would be so, Euthydemus, were it not made up of goods that

are questionable.”

“But what element in happiness can be called in question?”

“None, provided we don’t include in it beauty or strength or wealth or glory or anything of the sort.”

“But of course we shall do that. For how can anyone be happy without them?” [35]

“Then of course we shall include the sources of much trouble to mankind. For many are ruined by admirers whose heads are turned at the sight of a pretty face; many are led by their strength to attempt tasks too heavy for them, and meet with serious evils: many by their wealth are corrupted, and fall victims to conspiracies; many through glory and political power have suffered great evils.” [36]

“Well now, if I am at fault in praising even happiness, I confess I know not what one should ask for in one’s prayers.”

“But perhaps you never even thought about these things, because you felt so confident that you knew them. However, as the state you are preparing yourself to direct is governed by the people, no doubt you know what popular government is?”

“I think so, certainly.” [37]

“Then do you suppose it possible to know popular government without knowing the people?”

“Indeed I don’t.”

“And do you know, then, what the people consists of?”

“I think so.”

“Of what do you suppose it to consist?”

“The poorer classes, I presume.”

“You know the poor, then?”

“Of course I do.”

“And you know the rich too?”

“Yes, just as well as the poor.”

“What kind of men do you call poor and rich respectively?”

“The poor, I imagine, are those who have not enough to pay for what they want; the rich those who have more than enough.” [38]

“Have you observed, then, that some who have very little not only find it enough, but even manage to save out of it, whereas others cannot live within their means, however large?”

“Yes, certainly — thanks for reminding me — I know, in fact, of

some despots even who are driven to crime by poverty, just like paupers.” [39]

“Therefore, if that is so, we will include despots in the people, and men of small means, if they are thrifty, in the rich.”

“I am forced to agree once more,” cried Euthydemus, “evidently by my stupidity. I am inclined to think I had better hold my tongue, or I shall know nothing at all presently.” And so he went away very dejected, disgusted with himself and convinced that he was indeed a slave. [40]

Now many of those who were brought to this pass by Socrates, never went near him again and were regarded by him as mere blockheads. But Euthydemus guessed that he would never be of much account unless he spent as much time as possible with Socrates. Henceforward, unless obliged to absent himself, he never left him, and even began to adopt some of his practices. Socrates, for his part, seeing how it was with him, avoided worrying him, and began to expound very plainly and clearly the knowledge that he thought most needful and the practices that he held to be most excellent.

3. Skill in speaking and efficiency in affairs, therefore, and ingenuity, were not the qualities that he was eager to foster in his companions. He held that they needed first to acquire prudence. For he believed that those faculties, unless accompanied by prudence, increased in their possessors injustice and power for mischief. [2]

In the first place, then, he tried to make his companions prudent towards the gods. Accordingly he discoursed on this topic at various times, as those who were present used to relate. The following conversation between him and Euthydemus I heard myself. [3]

“Tell me, Euthydemus,” he began, “has it ever occurred to you to reflect on the care the gods have taken to furnish man with what he needs?”

“No, indeed it has not,” replied Euthydemus.

“Well, no doubt you know that our first and foremost need is light, which is supplied to us by the gods?”

“Of course; since without light our eyes would be as useless as if we were blind.”

“And again, we need rest; and therefore the gods grant us the

welcome respite of night.”

“Yes, for that too we owe them thanks.” [4]

“And since the night by reason of her darkness is dim, whereas the sun by his brightness illuminates the hours of the day and all things else, have they not made stars to shine in the night, that mark the watches of night for us, and do we not thereby satisfy many of our needs?”

“That is so.”

“Moreover, the moon reveals to us not only the divisions of the night, but of the month too.”

“Certainly.” [5]

“Now, seeing that we need food, think how they make the earth to yield it, and provide to that end appropriate seasons which furnish in abundance the diverse things that minister not only to our wants but to our enjoyment.”

“Truly these things too show loving-kindness.” [6]

“Think again of their precious gift of water, that aids the earth and the seasons to give birth and increase to all things useful to us and itself helps to nourish our bodies, and mingling with all that sustains us, makes it more digestible, more wholesome, and more palatable: and how, because we need so much of it, they supply it without stint.”

“That too shows design at work.” [7]

“Think again of the blessing of fire, our defence against cold and against darkness, our helpmate in every art and all that man contrives for his service. In fact, to put it shortly, nothing of any account that is useful to the life of man is contrived without the aid of fire.”

“This too is a signal token of loving-kindness.” [8]

“Think again how the sun, when past the winter solstice, approaches, ripening some things and withering others, whose time is over; and having accomplished this, approaches no nearer, but turns away, careful not to harm us by excess of heat; and when once again in his retreat he reaches the point where it is clear to ourselves, that if he goes further away, we shall be frozen with the cold, back he turns once more and draws near and revolves in that region of the heavens where he can best serve us.”

“Yes, verily, these things do seem to be done for the sake of

mankind.” [9]

“And again, since it is evident that we could not endure the heat or the cold if it came suddenly, the sun’s approach and retreat are so gradual that we arrive at the one or the other extreme imperceptibly.”

“For myself,” exclaimed Euthydemus, “I begin to doubt whether after all the gods are occupied in any other work than the service of man. The one difficulty I feel is that the lower animals also enjoy these blessings.” [10]

“Yes,” replied Socrates, “and is it not evident that they too receive life and food for the sake of man? For what creature reaps so many benefits as man from goats and sheep and horses and oxen and asses and the other animals? He owes more to them, in my opinion, than to the fruits of the earth. At the least they are not less valuable to him for food and commerce; in fact a large portion of mankind does not use the products of the earth for food, but lives on the milk and cheese and flesh they get from live stock. Moreover, all men tame and domesticate the useful kinds of animals, and make them their fellow-workers in war and many other undertakings.”

“There too I agree with you, seeing that animals far stronger than man become so entirely subject to him that he puts them to any use he chooses.” [11]

“Think again of the multitude of things beautiful and useful and their infinite variety, and how the gods have endowed man with senses adapted for the perception of every kind, so that there is nothing good that we cannot enjoy; and again, how they have implanted in us the faculty of reasoning, whereby we are able to reason about the objects of our perceptions and to commit them to memory, and so come to know what advantage every kind can yield, and devise many means of enjoying the good and driving away the bad; [12] and think of the power of expression, which enables us to impart to one another all good things by teaching and to take our share of them, to enact laws and to administer states.”

“Truly, Socrates, it does appear that the gods devote much care to man.”

“Yet again, in so far as we are powerless of ourselves to foresee what is expedient for the future, the gods lend us their aid, revealing the issues by divination to inquirers, and teaching them how to obtain

the best results.”

“With you, Socrates, they seem to deal even more friendly than with other men, if it is true that, even unasked, they warn you by signs what to do and what not to do.” [13]

“Yes, and you will realise the truth of what I say if, instead of waiting for the gods to appear to you in bodily presence, you are content to praise and worship them because you see their works. Mark that the gods themselves give the reason for doing so; for when they bestow on us their good gifts, not one of them ever appears before us gift in hand; and especially he who co-ordinates and holds together the universe, wherein all things are fair and good, and presents them ever unimpaired and sound and ageless for our use, and quicker than thought to serve us unerringly, is manifest in his supreme works, and yet is unseen by us in the ordering of them. [14] Mark that even the sun, who seems to reveal himself to all, permits not man to behold him closely, but if any attempts to gaze recklessly upon him, blinds their eyes. And the gods’ ministers too you will find to be invisible. That the thunderbolt is hurled from heaven, and that he overwhelms all on whom he falls, is evident, but he is seen neither coming nor striking nor going. And the winds are themselves invisible, yet their deeds are manifest to us, and we perceive their approach. Moreover, the soul of man, which more than all else that is human partakes of the divine, reigns manifestly within us, and yet is itself unseen.

“For these reasons it behoves us not to despise the things that are unseen, but, realising their power in their manifestations, to honour the godhead.” [15]

“Socrates,” replied Euthydemus, “that I will in no wise be heedless of the godhead I know of a surety. But my heart fails me when I think that no man can ever render due thanks to the gods for their benefits.” [16]

“Nay, be not down-hearted, Euthydemus; for you know that to the inquiry, ‘How am I to please the gods?’ the Delphic god replies, ‘Follow the custom of the state’; and everywhere, I suppose, it is the custom that men propitiate the gods with sacrifices according to their power. How then can a man honour the gods more excellently and more devoutly than by doing as they themselves ordain? [17] Only he

must fall no whit short of his power. For when he does that, it is surely plain that he is not then honouring the gods. Therefore it is by coming no whit short of his power in honouring the gods that he is to look with confidence for the greatest blessing. For there are none from whom a man of prudence would hope for greater things than those who can confer the greatest benefits, nor can he show his prudence more clearly than by pleasing them. And how can he please them better than by obeying them strictly?" [18]

Thus by precept and by example alike he strove to increase in his companions Piety and Prudence.

4. Again, concerning Justice he did not hide his opinion, but proclaimed it by his actions. All his private conduct was lawful and helpful: to public authority he rendered such scrupulous obedience in all that the laws required, both in civil life and in military service, that he was a pattern of good discipline to all. [2] When chairman in the Assemblies he would not permit the people to record an illegal vote, but, upholding the laws, resisted a popular impulse that might even have overborne any but himself. [3] And when the Thirty laid a command on him that was illegal, he refused to obey. Thus he disregarded their repeated injunction not to talk with young men; and when they commanded him and certain other citizens to arrest a man on a capital charge, he alone refused, because the command laid on him was illegal. [4] Again, when he was tried on the charge brought by Meletus, whereas it is the custom of defendants to curry favour with the jury and to indulge in flattery and illegal appeals, and many by such means have been known to gain a verdict of acquittal, he rejected utterly the familiar chicanery of the courts; and though he might easily have gained a favourable verdict by even a moderate indulgence in such stratagems, he chose to die through his loyalty to the laws rather than to live through violating them. [5]

Such views frequently found expression in his conversations with different persons; I recollect the substance of one that he had with Hippias of Elis concerning Justice. Hippias, who had not been in Athens for a considerable time, found Socrates talking: he was saying that if you want to have a man taught cobbling or building or smithing or riding, you know where to send him to learn the craft: some indeed declare that if you want to train up a horse or an ox in

the way he should go, teachers abound. And yet, strangely enough, if you want to learn Justice yourself, or to have your son or servant taught it, you know not where to go for a teacher. [6]

When Hippias heard this, “How now?” he cried in a tone of raillery, “still the same old sentiments, Socrates, that I heard from you so long ago?”

“Yes, Hippias,” he replied, “always the same, and — what is more astonishing — on the same topics too! You are so learned that I daresay you never say the same thing on the same subjects.”

“I certainly try to say something fresh every time.”

“Do you mean, about what you know? [7] For example, in answer to the question, ‘How many letters are there in “Socrates” and how do you spell it?’ do you try to say something different now from what you said before? Or take figures: suppose you are asked if twice five are ten, don’t you give the same answer now as you gave before?”

“About letters and figures, Socrates, I always say the same thing, just like you. As for Justice, I feel confident that I can now say that which neither you nor anyone else can contradict.” [8]

“Upon my word, you mean to say that you have made a great discovery, if jurymen are to cease from voting different ways, citizens from disputing and litigation, and wrangling about the justice of their claims, cities from quarrelling about their rights and making war; and for my part, I don’t see how to tear myself away from you till I have heard about your great discovery.” [9]

“But I vow you shall not hear unless you first declare your own opinion about the nature of Justice; for it’s enough that you mock at others, questioning and examining everybody, and never willing to render an account yourself or to state an opinion about anything.”

“Indeed, Hippias! [10] Haven’t you noticed that I never cease to declare my notions of what is just?”

“And how can you call that an account?”

“I declare them by my deeds, anyhow, if not by my words. Don’t you think that deeds are better evidence than words?”

“Yes, much better, of course; for many say what is just and do what is unjust; but no one who does what is just can be unjust.” [11]

“Then have you ever found me dealing in perjury or calumny, or

stirring up strife between friends or fellow-citizens, or doing any other unjust act?"

"I have not."

"To abstain from what is unjust is just, don't you think?"

"Even now, Socrates, you are clearly endeavouring to avoid stating what you think Justice to be. You are saying not what the just do, but what they don't do." [12]

"Well, I thought that unwillingness to do injustice was sufficient proof of Justice. But, if you don't think so, see whether you like this better: I say that what is lawful is just."

"Do you mean, Socrates, that lawful and just are the same thing?"

"I do." [13]

"Because I don't see what you mean by lawful or what you mean by just."

"Does the expression 'laws of a state' convey a meaning to you?"

"It does."

"And what do you think they are?"

"Covenants made by the citizens whereby they have enacted what ought to be done and what ought to be avoided."

"Then would not that citizen who acts in accordance with these act lawfully, and he who transgresses them act unlawfully?"

"Yes, certainly."

"And would not he who obeys them do what is just, and he who disobeys them do what is unjust?"

"Certainly."

"Then would not he who does what is just be just, and he who does what is unjust be unjust?"

"Of course."

"Consequently he who acts lawfully is just, and he who acts unlawfully is unjust." [14]

"Laws," said Hippias, "can hardly be thought of much account, Socrates, or observance of them, seeing that the very men who passed them often reject and amend them."

"Yes," said Socrates, "and after going to war, cities often make peace again."

"To be sure."

"Then is there any difference, do you think, between belittling

those who obey the laws on the ground that the laws may be annulled, and blaming those who behave well in the wars on the ground that peace may be made? Or do you really censure those who are eager to help their fatherland in the wars?"

"No, of course not." [15]

"Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now — have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her? Among rulers in cities, are you not aware that those who do most to make the citizens obey the laws are the best, and that the city in which the citizens are most obedient to the laws has the best time in peace and is irresistible in war? [16] And again, agreement is deemed the greatest blessing for cities: their senates and their best men constantly exhort the citizens to agree, and everywhere in Greece there is a law that the citizens shall promise under oath to agree, and everywhere they take this oath. The object of this, in my opinion, is not that the citizens may vote for the same choirs, not that they may praise the same flute-players, not that they may select the same poets, not that they may like the same things, but that they may obey the laws. For those cities whose citizens abide by them prove strongest and enjoy most happiness; but without agreement no city can be made a good city, no house can be made a prosperous house. [17] And how is the individual citizen less likely to incur penalties from the state, and more certain to gain honour than by obeying the laws? How less likely to be defeated in the courts or more certain to win? Whom would anyone rather trust as guardian of his money or sons or daughters? Whom would the whole city think more trustworthy than the man of lawful conduct? From whom would parents or kinsfolk or servants or friends or fellow-citizens or strangers more surely get their just rights? Whom would enemies rather trust in the matter of a truce or treaty or terms of peace? Whom would men rather choose for an ally? And to whom would allies rather entrust leadership or command of a garrison, or cities? Whom would anyone more confidently expect to show gratitude for benefits received? Or whom would one rather benefit than him from whom he thinks he will receive due gratitude? Whose friendship would anyone desire, or whose enmity would he avoid more earnestly? Whom would anyone

less willingly make war on than him whose friendship he covets and whose enmity he is fain to avoid, who attracts the most friends and allies, and the fewest opponents and enemies? [18]

“So, Hippias, I declare lawful and just to be the same thing. If you are of the contrary opinion, tell me.”

“Upon my word, Socrates,” answered Hippias, “I don’t think my opinion is contrary to what you have said about Justice.” [19]

“Do you know what is meant by ‘unwritten laws,’ Hippias?”

“Yes, those that are uniformly observed in every country.”

“Could you say that men made them?”

“Nay, how could that be, seeing that they cannot all meet together and do not speak the same language?”

“Then by whom have these laws been made, do you suppose?”

“I think that the gods made these laws for men. For among all men the first law is to fear the gods.” [20]

“Is not the duty of honouring parents another universal law?”

“Yes, that is another.”

“And that parents shall not have sexual intercourse with their children nor children with their parents?”

“No, I don’t think that is a law of God.”

“Why so?”

“Because I notice that some transgress it.” [21]

“Yes, and they do many other things contrary to the laws. But surely the transgressors of the laws ordained by the gods pay a penalty that a man can in no wise escape, as some, when they transgress the laws ordained by man, escape punishment, either by concealment or by violence.” [22]

“And pray what sort of penalty is it, Socrates, that may not be avoided by parents and children who have intercourse with one another?”

“The greatest, of course. For what greater penalty can men incur when they beget children than begetting them badly?” [23]

“How do they beget children badly then, if, as may well happen, the fathers are good men and the mothers good women?”

“Surely because it is not enough that the two parents should be good. They must also be in full bodily vigour: unless you suppose that those who are in full vigour are no more efficient as parents than

those who have not yet reached that condition or have passed it.”

“Of course that is unlikely.”

“Which are the better then?”

“Those who are in full vigour, clearly.”

“Consequently those who are not in full vigour are not competent to become parents?”

“It is improbable, of course.”

“In that case then, they ought not to have children?”

“Certainly not.”

“Therefore those who produce children in such circumstances produce them wrongly?”

“I think so.”

“Who then will be bad fathers and mothers, if not they?”

“I agree with you there too.” [24]

“Again, is not the duty of requiting benefits universally recognised by law?”

“Yes, but this law too is broken.”

“Then does not a man pay forfeit for the breach of that law too, in the gradual loss of good friends and the necessity of hunting those who hate him? Or is it not true that, whereas those who benefit an acquaintance are good friends to him, he is hated by them for his ingratitude, if he makes no return, and then, because it is most profitable to enjoy the acquaintance of such men, he hunts them most assiduously?”

“Assuredly, Socrates, all this does suggest the work of the gods. For laws that involve in themselves punishment meet for those who break them, must, I think, be framed by a better legislator than man.” [25]

“Then, Hippias, do you think that the gods ordain what is just or what is otherwise?”

“Not what is otherwise — of course not; for if a god ordains not that which is just, surely no other legislator can do so.”

“Consequently, Hippias, the gods too accept the identification of just and lawful.”

By such words and actions he encouraged Justice in those who resorted to his company.

5. He did also try to make his companions efficient in affairs, as I

will now show. For holding that it is good for anyone who means to do honourable work to have self-control, he made it clear to his companions, in the first place, that he had been assiduous in self-discipline; moreover, in his conversation he exhorted his companions to cultivate self-control above all things. [2] Thus he bore in mind continually the aids to virtue, and put all his companions in mind of them. I recall in particular the substance of a conversation that he once had with Euthydemus on self-control.

“Tell me, Euthydemus,” he said, “do you think that freedom is a noble and splendid possession both for individuals and for communities?”

“Yes, I think it is, in the highest degree.” [3]

“Then do you think that the man is free who is ruled by bodily pleasures and is unable to do what is best because of them?”

“By no means.”

“Possibly, in fact, to do what is best appears to you to be freedom, and so you think that to have masters who will prevent such activity is bondage?”

“I am sure of it.” [4]

“You feel sure then that the incontinent are bond slaves?”

“Of course, naturally.”

“And do you think that the incontinent are merely prevented from doing what is most honourable, or are also forced to do what is most dishonourable?”

“I think that they are forced to do that just as much as they are prevented from doing the other.” [5]

“What sort of masters are they, in your opinion, who prevent the best and enforce the worst?”

“The worst possible, of course.”

“And what sort of slavery do you believe to be the worst?”

“Slavery to the worst masters, I think.”

“The worst slavery, therefore, is the slavery endured by the incontinent?”

“I think so.” [6]

“As for Wisdom, the greatest blessing, does not incontinence exclude it and drive men to the opposite? Or don’t you think that incontinence prevents them from attending to useful things and

understanding them, by drawing them away to things pleasant, and often so stuns their perception of good and evil that they choose the worse instead of the better?"

"That does happen." [7]

"With Prudence, Euthydemus, who, shall we say, has less to do than the incontinent? For I presume that the actions prompted by prudence and incontinence are exact opposites?"

"I agree with that too."

"To caring for what is right is there any stronger hindrance, do you think, than incontinence?"

"Indeed I do not."

"And do you think there can be aught worse for a man than that which causes him to choose the harmful rather than the useful, and persuades him to care for the one and to be careless of the other, and forces him to do the opposite of what prudence dictates?"

"Nothing." [8]

"And is it not likely that self-control causes actions the opposite of those that are due to incontinence?"

"Certainly."

"Then is not the cause of the opposite actions presumably a very great blessing?"

"Yes, presumably."

"Consequently we may presume, Euthydemus, that self-control is a very great blessing to a man?"

"We may presume so, Socrates." [9]

"Has it ever occurred to you, Euthydemus — ?"

"What?"

"That though pleasure is the one and only goal to which incontinence is thought to lead men, she herself cannot bring them to it, whereas nothing produces pleasure so surely as self-control?"

"How so?"

"Incontinence will not let them endure hunger or thirst or desire or lack of sleep, which are the sole causes of pleasure in eating and drinking and sexual indulgence, and in resting and sleeping, after a time of waiting and resistance until the moment comes when these will give the greatest possible satisfaction; and thus she prevents them from experiencing any pleasure worthy to be mentioned in the

most elementary and recurrent forms of enjoyment. But self-control alone causes them to endure the sufferings I have named, and therefore she alone causes them to experience any pleasure worth mentioning in such enjoyments.”

“What you say is entirely true.” [10]

“Moreover, the delights of learning something good and excellent, and of studying some of the means whereby a man knows how to regulate his body well and manage his household successfully, to be useful to his friends and city and to defeat his enemies — knowledge that yields not only very great benefits but very great pleasures — these are the delights of the self-controlled; but the incontinent have no part in them. For who, should we say, has less concern with these than he who has no power of cultivating them because all his serious purposes are centred in the pleasures that lie nearest?” [11]

“Socrates,” said Euthydemus, “I think you mean that he who is at the mercy of the bodily pleasures has no concern whatever with virtue in any form.”

“Yes, Euthydemus; for how can an incontinent man be any better than the dullest beast? How can he who fails to consider the things that matter most, and strives by every means to do the things that are most pleasant, be better than the stupidest of creatures? No, only the self-controlled have power to consider the things that matter most, and, sorting them out after their kind, by word and deed alike to prefer the good and reject the evil.” [12]

And thus, he said, men become supremely good and happy and skilled in discussion. The very word “discussion,” according to him, owes its name to the practice of meeting together for common deliberation, sorting, discussing things after their kind: and therefore one should be ready and prepared for this and be zealous for it; for it makes for excellence, leadership and skill in discussion.

6. I will try also to show how he encouraged his companions to become skilled in discussion. Socrates held that those who know what any given thing is can also expound it to others; on the other hand, those who do not know are misled themselves and mislead others. For this reason he never gave up considering with his companions what any given thing is.

To go through all his definitions would be an arduous task. I will

say only enough to indicate his method of analysis. [2]

His analysis of Piety — to take that first — was more or less as follows:

“Tell me, Euthydemus, what sort of thing is Piety, in your opinion?”

“A very excellent thing, to be sure,” he replied.

“Can you say what sort of man is pious?”

“He who worships the gods, I think.”

“May a man worship the gods according to his own will and pleasure?”

“No, there are laws to be observed in worshipping the gods!” [3]

“Then will not he who knows these laws know how he must worship the gods?”

“I think so.”

“Then does he who knows how he must worship the gods think that he must do so according to his knowledge, and not otherwise?”

“He does indeed.”

“And does everyone worship the gods as he thinks he ought, and not otherwise?”

“I think so.” [4]

“Then will he who knows what is lawful about the gods worship the gods lawfully?”

“Certainly.”

“Then does not he who worships lawfully worship as he ought?”

“Of course.”

“Yes, but he who worships as he ought is pious?”

“Certainly.”

“Shall we therefore rightly define the pious man as one who knows what is lawful concerning the gods?”

“I at any rate think so.” [5]

“In dealing with men, again, may one do as one chooses?”

“No, in the case of men too there are laws of conduct.”

“Then do not those who observe them in their dealings with one another behave as they ought?”

“Of course.”

“And do not they who behave as they ought behave well?”

“Certainly.”

“And do not they who behave well towards men act well in human affairs?”

“Presumably.”

“And do not those who obey the laws do what is just?”

“Certainly.” [6]

“Do you know what sort of things are called just?”

“The things that the laws command.”

“Consequently those who do what the laws command do both what is just and what they must do?”

“Of course.”

“And are not they who do what is just, just men?”

“I think so.”

“Do you think then, that any obey the laws without knowing what the laws command?”

“I do not.”

“And knowing what they must do, do you suppose that any think they must not do it?”

“I don’t think so.”

“Do you know of any who do, not what they think they must do, but something else?”

“I do not.”

“Consequently those who know what is lawful concerning men do what is just?”

“Certainly.”

“But are not they who do what is just, just men?”

“Exactly.”

“At last, then, we may rightly define just men as those who know best what is just concerning men?”

“I think so.”

“And what of Wisdom? [7] How shall we describe it? Tell me, does it seem to you that the wise are wise about what they know, or are some wise about what they do not know?”

“About what they know, obviously; for how can a man be wise about the things he doesn’t know?”

“The wise, then, are wise by knowledge?”

“How else can a man be wise if not by knowledge?”

“Do you think that wisdom is anything but that by which men are

wise?”

“No.”

“It follows that Wisdom is Knowledge?”

“I think so.”

“Then do you think it possible for a man to know all things?”

“Of course not — nor even a fraction of them.”

“So an all-wise man is an impossibility?”

“Of course, of course.”

“Consequently everyone is wise just in so far as he knows?”

“I think so.” [8]

“Now to seek the Good, Euthydemus: is this the way?”

“What do you mean?”

“Does it seem to you that the same thing is useful to everyone?”

“No.”

“In fact, what is useful to one may sometimes be hurtful to another, don’t you think?”

“Assuredly.”

“Should you call anything good except what is useful?”

“No.”

“Consequently what is useful is good for him to whom it is useful?”

“I think so.” [9]

“Consider the Beautiful: can we define it in any other way? Or is it possible to name a beautiful body, for instance, or vessel, or anything else that you know to be beautiful for all purposes?”

“Of course not.”

“Then does the beauty in using anything consist in using it for just that purpose for which that particular thing is useful?”

“Certainly.”

“And is a thing beautiful for any other purpose than that for which it is beautiful to use that particular thing?”

“For no other purpose whatever.”

“The useful, then, is beautiful for any purpose for which it is useful?”

“I think so.”

“Next comes Courage, Euthydemus. [10] Do you think it a beautiful thing?”

“I prefer to say very beautiful.”

“So you think Courage useful for no mean purposes?”

“Of course — or rather, for the greatest.”

“Then do you think that in the pressure of terrors and dangers it is useful to be ignorant of them?”

“By no means.”

“So those who feel no fear of such things because they are ignorant of them are not courageous?”

“Of course not, for in that case many madmen and cowards would be courageous.”

“What of those who are afraid when there is no ground for fear?”

“Still less, of course.”

“Then do you think that those who are good in the presence of terrors and dangers are courageous, and those who are bad are cowards?”

“Certainly.” [11]

“And do you think that any are good in the presence of such things, except those who can deal with them well?”

“None but these.”

“And bad, except such as deal badly with them?”

“These and none others.”

“Then do both classes behave as they think they must?”

“How can they behave otherwise?”

“Then do those who cannot behave well know how they must behave?”

“Surely not.”

“So those who know how they must behave are just those who can?”

“Yes, only they.”

“Well now, do those who are not utterly mistaken deal badly with such things?”

“I think not.”

“So those who behave badly are utterly mistaken?”

“Presumably.”

“It follows that those who know how to deal well with terrors and dangers are courageous, and those who utterly mistake the way are cowards?”

“That is my opinion.” [12]

“Kingship and despotism, in his judgment, were both forms of government, but he held that they differed. For government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the state was kingship; while government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, was despotism. And where the officials are chosen among those who fulfil the requirements of the laws, the constitution is an aristocracy: where rateable property is the qualification for office, you have a plutocracy: where all are eligible, a democracy. [13]

Whenever anyone argued with him on any point without being able to make himself clear, asserting but not proving, that so and so was wiser or an abler politician or braver or what not, he would lead the whole discussion back to the definition required, much in this way: [14]

“Do you say that your man is a better citizen than mine?”

“I do indeed.”

“Then why didn’t we first consider what is the function of a good citizen?”

“Let us do so.”

“In financial administration, then, is not the better man he who makes the city wealthier?”

“Certainly.”

“And in war he who makes her stronger than her rivals?”

“Of course.”

“And on an embassy he who turns enemies into friends?”

“Presumably.”

“And in debate he who puts down strife and produces harmony?”

“I think so.”

By this process of leading back the argument even his adversary came to see the truth clearly. [15] Whenever he himself argued out a question, he advanced by steps that gained general assent, holding this to be the only sure method. Accordingly, whenever he argued, he gained a greater measure of assent from his hearers than any man I have known. He said that Homer gave Odysseus the credit of being “a safe speaker” because he had a way of leading the discussion from one acknowledged truth to another.

7. I think that I have said enough to show that Socrates stated his own opinion plainly to those who consorted with him: I will now show that he also took pains to make them independent in doing the work that they were fitted for. For I never knew a man who was so careful to discover what each of his companions knew. Whatever it befits a gentleman to know he taught most zealously, so far as his own knowledge extended; if he was not entirely familiar with a subject, he took them to those who knew. [2] He also taught them how far a well-educated man should make himself familiar with any given subject.

For instance, he said that the study of geometry should be pursued until the student was competent to measure a parcel of land accurately in case he wanted to take over, convey or divide it, or to compute the yield; and this knowledge was so easy to acquire, that anyone who gave his mind to mensuration knew the size of the piece and carried away a knowledge of the principles of land measurement. [3] He was against carrying the study of geometry so far as to include the more complicated figures, on the ground that he could not see the use of them. Not that he was himself unfamiliar with them, but he said that they were enough to occupy a lifetime, to the complete exclusion of many other useful studies. [4]

Similarly he recommended them to make themselves familiar with astronomy, but only so far as to be able to find the time of night, month and year, in order to use reliable evidence when planning a journey by land or sea, or setting the watch, and in all other affairs that are done in the night or month or year, by distinguishing the times and seasons aforesaid. This knowledge, again, was easily to be had from night hunters and pilots and others who made it their business to know such things. [5] But he strongly deprecated studying astronomy so far as to include the knowledge of bodies revolving in different courses, and of planets and comets, and wearing oneself out with the calculation of their distance from the earth, their periods of revolution and the causes of these. Of such researches, again he said that he could not see what useful purpose they served. He had indeed attended lectures on these subjects too; but these again, he said, were enough to occupy a lifetime to the complete exclusion of many useful studies. [6]

In general, with regard to the phenomena of the heavens, he deprecated curiosity to learn how the deity contrives them: he held that their secrets could not be discovered by man, and believed that any attempt to search out what the gods had not chosen to reveal must be displeasing to them. He said that he who meddles with these matters runs the risk of losing his sanity as completely as Anaxagoras, who took an insane pride in his explanation of the divine machinery. [7]

For that sage, in declaring the sun to be fire, ignored the facts that men can look at fire without inconvenience, but cannot gaze steadily at the sun; that their skin is blackened by the sun's rays, but not by fire. Further, he ignored the fact that sunlight is essential to the health of all vegetation, whereas if anything is heated by fire it withers. Again, when he pronounced the sun to be a red-hot stone, he ignored the fact that a stone in fire neither glows nor can resist it long, whereas the sun shines with unequalled brilliance for ever. [8]

He also recommended the study of arithmetic. But in this case as in the others he recommended avoidance of vain application; and invariably, whether theories or ascertained facts formed the subject of his conversation, he limited it to what was useful. [9]

He also strongly urged his companions to take care of their health. "You should find out all you can," he said, "from those who know. Everyone should watch himself throughout his life, and notice what sort of meat and drink and what form of exercise suit his constitution, and how he should regulate them in order to enjoy good health. For by such attention to yourselves you can discover better than any doctor what suits your constitution." [10]

When anyone was in need of help that human wisdom was unable to give he advised him to resort to divination; for he who knew the means whereby the gods give guidance to men concerning their affairs never lacked divine counsel.

8. As for his claim that he was forewarned by "the deity" what he ought to do and what not to do, some may think that it must have been a delusion because he was condemned to death. But they should remember two facts. First, he had already reached such an age, that had he not died then, death must have come to him soon after. Secondly, he escaped the most irksome stage of life and the

inevitable diminution of mental powers, and instead won glory by the moral strength revealed in the wonderful honesty and frankness and probity of his defence, and in the equanimity and manliness with which he bore the sentence of death. [2]

In fact it is admitted that there is no record of death more nobly borne. For he was forced to live for thirty days after the verdict was given, because it was the month of the Dêlia, and the law did not allow any public execution to take place until the sacred embassy had returned from Delos. During this interval, as all his intimate acquaintances could see, he continued to live exactly as before; and, in truth, before that time he had been admired above all men for his cheerfulness and serenity. [3] How, then, could man die more nobly? Or what death could be nobler than the death most nobly faced? What death more blessed than the noblest? Or what dearer to the gods than the most blessed? [4]

I will repeat what Hermogenes, son of Hipponicus, told me about him. "When Meletus had actually formulated his indictment," he said, "Socrates talked freely in my presence, but made no reference to the case. I told him that he ought to be thinking about his defence. His first remark was, 'Don't you think that I have been preparing for it all my life?' And when I asked him how, he said that he had been constantly occupied in the consideration of right and wrong, and in doing what was right and avoiding what was wrong, which he regarded as the best preparation for a defence. [5] Then I said, 'Don't you see, Socrates, that the juries in our courts are apt to be misled by argument, so that they often put the innocent to death, and acquit the guilty?' 'Ah, yes, Hermogenes,' he answered, 'but when I did try to think out my defence to the jury, the deity at once resisted.' [6] 'Strange words,' said I; and he, 'Do you think it strange, if it seems better to God that I should die now? Don't you see that to this day I never would acknowledge that any man had lived a better or a pleasanter life than I? For they live best, I think, who strive best to become as good as possible: and the pleasanter life is theirs who are conscious that they are growing in goodness. [7] And to this day that has been my experience; and mixing with others and closely comparing myself with them, I have held without ceasing to this opinion of myself. And not I only, but my friends cease not to feel

thus towards me, not because of their love for me (for why does not love make others feel thus towards their friends?), but because they think that they too would rise highest in goodness by being with me. [8] But if I am to live on, haply I may be forced to pay the old man's forfeit — to become sand-blind and deaf and dull of wit, slower to learn, quicker to forget, outstripped now by those who were behind me. Nay, but even were I unconscious of the change, life would be a burden to me; and if I knew, misery and bitterness would surely be my lot. [9]

““But now, if I am to die unjustly, they who unjustly kill me will bear the shame of it. For if to do injustice is shameful, whatever is unjustly done must surely bring shame. But to me what shame is it that others fail to decide and act justly concerning me? [10] I see that posterity judges differently of the dead according as they did or suffered injustice. I know that men will remember me too, and, if I die now, not as they will remember those who took my life. For I know that they will ever testify of me that I wronged no man at any time, nor corrupted any man, but strove ever to make my companions better.” [11]

This was the tenor of his conversation with Hermogenes and with the others. All who knew what manner of man Socrates was and who seek after virtue continue to this day to miss him beyond all others, as the chief of helpers in the quest of virtue. For myself, I have described him as he was: so religious that he did nothing without counsel from the gods; so just that he did no injury, however small, to any man, but conferred the greatest benefits on all who dealt with him; so self-controlled that he never chose the pleasanter rather than the better course; so wise that he was unerring in his judgment of the better and the worse, and needed no counsellor, but relied on himself for his knowledge of them; masterly in expounding and defining such things; no less masterly in putting others to the test, and convincing them of error and exhorting them to follow virtue and gentleness. To me then he seemed to be all that a truly good and happy man must be. But if there is any doubter, let him set the character of other men beside these things; then let him judge.

OECONOMICUS



Translated by E. C. Marchant

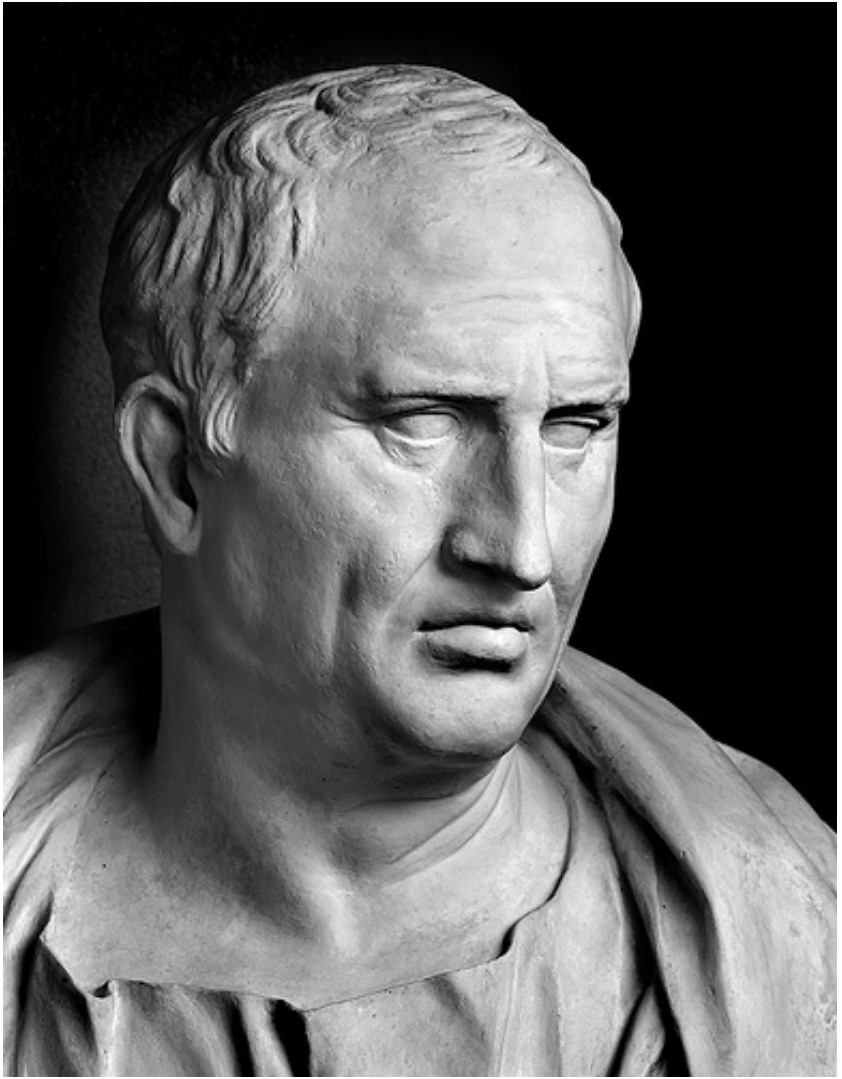
This Socratic dialogue principally concerns household management and agriculture. It is one of the earliest works on *economics* in its original sense and is a significant source for the social and intellectual history of classical Athens. Beyond the emphasis on household economics, the dialogue explores such topics as the qualities and relationships of men and women, rural versus urban life, slavery, religion and education. Scholars tend to agree to a relatively late date for the composition of the *Oeconomicus*, most likely after 362 BC.

The opening framing dialogue is between Socrates and Critoboulus, the son of Crito. Socrates discusses the meaning of wealth and identifies it with usefulness and well-being, not merely the owning of possessions. He connects moderation and hard work to success in household management. The dramatic date of this part of the work can be no earlier than 401 BC, as the Battle of Cunaxa is referred to at 4.18.

When Critoboulus asks about the practices involved in household management, Socrates pleads ignorance on the subject, but relates what he has learnt of it from an Athenian gentleman-farmer named Ischomachus. In the discussion related by Socrates, Ischomachus describes the methods he used to educate his wife in housekeeping, their practices in ruling and training slaves, and the technology involved in farming. Approximately two thirds of the dialogue concerns the discussion between Socrates and Ischomachus.

Cicero translated the *Oeconomicus* into Latin and the work gained popularity during the Renaissance in a number of translations. Leo Strauss wrote a political-philosophical commentary on the dialogue. The social theorist and philosopher Michel Foucault took

Xenophon's depiction of the relationship between Ischomachus and his wife as a classical expression of the ancient Greek ideology of power, according to which a man's control of his emotions was externally reflected in his control of his wife, his slaves and his political subordinates. Strauss took the *Oeconomicus* as a more ironic examination of the nature of the gentleman, virtue, and domestic relationships.



The celebrated Roman philosopher, politician and orator Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), was a great admirer of Xenophon's works and the first recorded translator of the 'Oeconomicus'.

ECONOMICS

1. I once heard him discuss the subject of estate management in the following manner.

“Tell me, Critobulus, is estate management the name of a branch of knowledge, like medicine, smithing and carpentry?”

“I think so,” replied Critobulus. [2]

“And can we say what the function of estate management is, just as we can say what is the function of each of these arts?”

“Well, I suppose that the business of a good estate manager is to manage his own estate well.” [3]

“Yes, and in case he were put in charge of another man’s estate, could he not, if he chose, manage it as well as he manages his own? Anyone who understands carpentry can do for another exactly the same work as he does for himself; and so, I presume, can a good estate manager.”

“I think so, Socrates.” [4]

“Is it possible, then, for one who understands this art, even if he has no property of his own, to earn money by managing another man’s estate, just as he might do by building him a house?”

“Yes, of course; and he would get a good salary if, after taking over an estate, he continued to pay all outgoings, and to increase the estate by showing a balance.”

“But what do we mean now by an estate? [5] Is it the same thing as a house, or is all property that one possesses outside the house also part of the estate?”

“Well, I think that even if the property is situated in different cities, everything a man possesses is part of his estate.” [6]

“Do not some men possess enemies?”

“Of course; some in fact possess many.”

“Shall we include their enemies in their possessions?”

“It would be ridiculous, surely, if one actually received a salary for increasing the number of a man’s enemies!” [7]

“Because, you know, we supposed a man’s estate to be the same as his property.”

“To be sure — meaning thereby the good things that he possesses.

No, of course I don't call any bad thing that he may possess property."

"You seem to use the word property of whatever is profitable to its owner."

"Certainly; but what is harmful I regard as loss rather than wealth." [8]

"Yes, and consequently if a man buys a horse and doesn't know how to manage it, and so keeps on getting thrown and injuring himself by trying to ride it, the horse is not wealth to him, I presume?"

"No, if we assume that wealth is a good thing."

"It follows that land is not wealth either to a man who works it in such a way that his work results in loss."

"To be sure: even land is not wealth if it makes us starve instead of supporting us." [9]

"And the same will hold good of sheep, will it not? if a man loses through ignorance of sheep farming, his sheep too will not be wealth to him?"

"I think not."

"It seems, then, that your view is this: what is profitable is wealth, what is harmful is not wealth."

"Quite so." [10]

"That is to say, the same things are wealth and not wealth, according as one understands or does not understand how to use them. A flute, for example, is wealth to one who is competent to play it, but to an incompetent person it is no better than useless stones."

"True — unless he sells it." [11]

"We now see that to persons who don't understand its use, a flute is wealth if they sell it, but not wealth if they keep it instead of selling."

"Yes, Socrates, and our argument runs consistently, since we have said that what is profitable is wealth. For a flute, if not put up for sale, is not wealth, because it is useless: if put up for sale it becomes wealth." [12]

"Yes," commented Socrates, "provided he knows how to sell; but again, in case he sells it for something he doesn't know how to use, even then the sale doesn't convert it into wealth, according to you."

“You imply, Socrates, that even money isn’t wealth to one who doesn’t know how to use it.” [13]

“And you, I think, agree with me to this extent, that wealth is that from which a man can derive profit. At any rate, if a man uses his money to buy a mistress who makes him worse off in body and soul and estate, how can his money be profitable to him then?”

“By no means, unless we are ready to maintain that the weed called nightshade, which drives you mad if you eat it, is wealth.” [14]

“Then money is to be kept at a distance, Critobulus, if one doesn’t know how to use it, and not to be included in wealth. But how about friends? If one knows how to make use of them so as to profit by them, what are they to be called?”

“Wealth, of course, and much more so than cattle, if it be true that they are more profitable than cattle.” [15]

“Yes, and it follows from what you say that enemies too are wealth to anyone who can derive profit from them.”

“Well, that is my opinion.”

“Consequently it is the business of a good estate manager to know how to deal with enemies so as to derive profit from them too.”

“Most decidedly.”

“In fact, Critobulus, you cannot fail to notice that many private persons have been indebted to war for the increase of their estates, and many princes too.” [16]

“Yes, so far so good, Socrates. But sometimes we come across persons possessed of knowledge and means whereby they can increase their estates if they work, and we find that they are unwilling to do so; and consequently we see that their knowledge profits them nothing. What are we to make of that? In these cases, surely, neither their knowledge nor their property is wealth?” [17]

“Are you trying to raise a discussion about slaves, Critobulus?”

“Oh no, not at all: I am referring to persons of whom some, at any rate, are considered men of the highest lineage. I observe that there are persons skilled in the arts of war or peace, as the case may be, who are unwilling to practice them, and the reason, I think, is just this, that they have no master over them.” [18]

“What, no master over them, when, in spite of their prayers for prosperity and their desire to do what will bring them good, they are

thwarted in their intentions by the powers that rule them?" [19]

"And who, pray, may these unseen rulers be?"

"No, not unseen, but open and undisguised, surely! And very vicious rulers they are too, as you yourself must see, if at least you regard idleness and moral cowardice and negligence as vice. [20] Aye, and then there is a set of deceitful mistresses that pretend to be pleasures — such as gambling and consorting with bad companions: even the victims of their deception find as time goes on that these, after all, are really pains concealed beneath a thin veneer of pleasures, and that they are hindering them from all profitable work by their influence over them." [21]

"But there are other men, Socrates, whose energy is not hindered by these influences, in fact they have an eager desire to work and to make an income: nevertheless they exhaust their estates and are beset with difficulties." [22]

"Yes, they too are slaves, and hard indeed are their masters: some are in bondage to gluttony, some to lechery, some to drink, and some to foolish and costly ambitions. And so hard is the rule of these passions over every man who falls into their clutches, that so long as they see that he is strong and capable of work, they force him to pay over all the profits of his toil, and to spend it on their own desires; but no sooner do they find that he is too old to work, than they leave him to an old age of misery, and try to fasten the yoke on other shoulders. [23] Ah, Critobulus, we must fight for our freedom against these tyrants as persistently as if they were armed men trying to enslave us. Indeed, open enemies may be gentlemen, and when they enslave us, may, by chastening, purge us of our faults and cause us to live better lives in future. But such mistresses as these never cease to plague men in body and soul and estate all the time that they have dominion over them."

2. The word was now with Critobulus, who continued thus:

"Well, I think you have told me quite enough about such passions as these, and when I examine myself I find, I think, that I have them fairly well under control; and therefore, if you will advise me what I should do to increase my estate, I don't think those mistresses, as you call them, are likely to hinder me. So do not hesitate to give me any good advice you can: unless, indeed, you have made up your mind

that we are rich enough already, Socrates, and think we have no need of more money?" [2]

"Oh, if you mean to include me, I certainly think I have no need of more money and am rich enough. But you seem to me to be quite poor, Critobulus, and at times, I assure you, I feel quite sorry for you." [3]

"And how much, pray," asked Critobulus, laughing, "would your property fetch at a sale, do you suppose, Socrates, and how much would mine?"

"Well, if I found a good buyer, I think the whole of my goods and chattels, including the house, might readily sell for five minae. Yours, I feel sure, would fetch more than a hundred times that sum." [4]

"And in spite of that estimate, you really think you have no need of money and pity me for my poverty?"

"Yes, because my property is sufficient to satisfy my wants, but I don't think you would have enough to keep up the style you are living in and to support your reputation, even if your fortune were three times what it is." [5]

"How can that be?" exclaimed Critobulus.

"Because, in the first place," explained Socrates, "I notice that you are bound to offer many large sacrifices; else, I fancy, you would get into trouble with gods and men alike. Secondly, it is your duty to entertain many strangers, on a generous scale too. Thirdly, you have to give dinners and play the benefactor to the citizens, or you lose your following. [6] Moreover, I observe that already the state is exacting heavy contributions from you: you must needs keep horses, pay for choruses and gymnastic competitions, and accept presidencies; and if war breaks out, I know they will require you to maintain a ship and pay taxes that will nearly crush you. Whenever you seem to fall short of what is expected of you, the Athenians will certainly punish you as though they had caught you robbing them. [7] Besides all this, I notice that you imagine yourself to be a rich man; you are indifferent to money, and yet go courting minions, as though the cost were nothing to you. And that is why I pity you, and fear that you may come to grief and find yourself reduced to penury. [8] Now, if I ran short of money, no doubt you know as well as I do that I

should not lack helpers who would need to contribute very little to fill my cup to overflowing. But your friends, though far better supplied with means to support their establishment than you, yet look to receive help from you.” [9]

“I cannot dispute this, Socrates,” said Critobulus, “but it is time for you to take me in hand, and see that I don’t become a real object of pity.”

At this Socrates exclaimed, “What, don’t you think it strange, Critobulus, that a little while ago, when I said I was rich, you laughed at me, as though I did not even know the meaning of riches, and would not cease until you had proved me wrong and made me own that my possessions were less than one-hundredth part of yours, and yet now you bid me take you in hand and see that you don’t become in literal truth a poor man?” [10]

“Well, Socrates, I see that you understand one process by which wealth is created — how to create a balance. So a man who saves on a small income can, I suppose, very easily show a large surplus with a large one.” [11]

“Then don’t you remember saying just now in our conversation, when you wouldn’t give me leave to utter a syllable, that if a man doesn’t know how to manage horses, his horses are not wealth to him, nor his land, sheep, money or anything else, if he doesn’t know how to manage them? Now these are the sources from which income is derived: and how do you suppose that I can possibly know how to manage any of these things, seeing that I never yet possessed any one of them?” [12]

“Still we held that, even if a man happens to have no wealth, there is such a thing as a science of household management. Then what reason is there why you should not know it?”

“Exactly the same reason, of course, that a man would have for not knowing how to play on the flute if he had never possessed one himself and had never borrowed one to learn on. [13] That is just my case with regard to estate management; for never having possessed wealth myself, I have not had an opportunity of learning on an instrument of my own, and nobody has ever let me handle his, until you made your offer. Beginners, I fancy, are apt to spoil the lyres they learn on; and if I attempted to learn to manage estates by

practising on yours, possibly I might spoil it entirely for you.” [14]

“Ah, Socrates!” rejoined Critobulus, “I see you are eager to avoid giving me any help towards lightening the weight of my troublesome duties.”

“Not at all, not at all,” said Socrates, “I am all eagerness to tell you all I know. [15] Suppose that you had come to me for fire, and I, having none by me, had taken you to some place where you could get it; you would not, I think, have found fault with me: or, if you had asked for water, and I, having none myself, had brought you to some other place for it, I feel sure that you would not have found fault with me for that either: or, suppose you wanted to learn music with me and I directed you to persons far more skilled in music than I am, who would be grateful to you for taking lessons with them, what fault could you find with me for doing so?” [16]

“None, if I were fair, Socrates.”

“Well then, Critobulus, I will direct you to others far more skilled than I in the things you now seek to learn from me. I confess that I have made a point of finding out who are the greatest masters of various sciences to be found in Athens. [17] For observing once that the same pursuits lead in one case to great poverty and in another to great riches, I was filled with amazement, and thought it worth while to consider what this could mean. And on consideration I found that these things happen quite naturally. [18] For I saw that those who follow these pursuits carelessly suffer loss, and I discovered that those who devote themselves earnestly to them accomplish them more quickly, more easily and with more profit. I think that if you would elect to learn from these, you too with God’s favour would turn out a clever man of business.”

3. “Socrates,” exclaimed Critobulus on hearing this, “I don’t intend to let you go now, until you have proved to my satisfaction what you have promised in the presence of our friends here to prove.”

“Well then,” said Socrates, “what if I prove to your satisfaction, Critobulus, to begin with, that some men spend large sums in building houses that are useless, while others build houses perfect in all respects for much less? Will you think that I am putting before you one of the operations that constitute estate management?”

“Yes, certainly.” [2]

“And what if I show you next the companion to this — that some possess many costly belongings and cannot use them at need, and do not even know whether they are safe and sound, and so are continually worried themselves and worrying their servants, whereas others, though they possess not more, but even less, have whatever they want ready for use?”

“What is the reason of this, then, Socrates? [3] Is it not simply this, that the former stow their things away anywhere and the latter have everything neatly arranged in some place?”

“Yes, of course, arranged carefully in the proper place, not just anywhere.”

“Your point, I take it, is that this too is an element in estate management.” [4]

“Then what if I show you besides that in some households nearly all the servants are in fetters and yet continually try to run away, whereas in others they are under no restraint and are willing to work and to stay at their posts? Won’t you think that here too I am pointing out to you a notable effect of estate management?”

“Yes, of course; very much so.” [5]

“And that when men farm the same kind of land, some are poverty-stricken and declare that they are ruined by farming, and others do well with the farm and have all they want in abundance?”

“Yes, of course; for maybe some spend money not on necessary purposes only but on what brings harm to the owner and the estate.”

“Perhaps there are such people. [6] But I am referring rather to those who haven’t the money to meet even the necessary expenses, though professing to be farmers.”

“Now what can be the reason of that, Socrates?”

“I will take you to these too; and when you watch them, you will find out, I fancy.”

“Of course; that is, if I can.” [7]

“Then you must watch, and try by experiment whether you are capable of understanding. At present I observe that when a comedy is to be seen, you get up very early and walk a very long way and press me eagerly to go to the play with you. But you have never yet invited me to see a drama of real life like this.”

“You think me ridiculous, don’t you, Socrates?”

“You think yourself far more so, I am sure. [8] And suppose I show you that some have been brought to penury by keeping horses, while others prosper by doing so, and moreover glory in their gain?”

“Well, I too see and know instances of both; I am not one of the gainers for all that.” [9]

“The fact is you watch them just as you watch the actors in tragedy or comedy, not, I suppose, to become a playwright, but for the pleasure of seeing and hearing something. And perhaps there is no harm in that, because you don’t want to write plays; but seeing that you are forced to meddle with horses, don’t you think that common-sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business, the more so as the self-same horses are both good to use and profitable to sell?” [10]

“Would you have me break in colts, Socrates?”

“Of course not, no more than I would have you buy children to train as agricultural labourers; but horses and human beings alike, I think, on reaching a certain age forthwith become useful and go on improving. I can also show you that husbands differ widely in their treatment of their wives, and some succeed in winning their co-operation and thereby increase their estates, while others bring utter ruin on their houses by their behaviour to them.” [11]

“And ought one to blame the husband or the wife for that, Socrates?”

“When a sheep is ailing,” said Socrates, “we generally blame the shepherd, and when a horse is vicious, we generally find fault with his rider. In the case of a wife, if she receives instruction in the right way from her husband and yet does badly, perhaps she should bear the blame; but if the husband does not instruct his wife in the right way of doing things, and so finds her ignorant, should he not bear the blame himself? [12] Anyhow, Critobulus, you should tell us the truth, for we are all friends here. Is there anyone to whom you commit more affairs of importance than you commit to your wife?”

“There is not.”

“Is there anyone with whom you talk less?”

“There are few or none, I confess.” [13]

“And you married her when she was a mere child and had seen

and heard almost nothing?”

“Certainly.”

“Then it would be far more surprising if she understood what she should say or do than if she made mistakes.” [14]

“But what of the husbands who, as you say, have good wives, Socrates? Did they train them themselves?”

“There’s nothing like investigation. I will introduce Aspasia to you, and she will explain the whole matter to you with more knowledge than I possess. [15] I think that the wife who is a good partner in the household contributes just as much as her husband to its good; because the incomings for the most part are the result of the husband’s exertions, but the outgoings are controlled mostly by the wife’s dispensation. If both do their part well, the estate is increased; if they act incompetently, it is diminished. [16] If you think you want to know about other branches of knowledge, I fancy I can show you people who acquit themselves creditably in any one of them.”

4. “Surely, Socrates, there is no need to go through the whole list. For it is not easy to get workmen who are skilled in all the arts, nor is it possible to become an expert in them. Pray select the branches of knowledge that seem the noblest and would be most suitable for me to cultivate: show me these, and those who practise them; and give me from your own knowledge any help you can towards learning them.” [2]

“Very good, Critobulus; for, to be sure, the illiberal arts, as they are called, are spoken against, and are, naturally enough, held in utter disdain in our states. For they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the foremen, forcing them to sit still and live indoors, and in some cases to spend the day at the fire. The softening of the body involves a serious weakening of the mind. [3] Moreover, these so-called illiberal arts leave no spare time for attention to one’s friends and city, so that those who follow them are reputed bad at dealing with friends and bad defenders of their country. In fact, in some of the states, and especially in those reputed warlike, it is not even lawful for any of the citizens to work at illiberal arts.” [4]

“But what arts, pray, do you advise us to follow, Socrates?”

“Need we be ashamed of imitating the king of the Persians? For they say that he pays close attention to husbandry and the art of war,

holding that these are two of the noblest and most necessary pursuits.” [5]

“And do you really believe, Socrates,” exclaimed Critobulus on hearing this, “that the king of the Persians includes husbandry among his occupations?”

“Perhaps, Critobulus, the following considerations will enable us to discover whether he does so. We allow that he pays close attention to warfare, because he has given a standing order to every governor of the nations from which he receives tribute, to supply maintenance for a specified number of horsemen and archers and slingers and light infantry, that they may be strong enough to control his subjects and to protect the country in the event of an invasion; and, [6] apart from these, he maintains garrisons in the citadels. Maintenance for these is supplied by the governor charged with this duty, and the king annually reviews the mercenaries and all the other troops ordered to be under arms, assembling all but the men in the citadels at the place of muster, as it is called: he personally inspects the men who are near his residence, and sends trusted agents to review those who live far away. [7] The officers, whether commanders of garrisons or of regiments or viceroys, who turn out with a full complement of men and parade them equipped with horses and arms in good condition, he promotes in the scale of honour and enriches with large grants of money; but those officers whom he finds to be neglecting the garrisons or making profit out of them he punishes severely, and appoints others to take their office. These actions, then, seem to us to leave no room for question that he pays attention to warfare. [8]

“As for the country, he personally examines so much of it as he sees in the course of his progress through it; and he receives reports from his trusted agents on the territories that he does not see for himself. To those governors who are able to show him that their country is densely populated and that the land is in cultivation and well stocked with the trees of the district and with the crops, he assigns more territory and gives presents, and rewards them with seats of honour. Those whose territory he finds uncultivated and thinly populated either through harsh administration or through contempt or through carelessness, he punishes, and appoints others to take their office. [9] By such action, does he seem to provide less for

the cultivation of the land by the inhabitants than for its protection by the garrisons? Moreover, each of these duties is entrusted to a separate class of officers; one class governs the residents and the labourers, and collects tribute from them, the other commands the men under arms and the garrisons. [10] If the commander of a garrison affords insufficient protection to the country, the civil governor and controller of agriculture denounces the commander, setting out that the inhabitants are unable to work the farms for want of protection. If, on the other hand, the commander brings peace to the farms, and the governor nevertheless causes the land to be sparsely populated and idle, the commander in turn denounces the governor. [11] For, roughly speaking, where cultivation is inefficient, the garrisons are not maintained and the tribute cannot be paid. Wherever a viceroy is appointed, he attends to both these matters.”

At this point Critobulus said: [12] “Well, Socrates, if the Great King does this, it seems to me that he pays as much attention to husbandry as to warfare.” [13]

“Yet further,” continued Socrates, “in all the districts he resides in and visits he takes care that there are ‘paradises,’ as they call them, full of all the good and beautiful things that the soil will produce, and in this he himself spends most of his time, except when the season precludes it.” [14]

“Then it is of course necessary, Socrates, to take care that these paradises in which the king spends his time shall contain a fine stock of trees and all other beautiful things that the soil produces.” [15]

“And some say, Critobulus, that when the king makes gifts, he first invites those who have distinguished themselves in war, because it is useless to have broad acres under tillage unless there are men to defend them; and next to them, those who stock and cultivate the land best, saying that even stout-hearted warriors cannot live without the aid of workers. [16] There is a story that Cyrus, lately the most illustrious of princes, once said to the company invited to receive his gifts, ‘I myself deserve to receive the gifts awarded in both classes; for I am the best at stocking land and the best at protecting the stock.’” [17]

“Well, if Cyrus said that, Socrates, he took as much pride in cultivating and stocking land as in being a warrior.” [18]

“Yes, and, upon my word, if Cyrus had only lived, it seems that he would have proved an excellent ruler. One of the many proofs that he has given of this is the fact that, when he was on his way to fight his brother for the throne, it is said that not a man deserted from Cyrus to the king, whereas tens of thousands deserted from the king to Cyrus.

[19] I think you have one clear proof of a ruler’s excellence, when men obey him willingly and choose to stand by him in moments of danger. Now his friends all fought at his side and fell at his side to a man, fighting round his body, with the one exception of Ariaeus, whose place in the battle was, in point of fact, on the left wing. [20]

“Further, the story goes that when Lysander came to him bringing the gifts from the allies, this Cyrus showed him various marks of friendliness, as Lysander himself related once to a stranger at Megara, adding besides that Cyrus personally showed him round his paradise at Sardis. [21] Now Lysander admired the beauty of the trees in it, the accuracy of the spacing, the straightness of the rows, the regularity of the angles and the multitude of the sweet scents that clung round them as they walked; and for wonder of these things he cried, ‘Cyrus, I really do admire all these lovely things, but I am far more impressed with your agent’s skill in measuring and arranging everything so exactly.’ [22] Cyrus was delighted to hear this and said: ‘Well, Lysander, the whole of the measurement and arrangement is my own work, and I did some of the planting myself.’ [23] ‘What, Cyrus?’ exclaimed Lysander, looking at him, and marking the beauty and perfume of his robes, and the splendour of the necklaces and bangles and other jewels that he was wearing; ‘did you really plant part of this with your own hands?’ [24] ‘Does that surprise you, Lysander?’ asked Cyrus in reply. ‘I swear by the Sun-god that I never yet sat down to dinner when in sound health, without first working hard at some task of war or agriculture, or exerting myself somehow.’ [25]

“Lysander himself declared, I should add, that on hearing this, he congratulated him in these words: ‘I think you deserve your happiness, Cyrus, for you earn it by your virtues.’”

5. “Now I tell you this,” continued Socrates, “because even the wealthiest cannot hold aloof from husbandry. For the pursuit of it is in some sense a luxury as well as a means of increasing one’s estate

and of training the body in all that a free man should be able to do. [2] For, in the first place, the earth yields to cultivators the food by which men live; she yields besides the luxuries they enjoy. [3] Secondly, she supplies all the things with which they decorate altars and statues and themselves, along with most pleasant sights and scents. Thirdly, she produces or feeds the ingredients of many delicate dishes; for the art of breeding stock is closely linked with husbandry; so that men have victims for propitiating the gods with sacrifice and cattle for their own use. [4] And though she supplies good things in abundance, she suffers them not to be won without toil, but accustoms men to endure winter's cold and summer's heat. She gives increased strength through exercise to the men that labour with their own hands, and hardens the overseers of the work by rousing them early and forcing them to move about briskly. For on a farm no less than in a town the most important operations have their fixed times. [5] Again, if a man wants to serve in the cavalry, farming is his most efficient partner in furnishing keep for his horse; if on foot, it makes his body brisk. And the land helps in some measure to arouse a liking for the toil of hunting, since it affords facilities for keeping hounds and at the same time supplies food for the wild game that preys on the land. [6] And if husbandry benefits horses and hounds, they benefit the farm no less, the horses by carrying the overseer early to the scene of his duties and enabling him to leave it late, the hounds by keeping the wild animals from injuring crops and sheep, and by helping to give safety to solitude. [7] The land also stimulates armed protection of the country on the part of the husbandmen, by nourishing her crops in the open for the strongest to take. [8] And what art produces better runners, throwers and jumpers than husbandry? What art rewards the labourer more generously? What art welcomes her follower more gladly, inviting him to come and take whatever he wants? What art entertains strangers more generously? [9] Where is there greater facility for passing the winter comforted by generous fire and warm baths, than on a farm? Where is it pleasanter to spend the summer enjoying the cool waters and breezes and shade, than in the country? [10] What other art yields more seemly first-fruits for the gods, or gives occasion for more crowded festivals? What art is dearer to servants, or pleasanter to a

wife, or more delightful to children, or more agreeable to friends? [11] To me indeed it seems strange, if any free man has come by a possession pleasanter than this, or has found out an occupation pleasanter than this or more useful for winning a livelihood. [12]

“Yet again, the earth willingly teaches righteousness to those who can learn; for the better she is served, the more good things she gives in return. [13] And if haply those who are occupied in farming, and are receiving a rigorous and manly teaching, are forced at any time to quit their lands by great armies, they, as men well-found in mind and in body, can enter the country of those who hinder them, and take sufficient for their support. Often in time of war it is safer to go armed in search of food than to gather it with farming implements. [14]

“Moreover, husbandry helps to train men for corporate effort. For men are essential to an expedition against an enemy, and the cultivation of the soil demands the aid of men. [15] Therefore nobody can be a good farmer unless he makes his labourers both eager and obedient; and the captain who leads men against an enemy must contrive to secure the same results by rewarding those who act as brave men should act and punishing the disobedient. [16] And it is no less necessary for a farmer to encourage his labourers often, than for a general to encourage his men. And slaves need the stimulus of good hopes no less, nay, even more than free men, to make them steadfast. [17] It has been nobly said that husbandry is the mother and nurse of the other arts. For when husbandry flourishes, all the other arts are in good fettle; but whenever the land is compelled to lie waste, the other arts of landsmen and mariners alike well-nigh perish.” [18]

“Well, Socrates,” replied Critobulus to this, “I think you are right so far. But in husbandry a man can rely very little on forecast. For hailstorms and frosts sometimes, and droughts and rains and blight ruin schemes well planned and well carried out; and sometimes well-bred stock is miserably destroyed by an outbreak of disease.” [19]

“Well,” said Socrates in reply, “I thought you knew, Critobulus, that the operations of husbandry no less than those of war are in the hands of the gods. And you observe, I suppose, that men engaged in war try to propitiate the gods before taking action; and with sacrifices

and omens seek to know what they ought to do and what they ought not to do; [20] and for the business of husbandry do you think it less necessary to ask the blessing of the gods? Know of a surety that right-minded men offer prayer for fruits and crops and cattle and horses and sheep, aye and for all that they possess.”

6. “Well, Socrates, I think you are right when you bid me try to begin every undertaking with the gods’ help, since the gods control the works of peace no less than of war. We will try, then, to do so. But now go back to the point where you broke off in your talk about estate management, and try to expound the subject completely step by step, since after hearing what you have said so far, I seem even now to discern rather more clearly than before what I must do to earn my living.” [2]

“I suggest then,” resumed Socrates, “that we should first recapitulate those points of our discussion on which we have already reached agreement, in order that we may try to agree as thoroughly, if possible, when we go through the remaining steps.” [3]

“O yes; when several are jointly interested in money, it is pleasant to have no disagreement in going over the accounts; and it is equally pleasant for us, as the interested parties in a discussion, to agree as we go over the several steps.” [4]

“Well now, we thought that estate management is the name of a branch of knowledge, and this knowledge appeared to be that by which men can increase estates, and an estate appeared to be identical with the total of one’s property, and we said that property is that which is useful for supplying a livelihood, and useful things turned out to be all those things that one knows how to use. [5] Now we thought that it is impossible to learn all the sciences, and we agreed with our states in rejecting the so-called illiberal arts, because they seem to spoil the body and unnerve the mind. [6] We said that the clearest proof of this would be forthcoming, if in the course of a hostile invasion the husbandmen and craftsmen were made to sit apart, and each group were asked whether they voted for defending the country or withdrawing from the open and guarding the fortresses. [7] We thought that in these circumstances the men who have to do with the land would give their vote for defending it, the craftsmen for not fighting, but sitting still, as they have been brought

up to do, aloof from toil and danger. [8] We came to the conclusion that for a gentleman the best occupation and the best science is husbandry, from which men obtain what is necessary to them. [9] For this occupation seemed to be the easiest to learn and the pleasantest to work at, to give to the body the greatest measure of strength and beauty, and to leave to the mind the greatest amount of spare time for attending to the interests of one's friends and city. [10] Moreover, since the crops grow and the cattle on a farm graze outside the walls, husbandry seemed to us to help in some measure to make the workers valiant. And so this way of making a living appeared to be held in the highest estimation by our states, because it seems to turn out the best citizens and most loyal to the community." [11]

"I have already heard enough, I think, Socrates, to convince me that it is in the highest degree honourable, good and pleasant to get a living by husbandry. But you told me that you have discovered the reasons why some farmers are so successful that husbandry yields them all they need in abundance, and others are so inefficient that they find farming unprofitable. I should like to hear the reasons in each case, in order that we may do what is good and avoid what is harmful." [12]

"Well then, Critobulus, I propose to give you a complete account of an interview I once had with a man whom I took to be really one of those who are justly styled 'gentlemen.'"

"I should greatly like to hear it, Socrates, for I long to deserve that title myself." [13]

"Then I will tell you how I came to take note of him. For it took me a very little time to visit our good builders, good smiths, good painters, good sculptors, and other people of the kind, and to inspect those of their works that are declared to be beautiful; [14] but I felt a desire to meet one of those who are called by that grand name 'gentleman,' which implies 'beautiful' as well as 'good,' in order to consider what they did to deserve it. [15] And, first, because the epithet 'beautiful' is added to 'good,' I went up to every person I noticed, and tried to discover whether I could anywhere see goodness in combination with beauty. [16] But after all, it was not so: I thought I discovered that some who were beautiful to look at were thoroughly depraved in their minds. So I decided to let good looks alone, and to

seek out someone known as ‘a gentleman.’ [17] Accordingly, since I heard the name applied to Ischomachus by men, women, citizens and strangers alike, I decided to meet him, if I could.

7. “So, happening one day to see him sitting in the cloister of the temple of Zeus Eleutherius apparently at leisure, I approached, and sitting down at his side, said:

“‘Why sitting still, Ischomachus? You are not much in the habit of doing nothing; for generally when I see you in the market-place you are either busy or at least not wholly idle.’ [2]

“‘True, and you would not have seen me so now, Socrates, had I not made an appointment with some strangers here.’

“‘Pray where do you spend your time,’ said I, ‘and what do you do when you are not engaged in some such occupation? For I want very much to learn how you came to be called a gentleman, since you do not pass your time indoors, and your condition does not suggest that you do so.’

“Smiling at my question, [3] ‘How came you to be called a gentleman?’, and apparently well pleased, Ischomachus answered: ‘Well, Socrates, whether certain persons call me so when they talk to you about me, I know not. Assuredly when they challenge me to an exchange of property in order to escape some public burden, fitting a warship or providing a chorus, nobody looks for the “gentleman,” but the challenge refers to me as plain “Ischomachus,” my father’s son. Well now, Socrates, as you ask the question, I certainly do not pass my time indoors; for, you know, my wife is quite capable of looking after the house by herself.’ [4]

“‘Ah, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘that is just what I want to hear from you. Did you yourself train your wife to be of the right sort, or did she know her household duties when you received her from her parents?’ [5]

“‘Why, what knowledge could she have had, Socrates, when I took her for my wife? She was not yet fifteen years old when she came to me, and up to that time she had lived in leading-strings, seeing, hearing and saying as little as possible. [6] If when she came she knew no more than how, when given wool, to turn out a cloak, and had seen only how the spinning is given out to the maids, is not that as much as could be expected? For in control of her appetite,

Socrates, she had been excellently trained; and this sort of training is, in my opinion, the most important to man and woman alike.’ [7]

“‘But in other respects did you train your wife yourself, Ischomachus, so that she should be competent to perform her duties?’

“‘Oh no, Socrates; not until I had first offered sacrifice and prayed that I might really teach, and she learn what was best for us both.’ [8]

“‘Did not your wife join with you in these same sacrifices and prayers?’

“‘Oh yes, earnestly promising before heaven to behave as she ought to do; and it was easy to see that she would not neglect the lessons I taught her.’ [9]

“‘Pray tell me, Ischomachus, what was the first lesson you taught her, since I would sooner hear this from your lips than an account of the noblest athletic event or horse-race?’ [10]

“‘Well, Socrates, as soon as I found her docile and sufficiently domesticated to carry on conversation, I questioned her to this effect:

“‘“Tell me, dear, have you realised for what reason I took you and your parents gave you to me? [11] For it is obvious to you, I am sure, that we should have had no difficulty in finding someone else to share our beds. But I for myself and your parents for you considered who was the best partner of home and children that we could get. My choice fell on you, and your parents, it appears, chose me as the best they could find. [12] Now if God grants us children, we will then think out how we shall best train them. For one of the blessings in which we shall share is the acquisition of the very best of allies and the very best of support in old age; but at present we share in this our home. [13] For I am paying into the common stock all that I have, and you have put in all that you brought with you. And we are not to reckon up which of us has actually contributed the greater amount, but we should know of a surety that the one who proves the better partner makes the more valuable contribution.” [14]

“‘My wife’s answer was as follows, Socrates: “How can I possibly help you? What power have I? Nay, all depends on you. My duty, as my mother told me, is to be discreet.” [15]

“‘“Yes, of course, dear,” I said, “my father said the same to me. But discretion both in a man and a woman, means acting in such a

manner that their possessions shall be in the best condition possible, and that as much as possible shall be added to them by fair and honourable means.” [16]

“““And what do you see that I can possibly do to help in the improvement of our property?” asked my wife.

“““Why,” said I, “of course you must try to do as well as possible what the gods made you capable of doing and the law sanctions.”

“““And pray, what is that?” said she. [17]

“““Things of no small moment, I fancy,” replied I, “unless, indeed, the tasks over which the queen bee in the hive presides are of small moment. [18] For it seems to me, dear, that the gods with great discernment have coupled together male and female, as they are called, chiefly in order that they may form a perfect partnership in mutual service. [19] For, in the first place, that the various species of living creatures may not fail, they are joined in wedlock for the production of children. Secondly, offspring to support them in old age is provided by this union, to human beings, at any rate. Thirdly, human beings live not in the open air, like beasts, but obviously need shelter. [20] Nevertheless, those who mean to win store to fill the covered place, have need of someone to work at the open-air occupations; since ploughing, sowing, planting and grazing are all such open-air employments; and these supply the needful food. [21] Then again, as soon as this is stored in the covered place, then there is need of someone to keep it and to work at the things that must be done under cover. Cover is needed for the nursing of the infants; cover is needed for the making of the corn into bread, and likewise for the manufacture of clothes from the wool. [22] And since both the indoor and the outdoor tasks demand labour and attention, God from the first adapted the woman’s nature, I think, to the indoor and man’s to the outdoor tasks and cares. [23]

“““For he made the man’s body and mind more capable of enduring cold and heat, and journeys and campaigns; and therefore imposed on him the outdoor tasks. To the woman, since he has made her body less capable of such endurance, I take it that God has assigned the indoor tasks. [24] And knowing that he had created in the woman and had imposed on her the nourishment of the infants, he meted out to her a larger portion of affection for new-born babes than

to the man. [25] And since he imposed on the woman the protection of the stores also, knowing that for protection a fearful disposition is no disadvantage, God meted out a larger share of fear to the woman than to the man; and knowing that he who deals with the outdoor tasks will have to be their defender against any wrong-doer, he meted out to him again a larger share of courage. [26] But because both must give and take, he granted to both impartially memory and attention; and so you could not distinguish whether the male or the female sex has the larger share of these. [27] And God also gave to both impartially the power to practise due self-control, and gave authority to whichever is the better — whether it be the man or the woman — to win a larger portion of the good that comes from it. [28] And just because both have not the same aptitudes, they have the more need of each other, and each member of the pair is the more useful to the other, the one being competent where the other is deficient. [29]

““Now since we know, dear, what duties have been assigned to each of us by God, we must endeavour, each of us, to do the duties allotted to us as well as possible. [30] The law, moreover, approves of them, for it joins together man and woman. And as God has made them partners in their children, so the law appoints them partners in the home. And besides, the law declares those tasks to be honourable for each of them wherein God has made the one to excel the other. Thus, to be woman it is more honourable to stay indoors than to abide in the fields, but to the man it is unseemly rather to stay indoors than to attend to the work outside. [31] If a man acts contrary to the nature God has given him, possibly his defiance is detected by the gods and he is punished for neglecting his own work, or meddling with his wife’s. [32] I think that the queen bee is busy about just such other tasks appointed by God.”

““And pray,” said she, “how do the queen bee’s tasks resemble those that I have to do?” [33]

““How? she stays in the hive,” I answered, “and does not suffer the bees to be idle; but those whose duty it is to work outside she sends forth to their work; and whatever each of them brings in, she knows and receives it, and keeps it till it is wanted. And when the time is come to use it, she portions out the just share to each. [34] She likewise presides over the weaving of the combs in the hive, that they

may be well and quickly woven, and cares for the brood of little ones, that it be duly reared up. And when the young bees have been duly reared and are fit for work, she sends them forth to found a colony, with a leader to guide the young adventurers.” [35]

““Then shall I too have to do these things?” said my wife.

““Indeed you will,” said I; “your duty will be to remain indoors and send out those servants whose work is outside, and superintend those who are to work indoors, and to receive the incomings, [36] and distribute so much of them as must be spent, and watch over so much as is to be kept in store, and take care that the sum laid by for a year be not spent in a month. And when wool is brought to you, you must see that cloaks are made for those that want them. You must see too that the dry corn is in good condition for making food. [37] One of the duties that fall to you, however, will perhaps seem rather thankless: you will have to see that any servant who is ill is cared for.”

““Oh no,” cried my wife, “it will be delightful, assuming that those who are well cared for are going to feel grateful and be more loyal than before.” [38]

““Why, my dear,” cried I, delighted with her answer, “what makes the bees so devoted to their leader in the hive, that when she forsakes it, they all follow her, and not one thinks of staying behind? Is it not the result of some such thoughtful acts on her part?” [39]

““It would surprise me,” answered my wife, “if the leader’s activities did not concern you more than me. For my care of the goods indoors and my management would look rather ridiculous, I fancy, if you did not see that something is gathered in from outside.” [40]

““And my ingathering would look ridiculous,” I countered, “if there were not someone to keep what is gathered in. Don’t you see how they who ‘draw water in a leaky jar,’ as the saying goes, are pitied, because they seem to labour in vain?”

““Of course,” she said, “for they are indeed in a miserable plight if they do that.” [41]

““But I assure you, dear, there are other duties peculiar to you that are pleasant to perform. It is delightful to teach spinning to a maid who had no knowledge of it when you received her, and to double her worth to you: to take in hand a girl who is ignorant of

housekeeping and service, and after teaching her and making her trustworthy and serviceable to find her worth any amount: to have the power of rewarding the discreet and useful members of your household, and of punishing anyone who turns out to be a rogue. [42] But the pleasantest experience of all is to prove yourself better than I am, to make me your servant; and, so far from having cause to fear that as you grow older you may be less honoured in the household, to feel confident that with advancing years, the better partner you prove to me and the better housewife to our children, the greater will be the honour paid to you in our home. [43] For it is not through outward comeliness that the sum of things good and beautiful is increased in the world, but by the daily practice of the virtues.”

““Such was the tenor of my earliest talks with her, Socrates, so far as I can recall them.””

8. ““And did you find, Ischomachus, that they acted as a stimulus to her diligence?” I asked.

““Yes, indeed,” answered Ischomachus, ‘and I recollect that she was vexed and blushed crimson, because she could not give me something from the stores when I asked for it. [2] And seeing that she was annoyed, I said: “Don’t worry, dear, because you cannot give me what I am asking for. For not to be able to use a thing when you want it is poverty unquestionably; but a failure to get the thing that you seek is less grievous than not to seek it at all because you know that it does not exist. The fact is, you are not to blame for this, but I, because I handed over the things to you without giving directions where they were to be put, so that you might know where to put them and where to find them. [3] My dear, there is nothing so convenient or so good for human beings as order. Thus, a chorus is a combination of human beings; but when the members of it do as they choose, it becomes mere confusion, and there is no pleasure in watching it; but when they act and chant in an orderly fashion, then those same men at once seem worth seeing and worth hearing. [4] Again, my dear, an army in disorder is a confused mass, an easy prey to enemies, a disgusting sight to friends and utterly useless, — donkey, trooper, carrier, light-armed, horseman, chariot, huddled together. For how are they to march in such a plight, when they hamper one another, some walking while others run, some running while others halt,

chariot colliding with horseman, donkey with chariot, carrier with trooper? [5] If there is fighting to be done, how can they fight in such a state? For the units that must needs run away when attacked are enough to trample underfoot the heavy infantry. [6] But an army in orderly array is a noble sight to friends, and an unwelcome spectacle to the enemy. What friend would not rejoice as he watches a strong body of troopers marching in order, would not admire cavalry riding in squadrons? And what enemy would not fear troopers, horsemen, light-armed, archers, slingers disposed in serried ranks and following their officers in orderly fashion? [7] Nay, even on the march where order is kept, though they number tens of thousands, all move steadily forward as one man; for the line behind is continually filling up the gap. [8] Or, again, why is a man-of-war laden with men terrible to an enemy and a goodly sight to friends, if not for its speed? Why do the men on board not hamper one another? Is it not just because they are seated in order, swing forward and backward in order, embark and disembark in order? [9] If I want a type of disorder, I think of a farmer who has stored barley, wheat and pulse in one bin; and then when he wants a bannock or a loaf or a pudding, must pick out the grain instead of finding it separate and ready for use. [10]

“““And so, my dear, if you do not want this confusion, and wish to know exactly how to manage our goods, and to find with ease whatever is wanted, and to satisfy me by giving me anything I ask for, let us choose the place that each portion should occupy; and, having put the things in their place, let us instruct the maid to take them from it and put them back again. Thus we shall know what is safe and sound and what is not; for the place itself will miss whatever is not in it, and a glance will reveal anything that wants attention, and the knowledge where each thing is will quickly bring it to hand, so that we can use it without trouble.” [11]

““Once I had an opportunity of looking over the great Phoenician merchantman, Socrates, and I thought I had never seen tackle so excellently and accurately arranged. For I never saw so many bits of stuff packed away separately in so small a receptacle. [12] As you know, a ship needs a great quantity of wooden and corded implements when she comes into port or puts to sea, much rigging, as it is called, when she sails, many contrivances to protect her

against enemy vessels; she carries a large supply of arms for the men, and contains a set of household utensils for each mess. In addition to all this, she is laden with cargo which the skipper carries for profit. [13] And all the things I mention were contained in a chamber of little more than a hundred square cubits. And I noticed that each kind of thing was so neatly stowed away that there was no confusion, no work for a searcher, nothing out of place, no troublesome untying to cause delay when anything was wanted for immediate use. [14] I found that the steersman's servant, who is called the mate, knows each particular section so exactly, that he can tell even when away where everything is kept and how much there is of it, just as well as a man who knows how to spell can tell how many letters there are in Socrates and in what order they come. [15] Now I saw this man in his spare time inspecting all the stores that are wanted, as a matter of course, in the ship. I was surprised to see him looking over them, and asked what he was doing. "Sir," he answered, "I am looking to see how the ship's tackle is stored, in case of accident, or whether anything is missing or mixed up with other stuff. [16] For when God sends a storm at sea, there's no time to search about for what you want or to serve it out if it's in a muddle. For God threatens and punishes careless fellows, and you're lucky if he merely refrains from destroying the innocent; and if he saves you when you do your work well, you have much cause to thank heaven." [17]

"Now after seeing the ship's tackle in such perfect order, I told my wife: "Considering that folk aboard a merchant vessel, even though it be a little one, find room for things and keep order, though tossed violently to and fro, and find what they want to get, though terror-stricken, it would be downright carelessness on our part if we, who have large storerooms in our house to keep everything separate and whose house rests on solid ground, fail to find a good and handy place for everything. Would it not be sheer stupidity on our part? [18]

"How good it is to keep one's stock of utensils in order, and how easy to find a suitable place in a house to put each set in, I have already said. [19] And what a beautiful sight is afforded by boots of all sorts and conditions ranged in rows! How beautiful it is to see cloaks of all sorts and conditions kept separate, or blankets, or brazen vessels, or table furniture! Yes, no serious man will smile when I

claim that there is beauty in the order even of pots and pans set out in neat array, however much it may move the laughter of a wit. [20] There is nothing, in short, that does not gain in beauty when set out in order. For each set looks like a troop of utensils, and the space between the sets is beautiful to see, when each set is kept clear of it, just as a troop of dancers about the altar is a beautiful spectacle in itself, and even the free space looks beautiful and unencumbered. [21]

““We can test the truth of what I say, dear, without any inconvenience and with very little trouble. Moreover, my dear, there is no ground for any misgiving that it is hard to find someone who will get to know the various places and remember to put each set in its proper place. [22] For we know, I take it, that the city as a whole has ten thousand times as much of everything as we have; and yet you may order any sort of servant to buy something in the market and to bring it home, and he will be at no loss: every one of them is bound to know where he should go to get each article. Now the only reason for this is that everything is kept in a fixed place. [23] But when you are searching for a person, you often fail to find him, though he may be searching for you himself. And for this again the one reason is that no place of meeting has been fixed.”

““Such is the gist of the conversation I think I remember having with her about the arrangement of utensils and their use.””

9. ““And what was the result?” I asked; ‘did you think, Ischomachus, that your wife paid any heed to the lessons you tried so earnestly to teach her?’

““Why, she promised to attend to them, and was evidently pleased beyond measure to feel that she had found a solution of her difficulties, and she begged me to lose no time in arranging things as I had suggested.’ [2]

““And how did you arrange things for her, Ischomachus?” I asked.

““Why, I decided first to show her the possibilities of our house. For it contains few elaborate decorations, Socrates; but the rooms are designed simply with the object of providing as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to fill them, and thus each room invited just what was suited to it. [3] Thus the store-room by the security of its position called for the most valuable blankets and utensils, the dry covered rooms for the corn, the cool for the

wine, the well-lit for those works of art and vessels that need light. [4] I showed her decorated living-rooms for the family that are cool in summer and warm in winter. I showed her that the whole house fronts south, so that it was obvious that it is sunny in winter and shady in summer. [5] I showed her the women's quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out, and that the servants may not breed without our leave. For honest servants generally prove more loyal if they have a family; but rogues, if they live in wedlock, become all the more prone to mischief. [6]

“And now that we had completed the list, we forthwith set about separating the furniture tribe by tribe. We began by collecting together the vessels we use in sacrificing. After that we put together the women's holiday finery, and the men's holiday and war garb, blankets in the women's, blankets in the men's quarters, women's shoes, men's shoes. [7] Another tribe consisted of arms, and three others of implements for spinning, for bread-making and for cooking; others, again, of the things required for washing, at the kneading-trough, and for table use. All these we divided into two sets, things in constant use and things reserved for festivities. [8] We also put by themselves the things consumed month by month, and set apart the supplies calculated to last for a year. For this plan makes it easier to tell how they will last to the end of the time. When we had divided all the portable property tribe by tribe, we arranged everything in its proper place. [9] After that we showed the servants who have to use them where to keep the utensils they require daily, for baking, cooking, spinning and so forth; handed them over to their care and charged them to see that they were safe and sound. [10] The things that we use only for festivals or entertainments, or on rare occasions, we handed over to the housekeeper, and after showing her their places and counting and making a written list of all the items, we told her to give them out to the right servants, to remember what she gave to each of them, and when receiving them back to put everything in the place from which she took it. [11]

“In appointing the housekeeper, we chose the woman whom on consideration we judged to be the most temperate in eating and wine drinking and sleeping and the most modest with men, the one, too,

who seemed to have the best memory, to be most careful not to offend us by neglecting her duties, and to think most how she could earn some reward by obliging us. [12] We also taught her to be loyal to us by making her a partner in all our joys and calling on her to share our troubles. Moreover, we trained her to be eager for the improvement of our estate, by making her familiar with it and by allowing her to share in our success. [13] And further, we put justice into her, by giving more honour to the just than to the unjust, and by showing her that the just live in greater wealth and freedom than the unjust; and we placed her in that position of superiority. [14]

“‘When all this was done, Socrates, I told my wife that all these measures were futile, unless she saw to it herself that our arrangement was strictly adhered to in every detail. I explained that in well-ordered cities the citizens are not satisfied with passing good laws; they go further, and choose guardians of the laws, who act as overseers, commending the law-abiding and punishing law-breakers. [15] So I charged my wife to consider herself guardian of the laws to our household. And just as the commander of a garrison inspects his guards, so must she inspect the chattels whenever she thought it well to do so; as the Council scrutinises the cavalry and the horses, so she was to make sure that everything was in good condition: like a queen, she must reward the worthy with praise and honour, so far as in her lay, and not spare rebuke and punishment when they were called for. [16]

“‘Moreover, I taught her that she should not be vexed that I assigned heavier duties to her than to the servants in respect of our possessions. Servants, I pointed out, carry, tend and guard their master’s property, and only in this sense have a share in it; they have no right to use anything except by the owner’s leave; but everything belongs to the master, to use it as he will. [17] Therefore, I explained, he who gains most by the preservation of the goods and loses most by their destruction, is the one who is bound to take most care of them.’ [18]

“‘Well, now, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘was your wife inclined to pay heed to your words?’

“‘Why, Socrates,’ he cried, ‘she just told me that I was mistaken if I supposed that I was laying a hard task on her in telling her that she

must take care of our things. It would have been harder, she said, had I required her to neglect her own possessions, than to have the duty of attending to her own peculiar blessings. [19] The fact is,' he added, 'just as it naturally comes easier to a good woman to care for her own children than to neglect them, so, I imagine, a good woman finds it pleasanter to look after her own possessions than to neglect them.'"

10. "Now when I heard that his wife had given him this answer, I exclaimed; 'Upon my word, Ischomachus, your wife has a truly masculine mind by your showing!'

"'Yes,' said Ischomachus, 'and I am prepared to give you other examples of high-mindedness on her part, when a word from me was enough to secure her instant obedience.'

"'Tell me what they are,' I cried; 'for if Zeuxis showed me a fair woman's portrait painted by his own hand, it would not give me half the pleasure I derive from the contemplation of a living woman's virtues.' [2]

"Thereupon Ischomachus took up his parable. 'Well, one day, Socrates, I noticed that her face was made up: she had rubbed in white lead in order to look even whiter than she is, and alkanet juice to heighten the rosy colour of her cheeks; and she was wearing boots with thick soles to increase her height. [3] So I said to her, "Tell me, my dear, how should I appear more worthy of your love as a partner in our goods, by disclosing to you our belongings just as they are, without boasting of imaginary possessions or concealing any part of what we have, or by trying to trick you with an exaggerated account, showing you bad money and gilt necklaces and describing clothes that will fade as real purple?" [4]

"'"Hush!" she broke in immediately, "pray don't be like that — I could not love you with all my heart if you were like that!"

"'"Then, are we not joined together by another bond of union, dear, to be partners in our bodies?" [5]

"'"The world says so, at any rate."

"'"How then should I seem more worthy of your love in this partnership of the body — by striving to have my body hale and strong when I present it to you, and so literally to be of a good countenance in your sight, or by smearing my cheeks with red lead

and painting myself under the eyes with rouge before I show myself to you and clasp you in my arms, cheating you and offering to your eyes and hands red lead instead of my real flesh?" [6]

““Oh,” she cried, “I would sooner touch you than red lead, would sooner see your own colour than rouge, would sooner see your eyes bright than smeared with grease.” [7]

““Then please assume, my dear, that I do not prefer white paint and dye of alkanet to your real colour; but just as the gods have made horses to delight in horses, cattle in cattle, sheep in sheep, so human beings find the human body undisguised most delightful. [8] Tricks like these may serve to gull outsiders, but people who live together are bound to be found out, if they try to deceive one another. For they are found out while they are dressing in the morning; they perspire and are lost; a tear convicts them; the bath reveals them as they are!”

““And, pray, what did she say to that?” [9] I asked.

““Nothing,” he said, ‘only she gave up such practices from that day forward, and tried to let me see her undisguised and as she should be. Still, she did ask whether I could advise her on one point: how she might make herself really beautiful, instead of merely seeming to be so. [10] And this was my advice, Socrates: “Don’t sit about for ever like a slave, but try, God helping you, to behave as a mistress: stand before the loom and be ready to instruct those who know less than you, and to learn from those who know more: look after the bakingmaid: stand by the housekeeper when she is serving out stores: go round and see whether everything is in its place.” For I thought that would give her a walk as well as occupation. [11] I also said it was excellent exercise to mix flour and knead dough; and to shake and fold cloaks and bedclothes; such exercise would give her a better appetite, improve her health, and add natural colour to her cheeks. [12] Besides, when a wife’s looks outshine a maid’s and she is fresher and more becomingly dressed, they’re a ravishing sight, especially when the wife is also willing to oblige, whereas the girl’s services are compulsory. [13] But wives who sit about like fine ladies, expose themselves to comparison with painted and fraudulent hussies. And now, Socrates, you may be sure, my wife’s dress and appearance are in accord with my instructions and with my present description.”

11. “At this point I said, ‘Ischomachus, I think your account of

your wife's occupations is sufficient for the present — and very creditable it is to both of you. But now tell me of your own: thus you will have the satisfaction of stating the reasons why you are so highly respected, and I shall be much beholden to you for a complete account of a gentleman's occupations, and if my understanding serves, for a thorough knowledge of them.' [2]

“‘Well then, Socrates,’ answered Ischomachus, ‘it will be a very great pleasure to me to give you an account of my daily occupations, that you may correct me if you think there is anything amiss in my conduct.’ [3]

“‘As to that,’ said I, ‘how could I presume to correct a perfect gentleman, I who am supposed to be a mere chatterer with my head in the air, I who am called — the most senseless of all taunts — a poor beggar? [4] I do assure you, Ischomachus, this last imputation would have driven me to despair, were it not that a day or two ago I came upon the horse of Nicias the foreigner. I saw a crowd walking behind the creature and staring, and heard some of them talking volubly about him. Well, I went up to the groom and asked him if the horse had many possessions. [5] The man looked at me as if I must be mad to ask such a question, and asked me how a horse could own property. At that I recovered, for his answer showed that it is possible even for a poor horse to be a good one, if nature has given him a good spirit. [6] Assume, therefore, that it is possible for me to be a good man, and give me a complete account of your occupations, that, so far as my understanding allows me, I may endeavour to follow your example from to-morrow morning; for that's a good day for entering on a course of virtue.’ [7]

“‘You're joking, Socrates,’ said Ischomachus; ‘nevertheless I will tell you what principles I try my best to follow consistently in life. [8] For I seem to realise that, while the gods have made it impossible for men to prosper without knowing and attending to the things they ought to do, to some of the wise and careful they grant prosperity, and to some deny it; and therefore I begin by worshipping the gods, and try to conduct myself in such a way that I may have health and strength in answer to my prayers, the respect of my fellow-citizens, the affection of my friends, safety with honour in war, and wealth increased by honest means.’ [9]

“‘What, Ischomachus,’ I asked on hearing that, ‘do you really want to be rich and to have much, along with much trouble to take care of it?’

“‘The answer to your questions,’ said he, ‘is, Yes, I do indeed. For I would fain honour the gods without counting the cost, Socrates, help friends in need, and look to it that the city lacks no adornment that my means can supply.’ [10]

“‘Truly noble aspirations, Ischomachus,’ I cried, ‘and worthy of a man of means, no doubt! Seeing that there are many who cannot live without help from others, and many are content if they can get enough for their own needs, surely those who can maintain their own estate and yet have enough left to adorn the city and relieve their friends may well be thought high and mighty men. [11] However,’ I added, ‘praise of such men is a commonplace among us. Please return to your first statement, Ischomachus, and tell me how you take care of your health and your strength, how you make it possible to come through war with safety and honour. I shall be content to hear about your money-making afterwards.’ [12]

“‘Well, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘all these things hang together, so far as I can see. For if a man has plenty to eat, and works off the effects properly, I take it that he both insures his health and adds to his strength. By training himself in the arts of war he is more qualified to save himself honourably, and by due diligence and avoidance of loose habits, he is more likely to increase his estate.’ [13]

“‘So far, Ischomachus, I follow you,’ I answered. ‘You mean that by working after meals, by diligence and by training, a man is more apt to obtain the good things of life. But now I should like you to give me details. By what kind of work do you endeavour to keep your health and strength? How do you train yourself in the arts of war? What diligence do you use to have a surplus from which to help friends and strengthen the city?’ [14]

“‘Well now, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘I rise from my bed at an hour when, if I want to call on anyone, I am sure to find him still at home. If I have any business to do in town, I make it an opportunity for getting a walk. [15] If there is nothing pressing to be done in town, my servant leads my horse to the farm, and I make my walk by going to it on foot, with more benefit, perhaps, Socrates,

than if I took a turn in the arcade. [16] When I reach the farm, I may find planting, clearing, sowing or harvesting in progress. I superintend all the details of the work, and make any improvements in method that I can suggest. [17] After this, I usually mount my horse and go through exercises, imitating as closely as I can the exercises needed in warfare. I avoid neither slope nor steep incline, ditch nor watercourse, but I use all possible care not to lame my horse when he takes them. [18] After I have finished, the servant gives the horse a roll and leads him home, bringing with him from the farm anything we happen to want in the city. I divide the return home between walking and running. Arrived, I clean myself with a strigil, and then I have luncheon, Socrates, eating just enough to get through the day neither empty-bellied nor too full.’ [19]

“‘Upon my word, Ischomachus,’ cried I, ‘I am delighted with your activities. For you have a pack of appliances for securing health and strength, of exercises for war and specifics for getting rich, and you use them all at the same time! That does seem to me admirable! [20] And in fact you afford convincing proofs that your method in pursuing each of these objects is sound. For we see you generally in the enjoyment of health and strength, thanks to the gods, and we know that you are considered one of our best horsemen and wealthiest citizens.’ [21]

“‘And what comes of these activities, Socrates? Not, as you perhaps expected to hear, that I am generally dubbed a gentleman, but that I am persistently slandered.’ [22]

“‘Ah,’ said I, ‘but I was meaning to ask you, Ischomachus, whether you include in your system ability to conduct a prosecution and defence, in case you have to appear in the courts?’

“‘Why, Socrates,’ he answered, ‘do you not see that this is just what I am constantly practising — showing my traducers that I wrong no man and do all the good I can to many? And do you not think that I practise myself in accusing, by taking careful note of certain persons who are doing wrong to many individuals and to the state, and are doing no good to anyone?’ [23]

“‘But tell me one thing more, Ischomachus,’ I said; ‘do you also practise the art of expounding these matters?’

“‘Why, Socrates,’ he replied, ‘I assiduously practise the art of

speaking. For I get one of the servants to act as prosecutor or defendant, and try to confute him; or I praise or blame someone before his friends; or I act as peace-maker between some of my acquaintances by trying to show them that it is to their interest to be friends rather than enemies. [24] I assist at a court-martial and censure a soldier, or take turns in defending a man who is unjustly blamed, or in accusing one who is unjustly honoured. We often sit in counsel and speak in support of the course we want to adopt and against the course we want to avoid. [25] I have often been singled out before now, Socrates, and condemned to suffer punishment or pay damages.'

"'By whom, Ischomachus?' I asked; 'I am in the dark about that!'

"'By my wife,' was his answer.

"'And, pray, how do you plead?' said I.

"'Pretty well, when it is to my interest to speak the truth. But when lying is called for, Socrates, I can't make the worse cause appear the better — oh no, not at all.'

"'Perhaps, Ischomachus,' I commented, 'you can't make the falsehood into the truth!'"

12. "'But perhaps I am keeping you, Ischomachus,' I continued, 'and you want to get away now?'

"'Oh no, Socrates,' he answered; 'I should not think of going before the market empties.' [2]

"'To be sure,' I continued; 'you take the utmost care not to forfeit your right to be called a gentleman! For I daresay there are many things claiming your attention now; but, as you have made an appointment with those strangers, you are determined not to break it.'

"'But I assure you, Socrates, I am not neglecting the matters you refer to, either; for I keep bailiff's on my farms.' [3]

"'And when you want a bailiff, Ischomachus, do you look out for a man qualified for such a post, and then try to buy him — when you want a builder, I feel sure you inquire for a qualified man and try to get him — or do you train your bailiff's yourself?' [4]

"'Of course I try to train them myself, Socrates. For the man has to be capable of taking charge in my absence; so why need he know anything but what I know myself? For if I am fit to manage the farm,

I presume I can teach another man what I know myself.’ [5]

“‘Then the first requirement will be that he should be loyal to you and yours, if he is to represent you in your absence. For if a steward is not loyal, what is the good of any knowledge he may possess?’

“‘None, of course; but I may tell you, loyalty to me and to mine is the first lesson I try to teach.’ [6]

“‘And how, in heaven’s name, do you teach your man to be loyal to you and yours?’

“‘By rewarding him, of course, whenever the gods bestow some good thing on us in abundance.’ [7]

“‘You mean, then, that those who enjoy a share of your good things are loyal to you and want you to prosper?’

“‘Yes, Socrates, I find that is the best instrument for producing loyalty.’ [8]

“‘But, now, if he is loyal to you, Ischomachus, will that be enough to make him a competent bailiff? Don’t you see that though all men, practically, wish themselves well, yet there are many who won’t take the trouble to get for themselves the good things they want to have?’ [9]

“‘Well, when I want to make bailiffs of such men, of course I teach them also to be careful.’

“‘Pray how do you do that? [10] I was under the impression that carefulness is a virtue that can’t possibly be taught.’

“‘True, Socrates, it isn’t possible to teach everyone you come across to be careful.’ [11]

“‘Very well; what sort of men can be taught? Point these out to me, at all events.’

“‘In the first place, Socrates, you can’t make careful men of hard drinkers; for drink makes them forget everything they ought to do.’ [12]

“‘Then are drunkards the only men who will never become careful, or are there others?’

“‘Of course there are — sluggards must be included; for you can’t do your own business when you are asleep, nor make others do theirs.’ [13]

“‘Well, then, will these make up the total of persons incapable of learning this lesson, or are there yet others besides?’

““I should add that in my opinion a man who falls desperately in love is incapable of giving more attention to anything than he gives to the object of his passion. [14] For it isn’t easy to find hope or occupation more delightful than devotion to the darling! aye, and when the thing to be done presses, no harder punishment can easily be thought of than the prevention of intercourse with the beloved! Therefore I shrink from attempting to make a manager of that sort of man too.’ [15]

““And what about the men who have a passion for lucre? Are they also incapable of being trained to take charge of the work of a farm?”

““Not at all; of course not. In fact, they very easily qualify for the work. It is merely necessary to point out to them that diligence is profitable.’ [16]

““And assuming that the others are free from the faults that you condemn and are covetous of gain in a moderate degree, how do you teach them to be careful in the affairs you want them to superintend?”

““By a very simple plan, Socrates. Whenever I notice that they are careful, I commend them and try to show them honour; but when they appear careless, I try to say and do the sort of things that will sting them.’ [17]

““Turn now, Ischomachus, from the subject of the men in training for the occupation, and tell me about the system: is it possible for anyone to make others careful if he is careless himself?” [18]

““Of course not: an unmusical person could as soon teach music. For it is hard to learn to do a thing well when the teacher prompts you badly; and when a master prompts a servant to be careless, it is difficult for the man to become a good servant. [19] To put it shortly, I don’t think I have discovered a bad master with good servants: I have, however, come across a good master with bad servants — but they suffered for it! If you want to make men fit to take charge, you must supervise their work and examine it, and be ready to reward work well carried through, and not shrink from punishing carelessness as it deserves. [20] I like the answer that is attributed to the Persian. The king, you know, had happened on a good horse, and wanted to fatten him as speedily as possible. So he asked one who was reputed clever with horses what is the quickest way of fattening a horse. “The master’s eye,” replied the man. I think we may apply

the answer generally, Socrates, and say that the master's eye in the main does the good and worthy work.”

13. “‘When you have impressed on a man,’ I resumed, ‘the necessity of careful attention to the duties you assign to him, will he then be competent to act as bailiff, or must he learn something besides, if he is to be efficient?’ [2]

“‘Of course,’ answered Ischomachus, ‘he has still to understand what he has to do, and when and how to do it. Otherwise how could a bailiff be of more use than a doctor who takes care to visit a patient early and late, but has no notion of the right way to treat his illness?’ [3]

“‘Well, but suppose he has learned how farm-work is to be done, will he want something more yet, or will your man now be a perfect bailiff?’

“‘I think he must learn to rule the labourers.’ [4]

“‘And do you train your bailiffs to be competent to rule too?’

“‘Yes, I try, anyhow.’

“‘And pray tell me how you train them to be rulers of men.’

“‘By a childishly easy method, Socrates. I daresay you’ll laugh if I tell you.’ [5]

“‘Oh, but it is certainly not a laughing matter, Ischomachus. For anyone who can make men fit to rule others can also teach them to be masters of others; and if he can make them fit to be masters, he can make them fit to be kings. So anyone who can do that seems to me to deserve high praise rather than laughter.’ [6]

“‘Well now, Socrates, other creatures learn obedience in two ways — by being punished when they try to disobey, and by being rewarded when they are eager to serve you. [7] Colts, for example, learn to obey the horsebreaker by getting something they like when they are obedient, and suffering inconvenience when they are disobedient, until they carry out the horsebreaker’s intentions. [8] Puppies, again, are much inferior to men in intelligence and power of expression; and yet they learn to run in circles and turn somersaults and do many other tricks in the same way; for when they obey they get something that they want, and when they are careless, they are punished. [9] And men can be made more obedient by word of mouth merely, by being shown that it is good for them to obey. But in

dealing with slaves the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience; for you will do much with them by filling their bellies with the food they hanker after. Those of an ambitious disposition are also spurred on by praise, some natures being hungry for praise as others for meat and drink. [10] Now these are precisely the things that I do myself with a view to making men more obedient; but they are not the only lessons I give to those whom I want to appoint my bailiffs. I have other ways of helping them on. For the clothes that I must provide for my work-people and the shoes are not all alike. Some are better than others, some worse, in order that I may reward the better servant with the superior articles, and give the inferior things to the less deserving. [11] For I think it is very disheartening to good servants, Socrates, when they see that they do all the work, and others who are not willing to work hard and run risks when need be, get the same as they. [12] For my part, then, I don't choose to put the deserving on a level with the worthless, and when I know that my bailiffs have distributed the best things to the most deserving, I commend them; and if I see that flattery or any other futile service wins special favour, I don't overlook it, but reprove the bailiff, and try to show him, Socrates, that such favouritism is not even in his own interest.”

14. “‘Now, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘when you find your man so competent to rule that he can make them obedient, do you think him a perfect bailiff, or does he want anything else, even with the qualifications you have mentioned?’ [2]

“‘Of course, Socrates,’ returned Ischomachus, ‘he must be honest and not touch his master’s property. For if the man who handles the crops dares to make away with them, and doesn’t leave enough to give a profit on the undertaking, what good can come of farming under his management?’ [3]

“‘Then do you take it on yourself to teach this kind of justice too?’

“‘Certainly: I don’t find, however, that all readily pay heed to this lesson. [4] Nevertheless I guide the servants into the path of justice with the aid of maxims drawn from the laws of Draco and Solon. For it seems to me that these famous men enacted many of their laws with an eye on this particular kind of justice. [5] For it is written:

“thieves shall be fined for their thefts,” and “anyone guilty of attempt shall be imprisoned if taken in the act, and put to death.” The object of these enactments was clearly to make covetousness unprofitable to the offender. [6] By applying some of these clauses and other enactments found in the Persian king’s code, I try to make my servants upright in the matters that pass through their hands. [7] For while those laws only penalise the wrongdoer, the king’s code not only punishes the guilty, but also benefits the upright. Thus, seeing that the honest grow richer than the dishonest, many, despite their love of lucre, are careful to remain free from dishonesty. [8] And if I find any attempting to persist in dishonesty, although they are well treated, I regard them as incorrigibly greedy, and have nothing more to do with them. [9] On the other hand, if I discover that a man is inclined to be honest not only because he gains by his honesty, but also from a desire to win my approbation, I treat him like a free man by making him rich; and not only so, but I honour him as a gentleman. [10] For I think, Socrates, that the difference between ambition and greed consists in this, that for the sake of praise and honour the ambitious are willing to work properly, to take risks and refrain from dishonest gain.”

15. “Well, well, I won’t go on to ask whether anything more is wanting to your man, after you have implanted in him a desire for your prosperity and have made him also careful to see that you achieve it, and have obtained for him, besides, the knowledge needful to ensure that every piece of work done shall add to the profits, and, further, have made him capable of ruling, and when, besides all this, he takes as much delight in producing heavy crops for you in due season as you would take if you did the work yourself. For it seems to me that a man like that would make a very valuable bailiff. Nevertheless, Ischomachus, don’t leave a gap in that part of the subject to which we have given the most cursory attention.’

“‘Which is it?’ asked Ischomachus. [2]

“‘You said, you know, that the greatest lesson to learn is how things ought to be done; and added that, if a man is ignorant what to do and how to do it, no good can come of his management.’ [3]

“Then he said, ‘Socrates, are you insisting now that I should teach the whole art and mystery of agriculture?’

“‘Yes,’ said I; ‘for maybe it is just this that makes rich men of those who understand it, and condemns the ignorant to a life of penury, for all their toil.’ [4]

“‘Well, Socrates, you shall now hear how kindly a thing is this art. Helpful, pleasant, honourable, dear to gods and men in the highest degree, it is also in the highest degree easy to learn. Noble qualities surely! As you know, we call those creatures noble that are beautiful, great and helpful, and yet gentle towards men.’ [5]

“‘Ah, but I think, Ischomachus, that I quite understand your account of these matters — I mean how to teach a bailiff; for I think I follow your statement that you make him loyal to you, and careful and capable of ruling and honest. [6] But you said that one who is to be successful in the management of a farm must learn what to do and how and when to do it. That is the subject that we have treated, it seems to me, in a rather cursory fashion, [7] as if you said that anyone who is to be capable of writing from dictation and reading what is written must know the alphabet. For had I been told that, I should have been told, to be sure, that I must know the alphabet, but I don’t think that piece of information would help me to know it. [8] So too now; I am easily convinced that a man who is to manage a farm successfully must understand farming, but that knowledge doesn’t help me to understand how to farm. [9] Were I to decide this very moment to be a farmer, I think I should be like that doctor who goes round visiting the sick, but has no knowledge of the right way to treat them. Therefore, that I may not be like him, you must teach me the actual operations of farming.’ [10]

“‘Why, Socrates, farming is not troublesome to learn, like other arts, which the pupil must study till he is worn out before he can earn his keep by his work. Some things you can understand by watching men at work, others by just being told, well enough to teach another if you wish. And I believe that you know a good deal about it yourself, without being aware of the fact. [11] The truth is that, whereas other artists conceal more or less the most important points in their own art, the farmer who plants best is most pleased when he is being watched, so is he who sows best. Question him about any piece of work well done: and he will tell you exactly how he did it. [12] So farming, Socrates, more than any other calling, seems to

produce a generous disposition in its followers.’ [13]

“‘An excellent preamble,’ I cried, ‘and not of a sort to damp the hearer’s curiosity. Come, describe it to me, all the more because it is so simple to learn. For it is no disgrace to you to teach elementary lessons, but far more a disgrace to me not to understand them, especially if they are really useful.’”

16. “‘First then, Socrates, I want to show you that what is called the most complicated problem in agriculture by the authors who write most accurately on the theory of the subject, but are not practical farmers, is really a simple matter. [2] For they tell us that to be a successful farmer one must first know the nature of the soil.’

“‘Yes, and they are right,’ I remarked; ‘for if you don’t know what the soil is capable of growing, you can’t know, I suppose, what to plant or what to sow.’ [3]

“‘Well then,’ said Ischomachus, ‘you can tell by looking at the crops and trees on another man’s land what the soil can and what it cannot grow. But when you have found out, it is useless to fight against the gods. For you are not likely to get a better yield from the land by sowing and planting what you want instead of the crops and trees that the land prefers. [4] If it happens that the land does not declare its own capabilities because the owners are lazy, you can often gather more correct information from a neighbouring plot than from a neighbouring proprietor. [5] Yes, and even if the land lies waste, it reveals its nature. For if the wild stuff growing on the land is of fine quality, then by good farming the soil is capable of yielding cultivated crops of fine quality. So the nature of the soil can be ascertained even by the novice who has no experience of farming.’ [6]

“‘Well, I think I am now confident, Ischomachus, that I need not avoid farming from fear of not knowing the nature of the soil. [7] The fact is, I am reminded that fishermen, though their business is in the sea, and they neither stop the boat to take a look nor slow down, nevertheless, when they see the crops as they scud past the farms, do not hesitate to express an opinion about the land, which is the good and which is the bad sort, now condemning, now praising it. And, what is more, I notice that in their opinion about the good land they generally agree exactly with experienced farmers.’ [8]

“‘Then, Socrates, let me refresh your memory on the subject of

agriculture; but where do you wish me to begin? For I am aware that I shall tell you very much that you know already about the right method of farming.’ [9]

“‘First, Ischomachus, I think I should be glad to learn, for this is the philosopher’s way, how I am to cultivate the land if I want to get the heaviest crops of wheat and barley out of it.’ [10]

“‘Well, you know, I take it, that fallow must be prepared for sowing?’

“‘Yes, I know.’ [11]

“‘Suppose, then, we start ploughing in winter?’

“‘Why, the land will be a bog!’

“‘How about starting in summer?’

“‘The land will be hard to plough up.’ [12]

“‘It seems that spring is the season for beginning this work.’

“‘Yes, the land is likely to be more friable if it is broken up then.’

“‘Yes, and the grass turned up is long enough at that season to serve as manure, but, not having shed seed, it will not grow. [13] You know also, I presume, that fallow land can’t be satisfactory unless it is clear of weeds and thoroughly baked in the sun?’

“‘Yes, certainly; that is essential, I think.’ [14]

“‘Do you think that there is any better way of securing that than by turning the land over as often as possible in summer?’

“‘Nay, I know for certain that if you want the weeds to lie on the surface and wither in the heat, and the land to be baked by the sun, the surest way is to plough it up at midday in midsummer.’ [15]

“‘And if men prepare the fallow by digging, is it not obvious that they too must separate the weeds from the soil?’

“‘Yes, and they must throw the weeds on the surface to wither, and turn up the ground so that the lower spit may be baked.’”

17. “‘You see, then, Socrates, that we agree about the fallow.’

“‘It does seem so, to be sure.’

“‘And now as to the time for sowing, Socrates. Is it not your opinion that the time to sow is that which has been invariably found to be the best by past experience, and is universally approved by present practice? [2] For as soon as autumn ends, all men, I suppose, look anxiously to God, to see when he will send rain on the earth and make them free to sow.’

““Yes, Ischomachus, all men have made up their minds, of course, not to sow in dry ground if they can help it, those who sowed without waiting to be bidden by God having had to wrestle with many losses.’ [3]

““So far, then,’ said Ischomachus, ‘all the world is of one mind.’

““Yes,’ said I, ‘where God is our teacher we all come to think alike. For example, all agree that it is better to wear warm clothes in winter, if they can, and all agree on the desirability of having a fire, if they have wood.’ [4]

““But,’ said Ischomachus, ‘when we come to the question whether sowing is best done early or very late or at the mid-season, we find much difference of opinion, Socrates.’ by fixed laws; but in one year it may be advantageous to sow early, in another very late, in another at mid-season.’ [5]

““Then do you think, Socrates, that it is better to select one of these times for sowing, whether you sow much or little, or to begin at the earliest moment and continue sowing to the latest?’ [6]

““For my part, Ischomachus, I think it is best to sow for succession throughout the season. For in my opinion it is much better to get enough food at all times than too much at one time and not enough at another.’

““Here again, then, Socrates, pupil and teacher are of one opinion; and, moreover, you, the pupil, are first in stating this opinion.’ [7]

““Well now, is casting the seed a complicated problem?”

““By all means let us take that also into consideration, Socrates. I presume that you know as well as I that the seed must be cast by the hand?”

““Yes, I have seen it.’

““Ah,’ he said, ‘but some men can cast evenly, and some cannot.’

““Then sowers no less than lyre-players need practice, that the hand may be the servant of the will.’

““Certainly. [8] But suppose that some of the land is rather light and some rather heavy?”

““What do you mean by that?” I interrupted. ‘By “light” do you mean “weak,” and by “heavy,” “strong”?’

““Yes, I do; and I ask you whether you would give the same quantity of seed to both kinds, or to which you would give more?” [9]

“‘Well, my principle is this: the stronger the wine, the more water I add; the stronger the bearer, the heavier the burden I put on his back; and if it is necessary to feed others, I should require the richest men to feed the greatest number. But tell me whether weak land, like draught animals, becomes stronger when you put more corn into it.’
[10]

“‘Ah, you’re joking, Socrates,’ he said, laughing, ‘but allow me to tell you that, if after putting in the seed you plough it in again as soon as the blade appears when the land is obtaining plenty of nourishment from the sky, it makes food for the soil, and strengthens it like manure. If, on the other hand, you let the seed go on growing on the land until it is bolted, it’s hard for weak land to yield much grain in the end. It’s hard, you know, for a weak sow to rear a big litter of fine pigs.’ [11]

“‘Do you mean, Ischomachus, that the weaker the soil the less seed should be put into it?’

“‘Yes, of course, Socrates; and you agree when you say that your invariable custom is to make the burden light that is to be borne by the weak.’ [12]

“‘But the hoers, now, Ischomachus, why do you put them on the corn?’

“‘I presume you know that in winter there is a heavy rainfall?’

“‘Of course.’

“‘Let us assume, then, that part of the corn is waterlogged and covered with mud, and some of the roots are exposed by flooding. And it often happens, you know, that in consequence of rain weeds spring up among the corn and choke it.’ [13]

“‘All these things are likely to happen.’

“‘Then don’t you think that in such circumstances the corn needs prompt succour?’

“‘Certainly.’

“‘What should be done, do you think, to succour the part that is under the mud?’

“‘The soil should be lifted.’

“‘And the part that has its roots exposed?’

“‘It should be earthed up.’ [14]

“‘What if weeds are springing up, choking the corn and robbing it

of its food, much as useless drones rob bees of the food they have laid in store by their industry?’

“‘The weeds must be cut, of course, just as the drones must be removed from the hive.’ [15]

“‘Don’t you think, then, that we have good reason for putting on men to hoe?’

“‘No doubt; but I am reflecting, Ischomachus, on the advantage of bringing in an apt simile. For you roused my wrath against the weeds by mentioning the drones, much more than when you spoke of mere weeds.’”

18. “‘However,’ I continued, ‘after this comes reaping, I fancy. So give me any information you can with regard to that too.’

“‘Yes — unless I find that you know just what I do about that subject too. You know, then, that the corn must be cut.’

“‘I know that, naturally.’

“‘Are you for standing with your back to the wind when you cut corn, or facing it?’

“‘Not facing it, no! I think it is irritating both to the eyes and to the hands to reap with cornstalks and spikes blowing in your face.’ [2]

“‘And would you cut near the top or close to the ground?’

“‘If the stalk is short, I should cut low down, so that the straw may be more useful; but if it is long, I think it would be right to cut in the middle, in order that the threshers and winnowers may not spend needless trouble on what they don’t want. I imagine that the stubble may be burnt with advantage to the land, or thrown on the manure heap to increase its bulk.’ [3]

“‘Do you notice, Socrates, that you stand convicted of knowing just what I know about reaping too?’

“‘Yes, it seems so; and I want to know besides whether I understand threshing as well.’

“‘Then you know this much, that draught animals are used in threshing?’ [4]

“‘Yes, of course I do; and that the term draught animals includes oxen, mules and horses.’

“‘Then do you not think that all the beasts know is how to trample on the corn as they are driven?’

“‘Why, what more should draught animals know?’ [5]

“And who sees that they tread out the right corn, and that the threshing is level, Socrates?”

“The threshers, clearly. By continually turning the untrodden corn and throwing it under the animal’s feet they will, of course, keep it level on the floor and take least time over the work.’

“So far, then, your knowledge is quite as good as mine.’ [6]

“Will not our next task be to clean the corn by winnowing, Ischomachus?”

“Yes, Socrates; and tell me, do you know that if you start on the windward side of the floor, you will find the husks carried right across the floor?”

“It must be so.’ [7]

“Is it not likely, then, that some will fall on the grain?”

“Yes, it is a long way for the husks to be blown, right over the grain to the empty part of the floor.’

“But what if you start winnowing against the wind?”

“Clearly the chaff will at once fall in the right place.’ [8]

“And as soon as you have cleaned the corn over one half of the floor, will you at once go on throwing up the rest of the chaff while the corn lies about just as it is, or will you first sweep the clean corn towards the edge, so as to occupy the smallest space?”

“Of course I shall first sweep the clean corn up, so that my chaff may be carried across into the empty space, and I may not have to throw up the same chaff twice.’ [9]

“Well, Socrates, it seems you are capable of teaching the quickest way of cleaning corn.’ things; and so I have been thinking for some time whether my knowledge extends to smelting gold, playing the flute, and painting pictures. For I have never been taught these things any more than I have been taught farming; but I have watched men working at these arts, just as I have watched them farming.’ [10]

“And didn’t I tell you just now that farming is the noblest art for this among other reasons, because it is the easiest to learn?”

“Enough, Ischomachus; I know. I understood about sowing, it seems, but I wasn’t aware that I understood.”

19. “However, is the planting of fruit trees another branch of agriculture?” I continued.

“It is, indeed,’ answered Ischomachus.

“‘Then how can I understand all about sowing, and yet know nothing of planting?’ [2]

“‘What, don’t you understand it?’

“‘How can I, when I don’t know what kind of soil to plant in, nor how deep a hole to dig, nor how broad, nor how much of the plant should be buried, nor how it must be set in the ground to grow best?’

[3]

“‘Come then, learn whatever you don’t know. I am sure you have seen the sort of trenches they dig for plants.’

“‘Yes, often enough.’

“‘Did you ever see one more than three feet deep?’

“‘No, of course not — nor more than two and a half.’

“‘Well, did you ever see one more than three feet broad?’

“‘Of course not, nor more than two feet.’

“‘Come then, answer this question too. [4] Did you ever see one less than a foot deep?’

“‘Never less than a foot and a half, of course. For the plants would come out of the ground when it is stirred about them if they were put in so much too shallow.’ [5]

“‘Then you know this well enough, Socrates, that the trenches are never more than two and a half feet deep, nor less than a foot and a half.’

“‘A thing so obvious as that can’t escape one’s eyes.’ [6]

“‘Again, can you distinguish between dry and wet ground by using your eyes?’

“‘Oh, I should think that the land round Lycabettus and any like it is an example of dry ground, and the low-lying land at Phalerum and any like it of wet.’ [7]

“‘In which then would you dig the hole deep for your plant, in the dry or the wet ground?’

“‘In the dry, of course; because if you dug deep in the wet, you would come on water, and water would stop your planting.’

“‘I think you are quite right. Now suppose the holes are dug; have you ever noticed how the plants for each kind of soil should be put in?’

“‘Oh, yes.’ [8]

“‘Then assuming that you want them to grow as quickly as

possible, do you think that if you put some prepared soil under them the cuttings will strike sooner through soft earth into the hard stuff, or through unbroken ground?"

"Clearly, they will form roots more quickly in prepared soil than in unbroken ground." [9]

"Then soil must be placed below the plant?"

"No doubt it must."

"And if you set the whole cutting upright, pointing to the sky, do you think it would take root better, or would you lay part of it slanting under the soil that has been put below, so that it lies like a gamma upside down?" [10]

"Of course I would; for then there would be more buds underground; and I notice that plants shoot from the buds above ground, so I suppose that the buds under the ground do just the same; and with many shoots forming underground, the plant will make strong and rapid growth, I suppose." [11]

"Then it turns out that on these points too your opinion agrees with mine. But would you merely heap up the earth, or make it firm round the plant?"

"I should make it firm, of course; for if it were not firm, I feel sure that the rain would make mud of the loose earth, and the sun would dry it up from top to bottom; so the plants would run the risk of damping off through too much water, or withering from too much heat at the roots." [12]

"About vine planting then, Socrates, your views are again exactly the same as mine." too?" I asked.

"Yes, and to all other fruit trees, I think; for in planting other trees why discard anything that gives good results with the vine?" [13]

"But the olive — how shall we plant that, Ischomachus?"

"You know quite well, and are only trying to draw me out again. For I am sure you see that a deeper hole is dug for the olive (it is constantly being done on the roadside); you see also that all the growing shoots have stumps adhering to them; and you see that all the heads of the plants are coated with clay, and the part of the plant that is above ground is wrapped up." [14]

"Yes, I see all this."

"You do! Then what is there in it that you don't understand? Is it

that you don't know how to put the crocks on the top of the clay, Socrates?'

"Of course there is nothing in what you have said that I don't know, Ischomachus. But I am again set thinking what can have made me answer 'No' to the question you put to me a while ago, when you asked me briefly, Did I understand planting? For I thought I should have nothing to say about the right method of planting. But now that you have undertaken to question me in particular, my answers, you tell me, agree exactly with the views of a farmer so famous for his skill as yourself! [15] Can it be that questioning is a kind of teaching, Ischomachus? The fact is, I have just discovered the plan of your series of questions! You lead me by paths of knowledge familiar to me, point out things like what I know, and bring me to think that I really know things that I thought I had no knowledge of.' [16]

"Now suppose I questioned you about money,' said Ischomachus, 'whether it is good or bad, could I persuade you that you know how to distinguish good from false by test? And by putting questions about flute-players could I convince you that you understand flute-playing; and by means of questions about painters and other artists —'

"You might, since you have convinced me that I understand agriculture, though I know that I have never been taught this art.'

"No, it isn't so, Socrates. [17] I told you a while ago that agriculture is such a humane, gentle art that you have but to see her and listen to her, and she at once makes you understand her. [18] She herself gives you many lessons in the best way of treating her. For instance, the vine climbs the nearest tree, and so teaches you that she wants support. And when her clusters are yet tender, she spreads her leaves about them, and teaches you to shade the exposed parts from the sun's rays during that period. [19] But when it is now time for her grapes to be sweetened by the sun, she sheds her leaves, teaching you to strip her and ripen her fruit. And thanks to her teeming fertility, she shows some mellow clusters while she carries others yet sour, so saying to you: Pluck my grapes as men pluck figs, — choose the luscious ones as they come.'"

20. "And now I asked, 'How is it then, Ischomachus, if the operations of husbandry are so easy to learn and all alike know what

must needs be done, that all have not the same fortune? How is it that some farmers live in abundance and have more than they want, while others cannot get the bare necessities of life, and even run into debt?"

"“Oh, I will tell you, Socrates. [2] It is not knowledge nor want of knowledge on the part of farmers that causes one to thrive while another is needy. [3] You won't hear a story like this running about: The estate has gone to ruin because the sower sowed unevenly, or because he didn't plant the rows straight, or because someone, not knowing the right soil for vines, planted them in barren ground, or because someone didn't know that it is well to prepare the fallow for sowing, or because someone didn't know that it is well to manure the land. [4] No, you are much more likely to hear it said: The man gets no corn from his field because he takes no trouble to see that it is sown or manured. Or, The man has got no wine, for he takes no trouble to plant vines or to make his old stock bear. Or, The man has neither olives nor figs, because he doesn't take the trouble; he does nothing to get them. [5] It is not the farmers reputed to have made some clever discovery in agriculture who differ in fortune from others: it is things of this sort that make all the difference, Socrates. [6] This is true of generals also: there are some branches of strategy in which one is better or worse than another, not because he differs in intelligence, but in point of carefulness, undoubtedly. For the things that all generals know, and most privates, are done by some commanders and left undone by others. [7] For example, they all know that when marching through an enemy's country, the right way is to march in the formation in which they will fight best, if need be. Well, knowing this, some observe the rule, others break it. [8] All know that it is right to post sentries by day and night before the camp; but this too is a duty that some attend to, while others neglect it. [9] Again, where will you find the man who does not know that, in marching through a defile, it is better to occupy the points of vantage first? Yet this measure of precaution too is duly taken by some and neglected by others. [10] So, too, everyone will say that in agriculture there is nothing so good as manure, and their eyes tell them that nature produces it. All know exactly how it is produced, and it is easy to get any amount of it; and yet, while some take care to have it

collected, others care nothing about it. [11] Yet the rain is sent from heaven, and all the hollows become pools of water, and the earth yields herbage of every kind which must be cleared off the ground by the sower before sowing; and the rubbish he removes has but to be thrown into water, and time of itself will make what the soil likes. For every kind of vegetation, every kind of soil in stagnant water turns into manure. [12]

“And again, all the ways of treating the soil when it is too wet for sowing or too salt for planting are familiar to all men — how the land is drained by ditches, how the salt is corrected by being mixed with saltless substances, liquid or dry. Yet these matters, again, do not always receive attention. [13] Suppose a man to be wholly ignorant as to what the land can produce, and to be unable to see crop or tree on it, or to hear from anyone the truth about it, yet is it not far easier for any man to prove a parcel of land than to test a horse or to test a human being? For the land never plays tricks, but reveals frankly and truthfully what she can and what she cannot do. [14] I think that just because she conceals nothing from our knowledge and understanding, the land is the surest tester of good and bad men. For the slothful cannot plead ignorance, as in other arts: land, as all men know, responds to good treatment. [15] Husbandry is the clear accuser of the recreant soul. For no one persuades himself that man could live without bread; therefore if a man will not dig and knows no other profit-earning trade, he is clearly minded to live by stealing or robbery or begging — or he is an utter fool. [16]

“‘Farming,’ he added, ‘may result in profit or in loss; it makes a great difference to the result, even when many labourers are employed, whether the farmer takes care that the men are working during the working hours or is careless about it. For one man in ten by working all the time may easily make a difference, and another by knocking off before the time; [17] and, of course, if the men are allowed to be slack all the day long, the decrease in the work done may easily amount to one half of the whole. [18] Just as two travellers on the road, both young and in good health, will differ so much in pace that one will cover two hundred furlongs to the other’s hundred, because the one does what he set out to do, by going ahead, while the other is all for ease, now resting by a fountain or in the shade, now

gazing at the view, now wooing the soft breeze; [19] so in farm work there is a vast difference in effectiveness between the men who do the job they are put on to do and those who, instead of doing it, invent excuses for not working and are allowed to be slack. [20] In fact, between good work and dishonest slothfulness there is as wide a difference as between actual work and actual idleness. Suppose the vines are being hoed to clear the ground of weeds: if the hoeing is so badly done that the weeds grow ranker and more abundant, how can you call that anything but idleness?’ [21]

“These, then, are the evils that crush estates far more than sheer lack of knowledge. For the outgoing expenses of the estate are not a penny less; but the work done is insufficient to show a profit on the expenditure; after that there’s no need to wonder if the expected surplus is converted into a loss. [22] On the other hand, to a careful man, who works strenuously at agriculture, no business gives quicker returns than farming. My father taught me that and proved it by his own practice. For he never allowed me to buy a piece of land that was well farmed; but pressed me to buy any that was uncultivated and unplanted owing to the owner’s neglect or incapacity. [23] “Well farmed land,” he would say, “costs a large sum and can’t be improved;” and he held that where there is no room for improvement there is not much pleasure to be got from the land: landed estate and livestock must be continually coming on to give the fullest measure of satisfaction. Now nothing improves more than a farm that is being transformed from a wilderness into fruitful fields. [24] I assure you, Socrates, that we have often added a hundredfold to the value of a farm. There is so much money in this idea, Socrates, and it is so easy to learn, that no sooner have you heard of it from me than you know as much as I do, and can go home and teach it to someone else, if you like. [25] Moreover, my father did not get his knowledge of it at secondhand, nor did he discover it by much thought; but he would say that, thanks to his love of husbandry and hard work, he had coveted a farm of this sort in order that he might have something to do, and combine profit with pleasure. [26] For I assure you, Socrates, no Athenian, I believe, had such a strong natural love of agriculture as my father.’

“Now on hearing this I asked, ‘Did your father keep all the farms

that he cultivated, Ischomachus, or did he sell when he could get a good price?’

“‘He sold, of course,’ answered Ischomachus, ‘but, you see, owing to his industrious habits, he would promptly buy another that was out of cultivation.’ [27]

“‘You mean, Ischomachus, that your father really loved agriculture as intensely as merchants love corn. So deep is their love of corn that on receiving reports that it is abundant anywhere, merchants will voyage in quest of it: they will cross the Aegean, the Euxine, the Sicilian sea; [28] and when they have got as much as possible, they carry it over the sea, and they actually stow it in the very ship in which they sail themselves. And when they want money, they don’t throw the corn away anywhere at haphazard, but they carry it to the place where they hear that corn is most valued and the people prize it most highly, and deliver it to them there. Yes, your father’s love of agriculture seems to be something like that.’ [29]

“‘You’re joking, Socrates,’ rejoined Ischomachus; ‘but I hold that a man has a no less genuine love of building who sells his houses as soon as they are finished and proceeds to build others.’

“‘Of course; and I declare, Ischomachus, on my oath that I believe you, that all men naturally love whatever they think will bring them profit.’”

21. “‘But I am pondering over the skill with which you have presented the whole argument in support of your proposition, Ischomachus. For you stated that husbandry is the easiest of all arts to learn, and after hearing all that you have said, I am quite convinced that this is so.’ [2]

“‘Of course it is,’ cried Ischomachus; ‘but I grant you, Socrates, that in respect of aptitude for command, which is common to all forms of business alike — agriculture, politics, estate-management, warfare — in that respect the intelligence shown by different classes of men varies greatly. [3] For example, on a man-of-war, when the ship is on the high seas and the rowers must toil all day to reach port, some boatswains can say and do the right thing to sharpen the men’s spirits and make them work with a will, while others are so unintelligent that it takes them more than twice the time to finish the same voyage. Here they land bathed in sweat, with mutual

congratulations, boatswain and seamen. There they arrive with a dry skin; they hate their master and he hates them. [4] Generals, too, differ from one another in this respect. For some make their men unwilling to work and to take risks, disinclined and unwilling to obey, except under compulsion, and actually proud of defying their commander: aye, and they cause them to have no sense of dishonour when something disgraceful occurs. [5] Contrast the genius, the brave and scientific leader: let him take over the command of these same troops, or of others if you like. What effect has he on them? They are ashamed to do a disgraceful act, think it better to obey, and take a pride in obedience, working cheerfully, every man and all together, when it is necessary to work. [6] Just as a love of work may spring up in the mind of a private soldier here and there, so a whole army under the influence of a good leader is inspired with love of work and ambition to distinguish itself under the commander's eye. [7] Let this be the feeling of the rank and file for their commander; and I tell you, he is the strong leader, he, and not the sturdiest soldier, not the best with bow and javelin, not the man who rides the best horse and is foremost in facing danger, not the ideal of knight or targeteer, but he who can make his soldiers feel that they are bound to follow him through fire and in any adventure. [8] Him you may justly call high-minded who has many followers of like mind; and with reason may he be said to march "with a strong arm" whose will many an arm is ready to serve; and truly great is he who can do great deeds by his will rather than his strength. [9]

"So too in private industries, the man in authority — bailiff or manager — who can make the workers keen, industrious and persevering — he is the man who gives a lift to the business and swells the surplus. [10] But, Socrates, if the appearance of the master in the field, of the man who has the fullest power to punish the bad and reward the strenuous workmen, makes no striking impression on the men at work, I for one cannot envy him. But if at sight of him they bestir themselves, and a spirit of determination and rivalry and eagerness to excel falls on every workman, then I should say: this man has a touch of the kingly nature in him. [11] And this, in my judgment, is the greatest thing in every operation that makes any demand on the labour of men, and therefore in agriculture. Mind you,

I do not go so far as to say that this can be learnt at sight or at a single hearing. On the contrary, to acquire these powers a man needs education; he must be possessed of great natural gifts; above all, he must be a genius. [12] For I reckon this gift is not altogether human, but divine — this power to win willing obedience: it is manifestly a gift of the gods to the true votaries of prudence. Despotism over unwilling subjects they give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death.”

SYMPOSIUM



Translated by O. J. Todd

Another Socratic dialogue, the *Symposium* dramatises a discussion of Socrates and a company at a dinner given by Callias for Autolycus, son of Lycon. Unlike Plato's *Symposium*, which consists of a series of lengthy speeches in praise of love, Xenophon's is dominated by witty repartee. A contest of words emerges between Socrates and Callias, and each of the symposiasts is asked to describe the thing on which he prides himself the most. All their answers are playful or paradoxical: Socrates describes in detail his knowledge of the art of procuring prostitutes. The story comes to a climax when Socrates praises the love Callias had for Autolycus.

Critical opinion is divided as to which author was first to write a Socratic symposium, though recent scholarship generally argues that Xenophon wrote his *Symposium* later in the second half of the 360s, benefiting from Plato's former Socratic works.



Contemporary depiction of an ancient Greek symposium

SYMPOSIUM

1. To my mind it is worth while to relate not only the serious acts of great and good men but also what they do in their lighter moods. I should like to narrate an experience of mine that gives me this conviction. [2]

It was on the occasion of the horse-races at the greater Panathenaic games; Callias, Hipponicus' son, was enamoured, as it happened, of the boy Autolycus, and in honour of his victory in the pancratium had brought him to see the spectacle. When the racing was over, Callias proceeded on his way to his house in the Peiraeus with Autolycus and the boy's father; Niceratus also was in his company. [3] But on catching sight of a group comprising Socrates, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Antisthenes, and Charmides, Callias bade one of his servants escort Autolycus and the others, and himself going over to Socrates and his companions, said, [4] "This is an opportune meeting, for I am about to give a dinner in honour of Autolycus and his father; and I think that my entertainment would present a great deal more brilliance if my dining-room were graced with the presence of men like you, whose hearts have undergone philosophy's purification, than it would with generals and cavalry commanders and office-seekers." [5]

"You are always quizzing us," replied Socrates; "for you have yourself paid a good deal of money for wisdom to Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and many others, while you see that we are what you might call amateurs in philosophy; and so you feel supercilious toward us." [6]

"Yes," said Callias, "so far, I admit, I have been keeping you ignorant of my ability at profound and lengthy discourse; but now, if you will favour me with your company, I will prove to you that I am a person of some consequence." [7]

Now at first Socrates and his companions thanked him for the invitation, as might be expected, but would not promise to attend the banquet; when it became clear, however, that he was taking their refusal very much to heart, they went with him. And so his guests arrived, some having first taken their exercise and their rub-down,

others with the addition of a bath. [8] Autolycus took a seat by his father's side; the others, of course, reclined.

A person who took note of the course of events would have come at once to the conclusion that beauty is in its essence something regal, especially when, as in the present case of Autolycus, its possessor joins with it modesty and sobriety. [9] For in the first place, just as the sudden glow of a light at night draws all eyes to itself, so now the beauty of Autolycus compelled every one to look at him. And again, there was not one of the onlookers who did not feel his soul strangely stirred by the boy; some of them grew quieter than before, others even assumed some kind of a pose. [10] Now it is true that all who are under the influence of any of the gods seem well worth gazing at; but whereas those who are possessed of the other gods have a tendency to be sterner of countenance, more terrifying of voice, and more vehement, those who are inspired by chaste Love have a more tender look, subdue their voices to more gentle tones, and assume a supremely noble bearing. Such was the demeanour of Callias at this time under the influence of Love; and therefore he was an object well worth the gaze of those initiated into the worship of this god. [11]

The company, then, were feasting in silence, as though some one in authority had commanded them to do so, when Philip the buffoon knocked at the door and told the porter to announce who he was and that he desired to be admitted; he added that with regard to food he had come all prepared, in all varieties — to dine on some other person's, — and that his servant was in great distress with the load he carried of — nothing, and with having an empty stomach. Hearing this, Callias said, [12] “Well, gentlemen, we cannot decently begrudge him at the least the shelter of our roof; so let him come in.” With the words he cast a glance at Autolycus, obviously trying to make out what he had thought of the pleasantry. [13] But Philip, standing at the threshold of the men's hall where the banquet was served, announced:

“You all know that I am a jester; and so I have come here with a will, thinking it more of a joke to come to your dinner uninvited than to come by invitation.” “Well, then,” said Callias, “take a place; for the guests, though well fed, as you observe, on seriousness, are

perhaps rather ill supplied with laughter.” [14]

No sooner were they engaged in their dinner than Philip attempted a witticism, with a view to rendering the service that secured him all his dinner engagements; but on finding that he did not excite any laughter, he showed himself, for the time, considerably vexed. A little later, however, he must try another jest; but when they would not laugh at him this time either, he stopped while the dinner was in full swing, covered his head with his cloak, and lay down on his couch. [15] “What does this mean, Philip?” Callias inquired. “Are you seized with a pain?” Philip replied with a groan, “Yes, Callias, by Heaven, with a severe one; for since laughter has perished from the world, my business is ruined. For in times past, the reason why I got invitations to dinner was that I might stir up laughter among the guests and make them merry; but now, what will induce any one to invite me? For I could no more turn serious than I could become immortal; and certainly no one will invite me in the hope of a return invitation, as every one knows that there is not a vestige of tradition of bringing dinner into my house.” As he said this, he wiped his nose, and to judge by the sound, he was evidently weeping. [16] All tried to comfort him with the promise that they would laugh next time, and urged him to eat; and Critobulus actually burst out into a guffaw at his lugubrious moaning. The moment Philip heard the laughter he uncovered his head, and exhorting his spirit to be of good courage, in view of approaching engagements, he fell to eating again.

2. When the tables had been removed and the guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, there entered a man from Syracuse, to give them an evening’s merriment. He had with him a fine flute-girl, a dancing-girl — one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks, — and a very handsome boy, who was expert at playing the cither and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performances as a spectacle. [2] They now played for the assemblage, the flute-girl on the flute, the boy on the cither; and it was agreed that both furnished capital amusement. Thereupon Socrates remarked: “On my word, Callias, you are giving us a perfect dinner; for not only have you set before us a feast that is above criticism, but you are also offering us very delightful sights and sounds.” [3] “Suppose we go further,” said Callias, “and have some one bring us some perfume, so that we may

dine in the midst of pleasant odours, also.” “No, indeed!” replied Socrates. “For just as one kind of dress looks well on a woman and another kind on a man, so the odours appropriate to men and to women are diverse. No man, surely, ever uses perfume for a man’s sake. And as for the women, particularly if they chance to be young brides, like the wives of Niceratus here and Critobulus, how can they want any additional perfume? For that is what they are redolent of, themselves. The odour of the olive oil, on the other hand, that is used in the gymnasium is more delightful when you have it on your flesh than perfume is to women, and when you lack it, the want of it is more keenly felt. [4] Indeed, so far as perfume is concerned, when once a man has anointed himself with it, the scent forthwith is all one whether he be slave or free; but the odours that result from the exertions of freemen demand primarily noble pursuits engaged in for many years if they are to be sweet and suggestive of freedom.”

“That may do for young fellows,” observed Lycon; “but what of us who no longer exercise in the gymnasia? What should be our distinguishing scent?”

“Nobility of soul, surely!” replied Socrates.

“And where may a person get this ointment?”

“Certainly not from the perfumers,” said Socrates.

“But where, then?”

“Theognis has said:

‘Good men teach good; society with bad

Will but corrupt the good mind that you had.’” [5]

“Do you hear that, my son?” asked Lycon.

“Yes, indeed he does,” said Socrates; “and he puts it into practice, too. At any rate, when he desired to become a prize-winner in the pancratium, [he availed himself of your help to discover the champions in that sport and associated with them; and so, if he desires to learn the ways of virtue,] he will again with your help seek out the man who seems to him most proficient in this way of life and will associate with him.” [6]

Thereupon there was a chorus of voices. “Where will he find an instructor in this subject?” said one. Another maintained that it could not be taught at all. A third asserted that this could be learned if anything could. [7] “Since this is a debatable matter,” suggested

Socrates, “let us reserve it for another time; for the present let us finish what we have on hand. For I see that the dancing girl here is standing ready, and that some one is bringing her some hoops.” [8]

At that, the other girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute, and a boy at her elbow handed her up the hoops until he had given her twelve. She took these and as she danced kept throwing them whirling into the air, observing the proper height to throw them so as to catch them in a regular rhythm. [9]

As Socrates looked on he remarked: “This girl’s feat, gentlemen, is only one of many proofs that woman’s nature is really not a whit inferior to man’s, except in its lack of judgment and physical strength. So if any one of you has a wife, let him confidently set about teaching her whatever he would like to have her know.” [10]

“If that is your view, Socrates,” asked Antisthenes, “how does it come that you don’t practise what you preach by yourself educating Xanthippe, but live with a wife who is the hardest to get along with of all the women there are — yes, or all that ever were, I suspect, or ever will be?”

“Because,” he replied, “I observe that men who wish to become expert horsemen do not get the most docile horses but rather those that are high-mettled, believing that if they can manage this kind, they will easily handle any other. My course is similar. Mankind at large is what I wish to deal and associate with; and so I have got her, well assured that if I can endure her, I shall have no difficulty in my relations with all the rest of human kind.”

These words, in the judgment of the guests, did not go wide of the mark. [11]

But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the onlookers, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. She, however, went through this performance fearlessly and safely. [12]

Then Socrates, drawing Antisthenes’ attention, said: “Witnesses of this feat, surely, will never again deny, I feel sure, that courage, like other things, admits of being taught, when this girl, in spite of her sex, leaps so boldly in among the swords!” [13]

“Well, then,” asked Antisthenes, “had this Syracusan not better

exhibit his dancer to the city and announce that if the Athenians will pay him for it he will give all the men of Athens the courage to face the spear?" [14]

"Well said!" interjected Philip. "I certainly should like to see Peisander the politician learning to turn somersaults among the knives; for, as it is now, his inability to look spears in the face makes him shrink even from joining the army." [15]

At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, "Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he appears even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he is at rest?"

"It looks to me," said Charmides, "as if you were puffing the dancing-master." [16]

"Assuredly," replied Socrates; "and I remarked something else, too, — that no part of his body was idle during the dance, but neck, legs, and hands were all active together. And that is the way a person must dance who intends to increase the suppleness of his body. And for myself," he continued, addressing the Syracusan, "I should be delighted to learn the figures from you."

"What use will you make of them?" the other asked.

"I will dance, by Zeus." [17]

This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: "You are laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? [18] Or are you laughing because I shall not need to hunt up a partner to exercise with, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but shall find a moderate-sized room large enough for me (just as but now this room was large enough for the lad here to get up a sweat in), and because in winter I shall exercise under cover, and when it is very hot, in the shade? [19] Or is this what provokes your laughter, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?"

“Indeed I did,” said Charmides; “and at first I was dumbfounded and feared that you were going stark mad; but when I heard you say much the same things as you did just now, I myself went home, and although I did not dance, for I had never learned how, I practised shadow-boxing, for I knew how to do that.” [20]

“Undoubtedly,” said Philip; “at any rate, your legs appear so nearly equal in weight to your shoulders that I imagine if you were to go to the market commissioners and put your lower parts in the scale against your upper parts, as if they were loaves of bread, they would let you off without a fine.”

“When you are ready to begin your lessons, Socrates,” said Callias, “pray invite me, so that I may be opposite you in the figures and may learn with you.” [21]

“Come,” said Philip, “let me have some flute music, so that I may dance too.”

So he got up and mimicked in detail the dancing of both the boy and the girl. [22] To begin with, since the company had applauded the way the boy’s natural beauty was increased by the grace of the dancing postures, Philip made a burlesque out of the performance by rendering every part of his body that was in motion more grotesque than it naturally was; and whereas the girl had bent backward until she resembled a hoop, he tried to do the same by bending forward. Finally, since they had given the boy applause for putting every part of his body into play in the dance, he told the flute girl to hit up the time faster, and danced away, flinging out legs, hands, and head all at the same time; [23] and when he was quite exhausted, he exclaimed as he laid himself down: “Here is proof, gentlemen, that my style of dancing, also, gives excellent exercise; it has certainly given me a thirst; so let the servant fill me up the big goblet.” [24]

“Certainly,” replied Callias; “and the same for us, for we are thirsty with laughing at you.”

Here Socrates again interposed. “Well, gentlemen,” said he, “so far as drinking is concerned, you have my hearty approval; for wine does of a truth ‘moisten the soul’ and lull our griefs to sleep just as the mandragora does with men, at the same time awakening kindly feelings as oil quickens a flame. [25] However, I suspect that men’s bodies fare the same as those of plants that grow in the ground.

When God gives the plants water in floods to drink, they cannot stand up straight or let the breezes blow through them; but when they drink only as much as they enjoy, they grow up very straight and tall and come to full and abundant fruitage. [26] So it is with us. If we pour ourselves immense draughts, it will be no long time before both our bodies and our minds reel, and we shall not be able even to draw breath, much less to speak sensibly; but if the servants frequently ‘besprinkle’ us — if I too may use a Gorgian expression — with small cups, we shall thus not be driven on by the wine to a state of intoxication, but instead shall be brought by its gentle persuasion to a more sportive mood.” [27]

This resolution received a unanimous vote, with an amendment added by Philip to the effect that the wine-pourers should emulate skilful charioteers by driving the cups around with ever increasing speed. This the wine-pourers proceeded to do.

3. After this the boy, attuning his lyre to the flute, played and sang, and won the applause of all; and brought from Charmides the remark, “It seems to me, gentlemen, that, as Socrates said of the wine, so this blending of the young people’s beauty and of the notes of the music lulls one’s griefs to sleep and awakens the goddess of Love.” [2]

Then Socrates resumed the conversation. “These people, gentlemen,” said he, “show their competence to give us pleasure; and yet we, I am sure, think ourselves considerably superior to them. Will it not be to our shame, therefore, if we do not make even an attempt, while here together, to be of some service or to give some pleasure one to another?”

At that many spoke up: “You lead the way, then, and tell us what to begin talking about to realize most fully what you have in mind.” [3]

“For my part,” he answered, “I should like to have Callias redeem his promise; for he said, you remember, that if we would take dinner with him, he would give us an exhibition of his profundity.”

“Yes,” rejoined Callias; “and I will do so, if the rest of you will also lay before us any serviceable knowledge that you severally possess.”

“Well,” answered Socrates, “no one objects to telling what he

considers the most valuable knowledge in his possession.” [4]

“Very well, then,” said Callias, “I will now tell you what I take greatest pride in. It is that I believe I have the power to make men better.”

“How?” asked Antisthenes. “By teaching them some manual trade, or by teaching nobility of character?”

“The latter, if righteousness is the same thing as nobility.”

“Certainly it is,” replied Antisthenes, “and the least debatable kind, too; for though courage and wisdom appear at times to work injury both to one’s friends and to the state, righteousness and unrighteousness never overlap at a single point.” [5]

“Well, then, when every one of you has named the benefit he can confer, I will not begrudge describing the art that gives me the success that I speak of. And so, Niceratus,” he suggested, “it is your turn; tell us what kind of knowledge you take pride in.”

“My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man,” said Niceratus, “and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole Iliad and the Odyssey by heart.” [6]

“But have you failed to observe,” questioned Antisthenes, “that the rhapsodes, too, all know these poems?”

“How could I,” he replied, “when I listen to their recitations nearly every day?”

“Well, do you know any tribe of men,” went on the other, “more stupid than the rhapsodes?”

“No, indeed,” answered Niceratus; “not I, I am sure.”

“No,” said Socrates; “and the reason is clear: they do not know the inner meaning of the poems. But you have paid a good deal of money to Stesimbrotus, Anaximander, and many other Homeric critics, so that nothing of their valuable teaching can have escaped your knowledge. [7] But what about you, Critobulus?” he continued. “What do you take greatest pride in?”

“In beauty,” he replied.

“What?” exclaimed Socrates. “Are you too going to be able to maintain that you can make us better, and by means of your beauty?”

“Why, otherwise, it is clear enough that I shall cut but an indifferent figure.” [8]

“And you, Antisthenes,” said Socrates, “what do you take pride in?”

“In wealth,” he replied.

Hermogenes asked him whether he had a large amount of money; he swore that he did not have even a penny.

“You own a great deal of land, then?”

“Well, perhaps it might prove big enough,” said he, “for Autolycus here to sand himself in.” [9]

“It looks as if we should have to hear from you, too. And how about you, Charmides?” he continued. “What do you take pride in?”

“What pride,” said he, “on the contrary, is in my poverty.”

“A charming thing, upon my word!” exclaimed Socrates. “It seldom causes envy or is a bone of contention; and it is kept safe without the necessity of a guard, and grows sturdier by neglect!” [10]

“But what of you, Socrates?” said Callias. “What are you proud of?”

Socrates drew up his face into a very solemn expression, and answered, “The trade of procurer.”

After the rest had had a laugh at him, “Very well,” said he, “you may laugh, but I know that I could make a lot of money if I cared to follow the trade.” [11]

“As for you,” said Lycon, addressing Philip, “it is obvious that your pride is in your jesting.”

“And my pride is better founded, I think,” replied Philip, “than that of Callippides, the actor, who is consumed with vanity because he can fill the seats with audiences that weep.” [12]

“Will you also not tell us, Lycon,” said Antisthenes, “what it is that you take pride in?”

“Don’t you all know,” he answered, “that it is in my son here?”

“And as for him,” said one, “it is plain that he is proud at having taken a prize.”

At this Autolycus blushed and said, “No, indeed, not that.” [13]

All looked at him, delighted to hear him speak, and one asked, “What is it, then, Autolycus, that you are proud of?” and he answered, “My father,” and with the words nestled close against him.

When Callias saw this, “Do you realize, Lycon,” said he, “that you are the richest man in the world?”

“No, indeed,” the other replied, “I certainly do not know that.”

“Why, are you blind to the fact that you would not part with your son for the wealth of the Great King?”

“I am caught,” was the answer, “red-handed; it does look as if I were the richest man in the world.” [14]

“What about you, Hermogenes?” said Niceratus. “What do you delight in most?”

“In the goodness and the power of my friends,” he answered, “and in the fact that with all their excellence they have regard for me.”

Thereupon all eyes were turned toward him, and many speaking at once asked him whether he would not discover these friends to them; and he answered that he would not be at all loath to do so.

4. At this point Socrates said: “I suspect that it remains now for each one of us to prove that what he engaged himself to champion is of real worth.”

“You may hear me first,” said Callias. “While I listen to your philosophical discussions of what righteousness is, I am all the time actually rendering men more righteous.”

“How so, my good friend?” asked Socrates.

“Why, by giving them money.” [2]

Then Antisthenes got up and in a very argumentative fashion interrogated him. “Where do you think men harbour their righteousness, Callias, in their souls or in their purses?”

“In their souls,” he replied.

“So you make their souls more righteous by putting money into their purses?”

“I surely do.”

“How?”

“Because they know that they have the wherewithal to buy the necessities of life, and so they are reluctant to expose themselves to the hazards of crime.” [3]

“And do they repay you,” he asked, “the money that they get from you?”

“Heavens, no!” he replied.

“Well, do they substitute thanks for money payment?”

“No, indeed, nor that either,” he said. “On the contrary, some of them have an even greater dislike of me than before they got the

money.”

“It is remarkable,” said Antisthenes, looking fixedly at him as though he had him in a corner, “that you can make them righteous toward others but not toward yourself.” [4]

“What is there remarkable about that?” asked Callias. “Do you not see plenty of carpenters, also, and architects that build houses for many another person but cannot do it for themselves, but live in rented houses? Come now, my captious friend, take your medicine and own that you are beaten.” [5]

“By all means,” said Socrates, “let him do so. For even the soothsayers have the reputation, you know, of prophesying the future for others but of not being able to foresee their own fate.”

Here the discussion of this point ended. [6]

Then Niceratus remarked: “You may now hear me tell wherein you will be improved by associating with me. You know, doubtless, that the sage Homer has written about practically everything pertaining to man. Any one of you, therefore, who wishes to acquire the art of the householder, the political leader, or the general, or to become like Achilles or Ajax or Nestor or Odysseus, should seek my favour, for I understand all these things.”

“Ha!” said Antisthenes; “do you understand how to play the king, too, knowing, as you do, that Homer praised Agamemnon for being ‘both goodly king and spearman strong’?”

“Yes, indeed!” said he; “and I know also that in driving a chariot one must run close to the goalpost at the turn and” Himself lean lightly to the left within The polished car, the right-hand trace-horse goad, Urge him with shouts, and let him have the reins.” *Hom. Il.* 23.335-337 [7] And beside this I know something else, which you may test immediately. For Homer says somewhere: ‘An onion, too, a relish for the drink.’ Now if some one will bring an onion, you will receive this benefit, at any rate, without delay; for you will get more pleasure out of your drinking.” [8]

“Gentlemen,” said Charmides, “Niceratus is intent on going home smelling of onions to make his wife believe that no one would even have conceived the thought of kissing him.”

“Undoubtedly,” said Socrates. “But we run the risk of getting a different sort of reputation, one that will bring us ridicule. For though

the onion seems to be in the truest sense a relish, since it adds to our enjoyment not only of food, but also of drink, yet if we eat it not only with our dinner but after it as well, take care that some one does not say of us that on our visit to Callias we were merely indulging our appetites.” [9]

“Heaven forbid, Socrates!” was the reply. “I grant that when a man is setting out for battle, it is well for him to nibble an onion, just as some people give their game-cocks a feed of garlic before pitting them together in the ring; as for us, however, our plans perhaps look more to getting a kiss from some one than to fighting.”

That was about the way the discussion of this point ended. [10]

Then Critobulus said: “Shall I take my turn now and tell you my grounds for taking pride in my handsomeness?”

“Do,” they said.

“Well, then, if I am not handsome, as I think I am, you could fairly be sued for misrepresentation; for though no one asks you for an oath, you are always swearing that I am handsome. And indeed I believe you; for I consider you to be honourable men. [11] But, on the other hand, if I really am handsome and you have the same feelings toward me that I have toward the one who is handsome in my eyes, I swear by all the gods that I would not take the kingdom of Persia in exchange for the possession of beauty. [12] For as it is, I would rather gaze at Cleinias than at all the other beautiful objects in the world. I would rather be blind to all things else than to Cleinias alone. I chafe at both night and sleep because then I do not see him; I feel the deepest gratitude to day and the sun because they reveal Cleinias to me. [13] We handsome people have a right to be proud of this fact, too, that whereas the strong man must get the good things of his desire by toil, and the brave man by adventure, and the wise man by his eloquence, the handsome person can attain all his ends without doing anything. [14] So far as I, at least, am concerned, although I realize that money is a delightful possession, I should take more delight in giving what I have to Cleinias than in adding to my possessions from another person’s; and I should take more delight in being a slave than in being a free man, if Cleinias would deign to be my master. For I should find it easier to toil for him than to rest, and it would be more delightful to risk my life for his sake than to live in

safety. [15] And so, Callias, if you are proud of your ability to make people more righteous, I have a better 'right' than you to claim that I can influence men toward every sort of virtue. For since we handsome men exert a certain inspiration upon the amorous, we make them more generous in money matters, more strenuous and heroic amid dangers, yes, and more modest and self-controlled also; for they feel abashed about the very things that they want most. [16] Madness is in those people, too, who do not elect the handsome men as generals; I certainly would go through fire with Cleinias, and I know that you would, also, with me. Therefore, Socrates, do not puzzle any more over the question whether or not my beauty will be of any benefit to men. [17] But more than that, beauty is not to be contemned on this ground, either, that it soon passes its prime; for just as we recognize beauty in a boy, so we do in a youth, a full-grown man, or an old man. Witness the fact that in selecting garlandbearers for Athena they choose beautiful old men, thus intimating that beauty attends every period of life. [18] Furthermore, if it is pleasurable to attain one's desires with the good will of the giver, I know very well that at this very moment, without uttering a word, I could persuade this boy or this girl to give me a kiss sooner than you could, Socrates, no matter how long and profoundly you might argue." [19]

"How now?" exclaimed Socrates. "You boast as though you actually thought yourself a handsomer man than me."

"Of course," was Critobulus's reply; "otherwise I should be the ugliest of all the Satyrs ever on the stage."

Now Socrates, as fortune would have it, really resembled these creatures. [20]

"Come, come," said Socrates; "see that you remember to enter a beauty contest with me when the discussion now under way has gone the rounds. And let our judges be not Alexander, Priam's son, but these very persons whom you consider eager to give you a kiss." [21]

"Would you not entrust the arbitrament to Cleinias, Socrates?"

"Aren't you ever going to get your mind off Cleinias?" was the rejoinder.

"If I refrain from mentioning his name, do you suppose that I shall have him any the less in mind? Do you not know that I have so clear

an image of him in my heart that had I ability as a sculptor or a painter I could produce a likeness of him from this image that would be quite as close as if he were sitting for me in person?" [22]

"Why do you annoy me, then," was Socrates' retort, "and keep taking me about to places where you can see him in person, if you possess so faithful an image of him?"

"Because, Socrates, the sight of him in person has the power to delight one, whereas the sight of the image does not give pleasure, but implants a craving for him." [23]

"For my part, Socrates," said Hermogenes, "I do not regard it as at all like you to countenance such a mad passion of love in Critobulus."

"What? Do you suppose," asked Socrates, "that this condition has arisen since he began associating with me?"

"If not, when did it?"

"Do you not notice that the soft down is just beginning to grow down in front of his ears, while that of Cleinias is already creeping up the nape of his neck? Well, then, this hot flame of his was kindled in the days when they used to go to school together. [24] It was the discovery of this that caused his father to put him into my hands, in the hope that I might do him some good. And without question he is already much improved. For awhile ago he was like those who look at the Gorgons — he would gaze at Cleinias with a fixed and stony stare and would never leave his presence; but now I have seen him actually close his eyes in a wink. [25] But to tell you the truth, gentlemen," he continued, "by Heaven! it does look to me — to speak confidentially — as if he had also kissed Cleinias; and there is nothing more terribly potent than this at kindling the fires of passion. For it is insatiable and holds out seductive hopes. [26] For this reason I maintain that one who intends to possess the power of self-control must refrain from kissing those in the bloom of beauty." [27]

"But why in the world, Socrates," Charmides now asked, "do you flourish your bogeys so to frighten us, your friends, away from the beauties, when, by Apollo! I have seen you yourself," he continued, "when the two of you were hunting down something in the same book-roll at the school, sitting head to head, with your nude shoulder pressing against Critobulus's nude shoulder?" [28]

“Dear me!” exclaimed Socrates. “So that is what affected me like the bite of a wild animal! And for over five days my shoulder smarted and I felt as if I had something like a sting in my heart. But now, Critobulus,” said he, “in the presence of all these witnesses I warn you not to lay a finger on me until you get as much hair on your chin as you have on your head.”

Such was the mingled raillery and seriousness that these indulged in. [29]

But Callias now remarked, “It is your turn, Charmides, to tell us why poverty makes you feel proud.”

“Very well,” said he. “So much, at least, every one admits, that assurance is preferable to fear, freedom to slavery, being the recipient of attention to being the giver of it, the confidence of one’s country to its distrust. [30] Now, as for my situation in our commonwealth, when I was rich, I was, to begin with, in dread of some one’s digging through the wall of my house and not only getting my money but also doing me a mischief personally; in the next place, I knuckled down to the blackmailers, knowing well enough that my abilities lay more in the direction of suffering injury than of inflicting it on them. Then, too, I was for ever being ordered by the government to undergo some expenditure or other, and I never had the opportunity for foreign travel. [31] Now, however, since I am stripped of my property over the border and get no income from the property in Attica, and my household effects have been sold, I stretch out and enjoy a sound sleep, I have gained the confidence of the state, I am no longer subjected to threats but do the threatening now myself; and I have the free man’s privilege of going abroad or staying here at home as I please. People now actually rise from their seats in deference to me, and rich men obsequiously give me the right of way on the street, [32] Now I am like a despot; then I was clearly a slave. Then I paid a revenue to the body politic; now I live on the tribute that the state pays to me. Moreover, people used to vilify me, when I was wealthy, for consorting with Socrates; but now that I have got poor, no one bothers his head about it any longer. Again, when my property was large, either the government or fate was continually making me throw some of it to the winds; but now, far from throwing anything away (for I possess nothing), I am always in expectation of

acquiring something.” [33]

“Your prayers, also,” said Callias, “are doubtless to the effect that you may never be rich; and if you ever have a fine dream you sacrifice, do you not, to the deities who avert disasters?”

“Oh, no” was the reply; “I don’t go so far as that; I hazard the danger with great heroism if I have any expectation of getting something from some one.” [34]

“Come, now, Antisthenes,” said Socrates, “take your turn and tell us how it is that with such slender means you base your pride on wealth.”

“Because, sirs, I conceive that people’s wealth and poverty are to be found not in their real estate but in their hearts. [35] For I see many persons, not in office, who though possessors of large resources, yet look upon themselves as so poor that they bend their backs to any toil, any risk, if only they may increase their holdings; and again I know of brothers, with equal shares in their inheritance, where one of them has plenty, and more than enough to meet expenses, while the other is in utter want. [36] Again, I am told of certain despots, also, who have such a greedy appetite for riches that they commit much more dreadful crimes than they who are afflicted with the direst poverty. For it is of course their want that makes some people steal, others commit burglary, others follow the slave trade; but there are some despots who destroy whole families, kill men wholesale, oftentimes enslave even entire cities, for the sake of money. [37] As for such men, I pity them deeply for their malignant disease; for in my eyes their malady resembles that of a person who possessed abundance but though continually eating could never be satisfied. For my own part, my possessions are so great that I can hardly find them myself; yet I have enough so that I can eat until I reach a point where I no longer feel hungry and drink until I do not feel thirsty and have enough clothing so that when out of doors I do not feel the cold any more than my superlatively wealthy friend Callias here; [38] and when I get into the house I look on my walls as exceedingly warm tunics and the roofs as exceptionally thick mantles; and the bedding that I own is so satisfactory that it is actually a hard task to get me awake in the morning. If I ever feel a natural desire for converse with women, I am so well satisfied with whatever chance puts in my way

that those to whom I make my addresses are more than glad to welcome me because they have no one else who wants to consort with them. [39] In a word, all these items appeal to me as being so conducive to enjoyment that I could not pray for greater pleasure in performing any one of them, but could pray rather for less — so much more pleasurable do I regard some of them than is good for one. [40] But the most valuable parcel of my wealth I reckon to be this, that even though some one were to rob me of what I now possess, I see no occupation so humble that it would not give me adequate fare. [41] For whenever I feel an inclination to indulge my appetite, I do not buy fancy articles at the market (for they come high), but I draw on the store-house of my soul. And it goes a long way farther toward producing enjoyment when I take food only after awaiting the craving for it than when I partake of one of these fancy dishes, like this fine Thasian wine that fortune has put in my way and I am drinking without the promptings of thirst. [42] Yes, and it is natural that those whose eyes are set on frugality should be more honest than those whose eyes are fixed on money-making. For those who are most contented with what they have are least likely to covet what belongs to others. [43] And it is worth noting that wealth of this kind makes people generous, also. My friend Socrates here and I are examples. For Socrates, from whom I acquired this wealth of mine, did not come to my relief with limitation of number and weight, but made over to me all that I could carry. And as for me, I am now niggardly to no one, but both make an open display of my abundance to all my friends and share my spiritual wealth with any one of them that desires it. [44] But — most exquisite possession of all! — you observe that I always have leisure, with the result that I can go and see whatever is worth seeing, and hear whatever is worth hearing and — what I prize highest — pass the whole day, untroubled by business, in Socrates' company. Like me, he does not bestow his admiration on those who count the most gold, but spends his time with those who are congenial to him.” [45]

Such was the thesis maintained by Antisthenes. “So help me Hera,” commented Callias, “among the numerous reasons I find for congratulating you on your wealth, one is that the government does not lay its commands on you and treat you as a slave, another is that

people do not feel resentful at your not making them a loan.”

“Do not be congratulating him,” said Niceratus; “because I am about to go and get him to make me a loan — of his contentment with his lot, schooled as I am by Homer to count” Seven pots unfired, ten talents’ weight of gold, A score of gleaming cauldrons, chargers twelve,” *Hom. Iliad* 9.122 f., 264 f. weighing and calculating until I am never done with yearning for vast riches; as a result, some people perhaps regard me as just a bit fond of lucre.”

A burst of laughter from the whole company greeted this admission; for they considered that he had told nothing more than the truth. [46]

“Hermogenes, it devolves on you,” some one now remarked, “to mention who your friends are and to demonstrate their great power and their solicitude for you, so that your pride in them may appear justified.” [47]

“Very well; in the first place, it is clear as day that both Greeks and barbarians believe that the gods know everything both present and to come; at any rate, all cities and all races ask the gods, by the diviner’s art, for advice as to what to do and what to avoid. Second, it is likewise manifest that we consider them able to work us good or ill; at all events, every one prays the gods to avert evil and grant blessings. [48] Well, these gods, omniscient and omnipotent, feel so friendly toward me that their watchfulness over me never lets me out of their ken night or day, no matter where I am going or what business I have in view. They know the results also that will follow any act; and so they send me as messengers omens of sounds, dreams, and birds, and thus indicate what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And when I do their bidding, I never regret it; on the other hand, I have before now disregarded them and have been punished for it.” [49]

“None of these statements,” said Socrates, “is incredible. But what I should like very much to know is how you serve them to keep them so friendly.”

“A very economical service it is, I declare!” responded Hermogenes. “I sound their praises, — which costs nothing; I always restore them part of what they give me; I avoid profanity of speech as far as I can; and I never wittingly lie in matters wherein I have

invoked them to be my witnesses.”

“Truly,” said Socrates, “if it is conduct like this that gives you their friendship, then the gods also, it would seem, take delight in nobility of soul!”

Such was the serious turn given to the discussion of this topic. [50]

When they got around to Philip, they asked him what he saw in the jester’s profession to feel proud of it.

“Have I not a right to be proud,” said he, “when all know that I am a jester, and so whenever they have a bit of good fortune, give me hearty invitations to come and join them, but when they suffer some reverse, run from me with never a glance behind, in dread that they may be forced to laugh in spite of themselves?” [51]

“Your pride is abundantly justified,” said Niceratus. “In my case, on the contrary, those friends who enjoy success keep out of my way, but those that run into some mishap reckon up their kinship to me on the family tree, and I can’t get rid of them.” [52]

“No doubt,” said Charmides; and then, turning to the Syracusan, “What is it that you are proud of? The boy, I suppose?”

“Quite the contrary,” was the reply; “I am instead in extreme apprehension about him. For I understand that there are certain persons plotting his undoing.” [53]

On receiving this information, “Good Heavens!” exclaimed Socrates; “what wrong do they imagine your lad has done them that is grave enough to make them wish to kill him?”

Syr. “It is not killing him that they desire; oh, no! but to persuade him to sleep with them.”

Soc. “Your belief, then, if I mistake not, is that if this happened, he would be undone?”

Syr. “Aye, utterly!” [54]

Soc. “Do you not then sleep in his bed yourself?”

Syr. “Most certainly, all night and every night.”

Soc. “Marry, you are in great luck to be formed of such flesh that you are unique in not corrupting those that sleep with you. And so you have a right to be proud of your flesh if of nothing else.” [55]

Syr. “And yet that is not the basis of my pride.”

Soc. “What is, then?”

Syr. “Fools, in faith. They give me a livelihood by coming to view

my marionettes.”

“Ah!” ejaculated Philip; “that explains the prayer I heard you uttering the other day, that wherever you were the gods would grant you an abundant harvest of grain but a crop-failure of wits!” [56]

“Good!” said Callias. “And now, Socrates, what can you advance in support of your pride in that disreputable profession that you mentioned?”

“Let us first,” said he, “come to an understanding on the functions that belong to the procurer. Do not hesitate to answer all the questions I ask you, so that we may know our points of agreement. Is that your pleasure?” he asked.

“Certainly,” was their reply; and when they had once started with “certainly,” that was the regular answer they all made to his questions thereafter. [57]

Soc. “Well, then, you consider it the function of a good procurer to render the man or the woman whom he is serving attractive to his or her associates?”

All. “Certainly.”

Soc. “Now, one thing that contributes to rendering a person attractive is a comely arrangement of hair and clothing, is it not?”

All. “Certainly.” [58]

“This, also, we know, do we not, that it is in a man’s power to use the one pair of eyes to express both friendship and hostility?”

“Certainly.”

“And again, it is possible to speak both modestly and boldly with the same voice?”

“Certainly.”

“Moreover, are there not words that create ill feeling and others that conduce to friendliness?”

“Certainly.” [59]

“Now the good procurer would teach only the words that tend to make one attractive, would he not?”

“Certainly.”

“Which one would be the better?” he continued, “the one who could make people attractive to a single person or the one who could make them attractive to many?”

This question brought a division; some said, “Clearly the one who

could make them attractive to a great many”; the others merely repeated, “Certainly.” [60]

Remarking that they were all of one mind on this point as on the others, he went on: “If a person could render people attractive to the entire community, would he not satisfy the requirements of the ideal procurer?”

“Indubitably,” they all said.

“And so, if one could produce men of this type out of his clients, he would be entitled to feel proud of his profession and to receive a high remuneration, would he not?” [61]

All agreeing on this point, too, he added, “Antisthenes here seems to me to be a man of just that sort.”

Antisthenes asked, “Are you resigning your profession to me, Socrates?”

“Assuredly,” was the answer. “For I see that you have brought to a high state of perfection the complementary trade.”

“What is that?”

“The profession of go-between,” he said. [62]

Antisthenes was much incensed and asked, “What knowledge can you possibly have of my being guilty of such a thing as that?”

“I know several instances,” he replied. “I know that you acted the part between Callias here and the scholar Prodicus, when you saw that Callias was in love with philosophy and that Prodicus wanted money. I know also that you did the same for Hippias, the Elean, from whom Callias got his memory system; and as a result, Callias has become more amorous than ever, because he finds it impossible to forget any beauty he sees. [63] And just recently, you remember, you introduced the stranger from Heraclea to me, after arousing my keen interest in him by your commendations. For this I am indeed grateful to you; for I look upon him as endowed with a truly noble nature. And did you not laud Aeschylus the Phleiasian to me and me to him until you brought us to such a pass that in mutual yearning, excited by your words, we went coursing like hounds to find each other? [64] It is the witnessing of your talent at achieving such a result that makes me judge you an excellent go-between. For the man who can recognize those who are fitted to be mutually helpful and can make them desire one another’s acquaintance, that man, in my

opinion, could also create friendship between cities and arrange suitable marriages, and would be a very valuable acquisition as friend or ally for both states and individuals. But you got indignant, as if you had received an affront, when I said that you were a good go-between.”

“But, indeed, that is all over now,” he replied; “for with this power mine I shall find my soul chock-full of riches.”

And so this round of discourse was brought to a close.

5. Callias now said, “Critobulus, are you going to refuse to enter the lists in the beauty contest with Socrates?”

“Undoubtedly!” said Socrates; “for probably he notices that the procurer stands high in the favour of the judges.” [2]

“But yet in spite of that,” retorted Critobulus, “I do not shun the contest. So make your plea, if you can produce any profound reason, and prove that you are more handsome than I. Only,” he added, “let some one bring the light close to him.”

“The first step, then, in my suit,” said Socrates, “is to summon you to the preliminary hearing; be so kind as to answer my questions.”

“And you proceed to put them.” [3]

“Do you hold, then, that beauty is to be found only in man, or is it also in other objects?”

Crit. “In faith, my opinion is that beauty is to be found quite as well in a horse or an ox or in any number of inanimate things. I know, at any rate, that a shield may be beautiful, or a sword, or a spear.” [4]

Soc. “How can it be that all these things are beautiful when they are entirely dissimilar?”

“Why, they are beautiful and fine,” answered Critobulus, “if they are well made for the respective functions for which we obtain them, or if they are naturally well constituted to serve our needs.” [5]

Soc. “Do you know the reason why we need eyes?”

Crit. “Obviously to see with.”

“In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours.”

“How so?”

“Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging

out as they do, see also to the sides.”

Crit. “Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?”

Soc. “Absolutely; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength.” [6]

Crit. “Well, let that pass; but whose nose is finer, yours or mine?”

Soc. “Mine, I consider, granting that Providence made us noses to smell with. For your nostrils look down toward the ground, but mine are wide open and turned outward so that I can catch scents from all about.”

“But how do you make a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?”

Soc. “For the reason that it does not put a barricade between the eyes but allows them unobstructed vision of whatever they desire to see; whereas a high nose, as if in despite, has walled the eyes off one from the other.” [7]

“As for the mouth,” said Critobulus, “I concede that point. For if it is created for the purpose of biting off food, you could bite off a far bigger mouthful than I could. And don’t you think that your kiss is also the more tender because you have thick lips?”

Soc. “According to your argument, it would seem that I have a mouth more ugly even than an ass’s. But do you not reckon it a proof of my superior beauty that the River Nymphs, goddesses as they are, bear as their offspring the Seileni, who resemble me more closely than they do you?” [8]

“I cannot argue any longer with you,” answered Critobulus; “let them distribute the ballots, so that I may know without suspense what fine or punishment I must undergo. Only,” he continued, “let the balloting be secret, for I am afraid that the ‘wealth’ you and Antisthenes possess will overmaster me.” [9]

So the maiden and the lad turned in the ballots secretly. While this was going on, Socrates saw to it that the light should be brought in front of Critobulus, so that the judges might not be misled, and stipulated that the prize given by the judges to crown the victor should be kisses and not ribbons. [10] When the ballots were turned out of the urn and proved to be a unanimous verdict in favour of Critobulus, “Faugh!” exclaimed Socrates; “your money, Critobulus,

does not appear to resemble Callias's. For his makes people more honest, while yours is about the most potent to corrupt men, whether members of a jury or judges of a contest."

6. At this some of the company urged Critobulus to take his kisses, the need of victory; others advised him to get the consent of the young people's legal guardian; and others indulged in other badinage. But even then Hermogenes kept silent. And Socrates, calling him by name, inquired, "Hermogenes, could you define 'convivial unpleasantness' for us?"

"If you ask me what it actually is," he answered, "I do not know; but I am willing to tell you what I think it is."

Soc. "Very well, tell us that." [2]

Herm. "My definition of 'convivial unpleasantness' is the annoying of one's companions at their drink."

Soc. "Well, do you realize that at the present moment you conform to the definition by annoying us with your taciturnity?"

Herm. "What! while you are talking?"

"No, but in the intervals."

"Why, don't you see that a person could not insert even a hair in the interstices of your talk, much less a word?" [3]

"Callias," said Socrates, appealing to him, "could you come to the rescue of a man hard put to it for an answer?"

"Yes, indeed," said he: "we are absolutely quiet every time the flute is played."

Hermogenes retorted, "Is it your wish that I should converse with you to the accompaniment of a flute, the way the actor Nicostratus used to recite tetrameter verses?" [4]

"In Heaven's name, do so, Hermogenes," urged Socrates. "For I believe that precisely as a song is more agreeable when accompanied on the flute, so your discourse would be embellished somewhat by the music, especially if you were to gesticulate and pose, like the flute-girl, to point your words." [5]

"What is the tune to be," asked Callias, "when Antisthenes here gets some one at the banquet cornered in an argument?"

"For the discomfited disputant," said Antisthenes, "I think the appropriate music would be a hissing." [6]

The Syracusan, seeing that with such conversation going on the

banqueters were paying no attention to his show, but were enjoying one another's company, said spitefully to Socrates, "Socrates, are you the one nick-named the 'Thinker'?"

"Well, isn't that preferable," he rejoined, "to being called the 'Thoughtless'?"

"Yes, if it were not that you are supposed to be a thinker on celestial subjects." [7]

"Do you know," asked Socrates, "anything more celestial than the gods?"

Syr. "No; but that is not what people say you are concerned with, but rather with the most unbeneficial things."

Soc. "Even granting the expression, it would still be the gods that are my concern; for (1) they cause rain under the heavens and so are beneficial, and (2) they produce light, also under the heavens, and are thus again beneficial. If the pun is strained," he added, "you have only yourself to blame for it, for annoying me." [8]

Syr. "Well, let that pass. But tell me the distance between us in flea's feet; for people say that your geometry includes such measurements as that."

At this Antisthenes said to Philip: "You are clever at hitting off a person's likeness; wouldn't you say that our friend here resembles one with a penchant for abuse?"

"Yes, indeed," came the answer; "and I see a resemblance in him to many another kind of person, too." [9]

"Nevertheless," interposed Socrates, "do not draw the comparison, lest you take on a similar likeness to one stooping to abuse."

"But suppose I am likening him to all the upright, the very elite; then I should deserve to be compared to a eulogist, rather than to a detractor."

"Ah, you resemble the latter right now, for you are asserting that every one is better than he." [10]

"Would you have me compare him to those who excel him in villainy?"

"No, not those, either."

"What, to no one?"

"No; don't compare him to any one in any particular."

“But if I hold my peace, I do not understand how I am going to render services suitable to such a fine dinner.”

“That is easily effected,” said Socrates, “if you will be reticent on matters that should not be talked about.”

Thus was quenched this bit of convivial unpleasantness.

7. Then some among the rest of the banqueters kept urging Philip to go on with his comparisons, while others opposed. As the clamour rose to some height, Socrates once more interposed, saying: “Since we all want to talk, would this not be a fine time to join in singing?” And with the words he began a song. [2] When they had finished, a potter’s wheel was brought in for the dancing girl on which she intended performing some feats of jugglery.

This prompted Socrates to observe to the Syracusan: “Sir, it is quite probable that, to use your words, I am indeed a ‘thinker’; at any rate, I am now considering how it might be possible for this lad of yours and this maid to exert as little effort as may be, and at the same time give us the greatest possible amount of pleasure in watching them, — this being your purpose, also, I am sure. [3] Now, turning somersaults in among knives seems to me to be a dangerous exhibition, which is utterly out of place at a banquet. Also, to write or read aloud on a whirling potter’s wheel may perhaps be something of a feat; yet I cannot conceive what pleasure even this can afford. Nor is it any more diverting to watch the young and beautiful going through bodily contortions and imitating hoops than to contemplate them in repose. [4] For it is of course no rare event to meet with marvels, if that is what one’s mind is set on. He may marvel at what he finds immediately at hand, — for instance, why the lamp gives light owing to its having a bright flame, while a bronze mirror, likewise bright, does not produce light but instead reflects other things that appear in it; or how it comes about that olive oil, though wet, makes the flame higher, while water, because it is wet, puts the fire out. [5] However, these questions also fail to promote the same object that wine does; but if the young people were to have a flute accompaniment and dance figures depicting the Graces, the Horae, and the Nymphs, I believe that they would be far less wearied themselves and that the charms of the banquet would be greatly enhanced.”

“Upon my word, Socrates,” replied the Syracusan, “you are quite right; and I will bring in a spectacle that will delight you.”

8. So the Syracusan withdrew amid applause. Socrates now opened up another new topic for discussion. “Gentlemen,” said he, “it is to be expected of us, is it not, when in the presence of a mighty deity that is coeval with the eternal gods, yet youngest of them all in appearance, in magnitude encompassing the universe, but enthroned in the heart of man, — I mean Love, — that we should not be unmindful of him, particularly in view of the fact that we are all of his following? [2] For I cannot name a time when I was not in love with some one, and I know that Charmides here has gained many lovers and has in some instances felt the passion himself; and Critobulus, though even yet the object of love, is already beginning to feel this passion for others. [3] Nay, Niceratus too, so I am told, is in love with his wife and finds his love reciprocated. And as for Hermogenes, who of us does not know that he is pining away with love for nobility of character, whatever that may be? Do you not observe how serious his brows are, how calm his gaze, how modest his words, how gentle his voice, how genial his demeanour? That though he enjoys the friendship of the most august gods, yet he does not disdain us mortals? Are you the only person, Antisthenes, in love with no one?” [4]

“No, by Heaven!” replied he; “I am madly in love — with you.”

And Socrates, bantering, pretending to be coquettish, said: “Don’t pester me just now; I am engaged in other business, as you see.” [5]

“How transparent you are, sir procurer of your own charms,” Antisthenes rejoined, “in always doing something like this; at one time you refuse me audience on the pretext of your divine sign, at another time because you have some other purpose in mind.” [6]

“In Heaven’s name, Antisthenes,” implored Socrates, “only refrain from beating me; any other manifestation of your bad temper I am wont to endure, and shall continue to do so, in a friendly spirit. But,” he went on, “let us keep your love a secret, because it is founded not on my spirit but on my physical beauty. [7] But as for you, Callias, all the city knows that you are in love with Autolycus, and so, I think, do a great many men from abroad. The reason for this

is the fact that you are both sons of distinguished fathers and are yourselves in the public eye. [8] Now, I have always felt an admiration for your character, but at the present time I feel a much keener one, for I see that you are in love with a person who is not marked by dainty elegance nor wanton effeminacy, but shows to the world physical strength and stamina, virile courage and sobriety. Setting one's heart on such traits gives an insight into the lover's character. [9] Now, whether there is one Aphrodite or two, 'Heavenly' and 'Vulgar,' I do not know; for even Zeus, though considered one and the same, yet has many by-names. I do know, however, that in the case of Aphrodite there are separate altars and temples for the two, and also rituals, those of the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite excelling in looseness, those of the 'Heavenly' in chastity. [10] One might conjecture, also, that different types of love come from the different sources, carnal love from the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite, and from the 'Heavenly' spiritual love, love of friendship and of noble conduct. That is the sort of love, Callias, that seems to have you in its grip. [11] I infer this from the noble nature of the one you love and because I see that you include his father in your meetings with him. For the virtuous lover does not make any of these matters a secret from the father of his beloved." [12]

"Marry," quoth Hermogenes, "you arouse my admiration in numerous ways, Socrates, but now more than ever, because in the very act of flattering Callias you are in fact educating him to conform to the ideal."

"True," he replied; "and to add to his pleasure, I wish to bear testimony to him that spiritual love is far superior to carnal. [13] For we all know that there is no converse worth the mention that does not comprise affection. Now affection on the part of those who feel admiration for character is commonly termed a pleasant and willing constraint; whereas many of those who have a merely physical concupiscence reprehend and detest the ways of those they love. [14] But suppose they are satisfied on both scores; yet the bloom of youth soon passes its prime, and as this disappears, affection also inevitably fades away as fast; but the soul becomes more and more lovable the longer it progresses toward wisdom. [15] Besides, in the enjoyment of physical beauty there is a point of surfeit, so that one cannot help

feeling toward his favourite the same effect that he gets toward food by gratification of the appetite. But affection for the soul, being pure, is also less liable to satiety, though it does not follow, as one might suppose, that it is also less rich in the graces of Aphrodite; on the contrary, our prayer that the goddess will bestow her grace on our words and deeds is manifestly answered. [16] Now, no further argument is necessary to show that a soul verdant with the beauty of freeborn men and with a disposition that is reverent and noble, a soul that from the very first displays its leadership among its own fellows and is kindly withal, feels an admiration and an affection for the object of its love; but I will go on to prove the reasonableness of the position that such a lover will have his affection returned. [17] First, who could feel dislike for one by whom he knew himself to be regarded as the pattern of nobleness, and, in the next place, saw that he made his favourite's honour of more account than his own pleasure, and beside this felt assured that this affection would not be lessened under any circumstances, no matter whether he suffered some reverse or lost his comeliness through the ravages of illness? [18] Moreover, must not those who enjoy a mutual affection unavoidably take pleasure in looking into each other's faces, converse in amity, and trust and be trusted, and not only take thought each for the other but also take a common joy in prosperity and feel a common distress if some ill fortune befall, and live in happiness when their society is attended by sound health, but be much more constantly together if one or the other become ill, and be even more solicitous, each for the other, when absent than when present? Are not all these things marked by Aphrodite's grace? It is by conducting themselves thus that men continue mutually to love friendship and enjoy it clear down to old age. [19] But what is there to induce a favourite to make a return of affection to a lover who bases his feeling solely on the flesh? Would it be the consideration that the lover allots to himself the joys he desires but gives the favourite only what excites the deepest contempt? Or that he conceals, as best he can, from the favourite's relatives the ends that he is bent on attaining? [20] As for his using entreaty rather than coercion, that is all the stronger reason for detestation. For any one who applies force merely discovers his rascality, but he who uses persuasion corrupts

the soul of the one upon whom he prevails. [21] Once more, how will he who traffics in his beauty feel greater affection toward the buyer than he who puts his produce up for sale and disposes of it in the open market? For assuredly he will not be moved to affection because he is a youthful companion to one who is not youthful, or because he is handsome when the other is no longer so, or because he is untouched by passion when the other is in its sway. For a youth does not share in the pleasure of the intercourse as a woman does, but looks on, sober, at another in love's intoxication. [22] Consequently, it need not excite any surprise if contempt for the lover is engendered in him. If one looked into the matter, also, he would descry no ill effect when people are loved for their personality, but that many shocking results have come from companionship lost to shame. [23] I will now go on to show also that the union is servile when one's regard is for the body rather than when it is for the soul. For he who inculcates right speech and conduct would merit the honour given by Achilles to Cheiron and Phoenix; but the man who lusts only after the flesh would with good reason be treated like a mendicant; for he is always dogging the footsteps of his favourite, begging and beseeching the favour of one more kiss or some other caress. [24] Do not be surprised at my plain speaking; the wine helps to incite me, and the kind of love that ever dwells with me spurs me on to say what I think about its opposite. [25] For, to my way of thinking, the man whose attention is attracted only by his beloved's appearance is like one who has rented a farm; his aim is not to increase its value but to gain from it as much of a harvest as he can for himself. On the other hand, the man whose goal is friendship is more like one possessing a farm of his own; at any rate he utilizes all sources to enhance his loved one's worth. [26] Furthermore, the favourite who realizes that he who lavishes physical charms will be the lover's sovereign will in all likelihood be loose in his general conduct; but the one who feels that he cannot keep his lover faithful without nobility of character will more probably give heed to virtue. [27] But the greatest blessing that befalls the man who yearns to render his favourite a good friend is the necessity of himself making virtue his habitual practice. For one cannot produce goodness in his companion while his own conduct is evil, nor can he himself exhibit

shamelessness and incontinence and at the same time render his beloved self-controlled and reverent. [28] My heart is set on showing you, Callias, on the basis of olden tales, also, that not only humankind but also gods and demi-gods set higher value on the friendship of the spirit than on the enjoyment of the body. [29] For in all cases where Zeus became enamoured of mortal women for their beauty, though he united with them he suffered them to remain mortal; but all those persons whom he delighted in for their souls' sake he made immortal. Among the latter are Heracles and the Sons of Zeus; and tradition includes others also. [30] And I aver that even in the case of Ganymede, it was not his person but his spiritual character that influenced Zeus to carry him up to Olympus. This is confirmed by his very name. Homer, you remember, has the words, "He joys to hear;" *Perhaps Homeric Poems* that is to say, 'he rejoices to hear;' and in another place, "harbouring shrewd devices in his heart." "*Perhaps Iliad*, 7.278, 17.325, 18.363, 24.88, 282, 674 or *Odyssey*, 2.38, 11.445, 19.353, 20.46. This, again, means 'harbouring wise counsels in his heart.' So the name given Gany-mede, compounded of the two foregoing elements, signifies not physically but mentally attractive; hence his honour among the gods. [31] Or again, Niceratus, Homer pictures us Achilles looking upon Patroclus not as the object of his passion but as a comrade, and in this spirit signally avenging his death. So we have songs telling also how Orestes, Pylades, Theseus, Peirithous, and many other illustrious demi-gods wrought glorious deeds of valour side by side, not because they shared a common bed but because of mutual admiration and respect. [32] Moreover, take the splendid feats of the present day; would not a person discover that they are all done for glory's sake by persons willing to endure hardship and jeopardy, rather than by those who are drifting into the habit of preferring pleasure to a good name? Yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, has said in his defence of those who wallow in lasciviousness that the most valiant army, even, would be one recruited of lovers and their favourites! [33] For these, he said, would in his opinion be most likely to be prevented by shame from deserting one another, — a strange assertion, indeed, that persons acquiring an habitual indifference to censure and to abandoned conduct toward one another will be most likely to be

deterred by shame from any infamous act. [34] But he went further and adduced as evidence in support of his position both the Thebans and the Eleans, alleging that this was their policy; he stated, in fine, that though sharing common beds they nevertheless assigned to their favourites places alongside themselves in the battle-line. But this is a false analogy; for such practices, though normal among them, with us are banned by the severest reprobation. My own view is that those who assign these posts in battle suggest thereby that they are suspicious that the objects of their love, if left by themselves, will not perform the duties of brave men. [35] In contrast to this, the Lacedaemonians, who hold that if a person so much as feels a carnal concupiscence he will never come to any good end, cause the objects of their love to be so consummately brave that even when arrayed with foreigners and even when not stationed in the same line with their lovers they just as surely feel ashamed to desert their comrades. For the goddess they worship is not Impudence but Modesty. [36] We could all come to one mind, I think, on the point I am trying to make, if we were to consider the question in this way: of two lads, the objects of the different types of love, which one would a person prefer to trust with his money, or his children, or to lay under the obligation of a favour? My own belief is that even the person whose love is founded on the loved one's physical beauty would in all these cases rather put his trust in him whose loveliness is of the spirit. [37] In your case, Callias, I deem it meet that you should thank Heaven for inspiring you with love for Autolycus. For his ardour for glory is manifest, inasmuch as he undergoes many toils and many bodily discomforts to ensure his being proclaimed victor in the pancratium. [38] Now if he were to believe that he is going not merely to shed lustre on himself and his father but also to acquire through his manly virtue the ability to serve his friends and to exalt his country by setting up trophies of victory over its enemies, and for these reasons draw the admiring glances of all and be famous among both Greeks and barbarians, do you not suppose that he would esteem and honour highly any one whom he looked upon as the best partner in furthering these designs? [39] If, then, you would be in his good graces, you must try to find out what sort of knowledge it was that made Themistocles able to give Greece liberty; you must try to find

out what kind of knowledge it was that gave Pericles the name of being his country's wisest counsellor; you must reflect, further, how it was that Solon by deep meditation established in his city laws of surpassing worth; you must search and find out what kind of practices it is that gives the Lacedaemonians the reputation of being pre-eminent military commanders; for you are their proxenus, and their foremost citizens are always being entertained at your house. [40] You may regard it as certain, therefore, that our city would be quick to entrust itself to your hands, if you so desire. For you possess the highest qualifications for such a trust: you are of aristocratic birth, of Erechtheus' line, a priest serving the gods who under the leadership of Iacchus took the field against the barbarian; and in our day you outshine your predecessors in the splendour of your priestly office in the festival; and you possess a person more goodly to the eye than any other in the city and one at the same time able to withstand effort and hardship. [41] If what I say appears to you gentlemen to be too grave and earnest for a drinking party, I beg you again not to be surprised. For during practically all my life I have been at one with the commonwealth in loving men who to a nature already good add a zealous desire for virtue." [42]

The rest of the company now engaged in a discussion of the views propounded by Socrates; but Autolycus kept his eyes fixed on Callias. And Callias, addressing Socrates, but looking beyond him and returning the gaze of Autolycus, said: "So you intend acting the procurer, do you, Socrates, to bring me to the attention of the commonwealth, so that I may enter politics, and the state may always look upon me with favour?" [43]

"Assuredly," was the reply, "that is, if people see that you set your heart on virtue, not in pretence, but in reality. For false reputation is soon exposed when tried by experience, whereas true manly virtue, — barring the interposition of Providence, — confers ever more and more brilliant glory when put to the test of actual deeds."

9. Their conversation ended here. Autolycus got up to go out for a walk (it being now his usual time); and his father Lycon, as he was departing to accompany him, turned back and said: "So help me Hera, Socrates, you seem to me to have a truly noble character." [2]

After he had withdrawn, a chair of state, first of all, was set down

in the room, and then the Syracusan came in with the announcement: "Gentlemen, Ariadne will now enter the chamber set apart for her and Dionysus; after that, Dionysus, a little flushed with wine drunk at a banquet of the gods, will come to join her; and then they will disport themselves together." [3]

Then, to start proceedings, in came Ariadne, appavelled as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Dionysus being still invisible, there was heard the Bacchic music played on a flute. Then it was that the assemblage was filled with admiration of the dancing master. For as soon as Ariadne heard the strain, her action was such that every one might have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus, nor even rise, yet it was clear that she kept her composure with difficulty. [4] But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner sat himself on her lap, and putting his arms about her gave her a kiss. Her demeanour was all modesty, and yet she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters beheld it, they kept clapping and crying "encore!" [5] Then when Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, there was presented the impersonation of lovers kissing and caressing each other. The onlookers viewed a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and they were all raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm as they looked on. [6] For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus but all the bystanders as well would have taken their oaths in confirmation that the youth and the maid surely felt a mutual affection. For theirs was the appearance not of actors who had been taught their poses but of persons now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires. [7] At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other's embrace and obviously leaving for the bridal couch, those who were unwedded swore that they would take to themselves wives, and those who were already married mounted horse and rode off to their wives that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son in their walk.

So broke up the banquet held that evening.

APOLOGY



Translated by O. J. Todd

This short Socratic dialogue recounts Socrates' self-defence at his trial and execution, portraying Socrates with the surprising viewpoint that it was better to die before he suffered senility, rather than to escape execution by humbling himself before an unjust persecution. Except for Plato's *Apology*, it is the only surviving primary account of the renowned trial.

Historians now believe that Xenophon's interpretation of the trial was written in response to a widespread literary reaction following the trial, where Athenian public figures and authors used the event of the trial to state their views on his guilt. Xenophon was absent from the trial, being involved at that time with the march of the Ten Thousand. He cites Hermogenes as his source for the factual elements of Socrates' speech. It is probable that Hermogenes had indeed witnessed the trial, although Plato's *Apology* fails to mention his presence, yet his *Phaedo* lists Hermogenes among those that were present at Socrates' death.

The main part of Xenophon's text is a direct rejection of the attack on Socrates' character by his opponent Anytus. Xenophon gives a clear indication of the charges brought against Socrates by Anytus. The final chapter of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* contains some of the same material – almost word for word – as the beginning sections of his *Apology*, leading some scholars to suspect that Xenophon's *Apology* was the original conclusion to the *Memorabilia*.

One difference from Plato's *Apology* is that in Xenophon's account the Oracle at Delphi claims that no one was "more free, more just, or more sound of mind" than Socrates, while in Plato's text the claim was only that no one was "wiser" than Socrates. Some scholars have suggested that what accounts for the difference is that

Xenophon wished to avoid the explicit attribution of “wisdom”, a term which, to the average Athenian suggested that Socrates was characterised as an atheistic natural philosopher, as stigmatised by Aristophanes in *The Clouds*. However, Xenophon’s Socrates does claim to be “wise” in the sense that “from the time when I began to understand spoken words I have never left off seeking after and learning every good thing that I could”.

A further difference between Plato and Xenophon is that whereas Plato has Socrates finally suggest a thirty-mina penalty for himself, the Xenophon version of Socrates refuses to suggest any and refuses to allow his friends to do so, claiming that to do otherwise would imply guilt. Finally, whereas Socrates’ willingness to face the death penalty is explained in Plato’s *Apology* by Socrates’ by his unwavering commitment to his divinely appointed mission to keep philosophising at all costs, it is explained by Xenophon that it is better for him to die now than to face the pains and limitations of advanced old age.



'The Death of Socrates' by Jacques-Louis David, 1787

APOLOGIA

It seems to me fitting to hand down to memory, furthermore, how Socrates, on being indicted, deliberated on his defence and on his end. It is true that others have written about this, and that all of them have reproduced the loftiness of his words, — a fact which proves that his utterance really was of the character intimated; — but they have not shown clearly that he had now come to the conclusion that for him death was more to be desired than life; and hence his lofty utterance appears rather ill-considered. [2] Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, however, was a companion of his and has given us reports of such a nature as to show that the sublimity of his speech was appropriate to the resolve he had made. For he stated that on seeing Socrates discussing any and every subject rather than the trial, he had said: [3] “Socrates, ought you not to be giving some thought to what defence you are going to make?” That Socrates had at first replied, “Why, do I not seem to you to have spent my whole life in preparing to defend myself?” Then when he asked, “How so?” he had said, “Because all my life I have been guiltless of wrong-doing; and that I consider the finest preparation for a defence.” Then when Hermogenes again asked, [4] “Do you not observe that the Athenian courts have often been carried away by an eloquent speech and have condemned innocent men to death, and often on the other hand the guilty have been acquitted either because their plea aroused compassion or because their speech was witty?” “Yes, indeed!” he had answered; “and I have tried twice already to meditate on my defence, but my divine sign interposes.” [5] And when Hermogenes observed, “That is a surprising statement,” he had replied, “Do you think it surprising that even God holds it better for me to die now? Do you not know that I would refuse to concede that any man has lived a better life than I have up to now? For I have realized that my whole life has been spent in righteousness toward God and man, — a fact that affords the greatest satisfaction; and so I have felt a deep self-respect and have discovered that my associates hold corresponding sentiments toward me. [6] But now, if my years are prolonged, I know that the frailties of old age will inevitably be

realized, — that my vision must be less perfect and my hearing less keen, that I shall be slower to learn and more forgetful of what I have learned. If I perceive my decay and take to complaining, how,” he had continued, “could I any longer take pleasure in life? [7] Perhaps,” he added, “God in his kindness is taking my part and securing me the opportunity of ending my life not only in season but also in the way that is easiest. For if I am condemned now, it will clearly be my privilege to suffer a death that is adjudged by those who have superintended this matter to be not only the easiest but also the least irksome to one’s friends and one that implants in them the deepest feeling of loss for the dead. For when a person leaves behind in the hearts of his companions no remembrance to cause a blush or a pang, but dissolution comes while he still possesses a sound body and a spirit capable of showing kindness, how could such a one fail to be sorely missed? [8] It was with good reason,” Socrates had continued, “that the gods opposed my studying up my speech at the time when we held that by fair means or foul we must find some plea that would effect my acquittal. For if I had achieved this end, it is clear that instead of now passing out of life, I should merely have provided for dying in the throes of illness or vexed by old age, the sink into which all distresses flow, unrelieved by any joy. [9] As Heaven is my witness, Hermogenes,” he had gone on, “I shall never court that fate; but if I am going to offend the jury by declaring all the blessings that I feel gods and men have bestowed on me, as well as my personal opinion of myself, I shall prefer death to begging meanly for longer life and thus gaining a life far less worthy in exchange for death.” [10]

Hermogenes stated that with this resolve Socrates came before the jury after his adversaries had charged him with not believing in the gods worshipped by the state and with the introduction of new deities in their stead and with corruption of the young, and replied: [11] “One thing that I marvel at in Meletus, gentlemen, is what may be the basis of his assertion that I do not believe in the gods worshipped by the state; for all who have happened to be near at the time, as well as Meletus himself, — if he so desired, — have seen me sacrificing at the communal festivals and on the public altars. [12] As for introducing ‘new divinities,’ how could I be guilty of that merely in asserting that a voice of God is made manifest to me indicating my

duty? Surely those who take their omens from the cries of birds and the utterances of men form their judgments on ‘voices.’ Will any one dispute either that thunder utters its ‘voice,’ or that it is an omen of the greatest moment? Does not the very priestess who sits on the tripod at Delphi divulge the god’s will through a ‘voice’? [13] But more than that, in regard to God’s foreknowledge of the future and his forewarning thereof to whomsoever he will, these are the same terms, I assert, that all men use, and this is their belief. The only difference between them and me is that whereas they call the sources of their forewarning ‘birds,’ ‘utterances,’ ‘chance meetings,’ ‘prophets,’ I call mine a ‘divine’ thing; and I think that in using such a term I am speaking with more truth and deeper religious feeling than do those who ascribe the gods’ power to birds. Now that I do not lie against God I have the following proof: I have revealed to many of my friends the counsels which God has given me, and in no instance has the event shown that I was mistaken.” [14]

Hermogenes further reported that when the jurors raised a clamour at hearing these words, some of them disbelieving his statements, others showing jealousy at his receiving greater favours even from the gods than they, Socrates resumed: “Hark ye; let me tell you something more, so that those of you who feel so inclined may have still greater disbelief in my being honoured of Heaven. Once on a time when Chaerephon made inquiry at the Delphic oracle concerning me, in the presence of many people Apollo answered that no man was more free than I, or more just, or more prudent.” [15]

When the jurors, naturally enough, made a still greater tumult on hearing this statement, he said that Socrates again went on: “And yet, gentlemen, the god uttered in oracles greater things of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian law-giver, than he did of me. For there is a legend that, as Lycurgus entered the temple, the god thus addressed him: ‘I am pondering whether to call you god or man.’ Now Apollo did not compare me to a god; he did, however, judge that I far excelled the rest of mankind. However, do not believe the god even in this without due grounds, but examine the god’s utterance in detail. [16] First, who is there in your knowledge that is less a slave to his bodily appetites than I am? Who in the world more free, — for I accept neither gifts nor pay from any one? Whom would you with reason

regard as more just than the one so reconciled to his present possessions as to want nothing beside that belongs to another? And would not a person with good reason call me a wise man, who from the time when I began to understand spoken words have never left off seeking after and learning every good thing that I could? [17] And that my labour has not been in vain do you not think is attested by this fact, that many of my fellow-citizens who strive for virtue and many from abroad choose to associate with me above all other men? And what shall we say is accountable for this fact, that although everybody knows that it is quite impossible for me to repay with money, many people are eager to make me some gift? Or for this, that no demands are made on me by a single person for the repayment of benefits, while many confess that they owe me a debt of gratitude? [18] Or for this, that during the siege, while others were commiserating their lot, I got along without feeling the pinch of poverty any worse than when the city's prosperity was at its height? Or for this, that while other men get their delicacies in the markets and pay a high price for them, I devise more pleasurable ones from the resources of my soul, with no expenditure of money? And now, if no one can convict me of misstatement in all that I have said of myself, do I not unquestionably merit praise from both gods and men? [19] But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices? And yet surely we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure." [20] "But, by Heaven!" said Meletus: "there is one set of men I know, — those whom you have persuaded to obey you rather than their parents." "I admit it," he reports Socrates as replying, "at least so far as education is concerned; for people know that I have taken an interest in that. But in a question of health, men take the advice of physicians rather than that of their parents; and moreover, in the meetings of the legislative assembly all the people of Athens, without question, follow the advice of those whose words are wisest rather than that of their own relatives. Do you not also

elect for your generals, in preference to fathers and brothers, — yes, by Heaven! in preference to your very selves, — those whom you regard as having the greatest wisdom in military affairs?” “Yes,” Meletus had said; “for that is both expedient and conventional.” [21] “Well, then,” Socrates had rejoined, “does it not seem to you an amazing thing that while in other activities those who excel receive honours not merely on a parity with their fellows but even more marked ones, yet I, because I am adjudged by some people supreme in what is man’s greatest blessing, — education, — am being prosecuted by you on a capital charge?” [22]

More than this of course was said both by Socrates himself and by the friends who joined in his defence. But I have not made it a point to report the whole trial; rather I am satisfied to make it clear that while Socrates’ whole concern was to keep free from any act of impiety toward the gods or any appearance of wrong-doing toward man, he did not think it meet to beseech the jury to let him escape death; instead, he believed that the time had now come for him to die. [23] This conviction of his became more evident than ever after the adverse issue of the trial. For, first of all, when he was bidden to name his penalty, he refused personally and forbade his friends to name one, but said that naming the penalty in itself implied an acknowledgment of guilt. Then, when his companions wished to remove him clandestinely from prison, he would not accompany them, but seemed actually to banter them, asking them whether they knew of any spot outside of Attica that was inaccessible to death. [24]

When the trial was over, Socrates (according to Hermogenes) remarked: “Well, gentlemen, those who instructed the witnesses that they must bear false witness against me, perjuring themselves to do so, and those who were won over to do this must feel in their hearts a guilty consciousness of great impiety and iniquity; but as for me, why should my spirit be any less exalted now than before my condemnation, since I have not been proved guilty of having done any of the acts mentioned in the indictment? For it has not been shown that I have sacrificed to new deities in the stead of Zeus and Hera and the gods of their company, or that I have invoked ill oaths or mentioned other gods. [25] And how could I be corrupting the young by habituating them to fortitude and frugality? Now of all the

acts for which the laws have prescribed the death-penalty — temple robbery, burglary, enslavement, treason to the state — not even my adversaries themselves charge me with having committed any of these. And so it seems astonishing to me how you could ever have been convinced that I had committed an act meriting death. [26] But further, my spirit need not be less exalted because I am to be executed unjustly; for the ignominy of that attaches not to me but to those who condemned me. And I get comfort from the case of Palamedes also, who died in circumstances similar to mine; for even yet he affords us far more noble themes for song than does Odysseus, the man who unjustly put him to death. And I know that time to come as well as time past will attest that I, too, far from ever doing any man a wrong or rendering him more wicked, have rather profited those who conversed with me by teaching them, without reward, every good thing that lay in my power.” [27]

With these words he departed, blithe in glance, in mien, in gait, as comported well indeed with the words he had just uttered. When he noticed that those who accompanied him were in tears, “What is this?” Hermogenes reports him as asking. “Are you just now beginning to weep? Have you not known all along that from the moment of my birth nature had condemned me to death? Verily, if I am being destroyed before my time while blessings are still pouring in upon me, clearly that should bring grief to me and to my well-wishers; but if I am ending my life when only troubles are in view, my own opinion is that you ought all to feel cheered, in the assurance that my state is happy.” [28]

A man named Apollodorus, who was there with him, a very ardent disciple of Socrates, but otherwise simple, exclaimed, “But, Socrates, what I find it hardest to bear is that I see you being put to death unjustly!” The other, stroking Apollodorus’ head, is said to have replied, “My beloved Apollodorus, was it your preference to see me put to death justly?” and smiled as he asked the question. [29]

It is said also that he remarked as he saw Anytus passing by: “There goes a man who is filled with pride at the thought that he has accomplished some great and noble end in putting me to death, because, seeing him honored by the state with the highest offices, I said that he ought not to confine his son’s education to hides What a

vicious, fellow,” he continued, “not to know, apparently, that whichever one of us has wrought the more beneficial and noble deeds for all time, he is the real victor. [30] “But,” he is reported to have added, “Homer has attributed to some of his heroes at the moment of dissolution the power to foresee the future; and so I too wish to utter a prophecy. At one time I had a brief association with the son of Anytus, and I thought him not lacking in firmness of spirit; and so I predict that he will not continue in the servile occupation that his father has provided for him; but through want of a worthy adviser he will fall into some disgraceful propensity and will surely go far in the career of vice.” [31] In saying this he was not mistaken; the young man, delighting in wine, never left off drinking night or day, and at last turned out worth nothing to his city, his friends, or himself. So Anytus, even though dead, still enjoys an evil repute for his son’s mischievous education and for his own hard-heartedness. [32] And as for Socrates, by exalting himself before the court, he brought ill-will upon himself and made his conviction by the jury more certain. Now to me he seems to have met a fate that the gods love; for he escaped the hardest part of life and met the easiest sort of death. [33] And he displayed the stalwart nature of his heart; for having once decided that to die was better for him than to live longer, he did not weaken in the presence of death (just as he had never set his face against any other thing, either, that was for his good), but was cheerful not only in the expectation of death but in meeting it. [34]

And so, in contemplating the man’s wisdom and nobility of character, I find it beyond my power to forget him or, in remembering him, to refrain from praising him. And if among those who make virtue their aim any one has ever been brought into contact with a person more helpful than Socrates, I count that man worthy to be called most blessed.

Minor Treatises



Skillountia, near Olympia — following his exile from Athens, the Spartans gave Xenophon a property at Scillus (modern day Skillountia), where he composed the ‘Anabasis’.

ON HORSEMANSHIP



Translated by E. C. Marchant

This is one of the two treatises Xenophon wrote on the subject of horsemanship and concerns the selection, care and training of horses in general. Military training and the duties of the cavalry commander are dealt with in the other work *On the Cavalry General*. Written circa 350 BC, both treatises are considered to be among the very earliest works on the theme of horsemanship in all world literature.

The first part of the texts concerns the selecting of the ideal young horse. Xenophon details what is to be examined when inspecting a horse to buy as a war-mount. He is especially careful to stress the importance of soundness. Part II and III concern the breaking of the colt and the selecting an older horse. Parts IV to VI focus on the caring and grooming of the mount, whilst the rest of the treatise explores the ideal mounting and more advanced training features associated with horsemanship. Xenophon finishes with a discussion of his weapons of choice, detailing the machaira and two javelins of cornel-wood, explaining how properly to throw the javelin while mounted.



A Greek statue showing the biting and bridling system

ON HORSEMANSHIP

1. Inasmuch as we have had a long experience of cavalry, and consequently claim familiarity with the art of horsemanship, we wish to explain to our younger friends what we believe to be the correct method of dealing with horses. True there is already a treatise on horsemanship by Simon, who also dedicated the bronze horse in the Eleusinium at Athens and recorded his own feats in relief on the pedestal. Nevertheless, we shall not erase from our work the conclusions that happen to coincide with his, but shall offer them to our friends with far greater pleasure, in the belief that they are more worthy of acceptance because so expert a horseman held the same opinions as we ourselves: moreover, we shall try to explain all the points that he has omitted.

First we will give directions how best to avoid being cheated in buying a horse.

For judging an unbroken colt, the only criterion, obviously, is the body, for no clear signs of temper are to be detected in an animal that has not yet had a man on his back. [2]

In examining his body, we say you must first look at his feet. For, just as a house is bound to be worthless less if the foundations are unsound, however well the upper parts may look, so a war-horse will be quite useless, even though all his other points are good, if he has bad feet; for in that case he will be unable to use any of his good points. [3]

When testing the feet first look to the hoofs. For it makes a great difference in the quality of the feet if they are thick rather than thin. Next you must not fail to notice whether the hoofs are high both in front and behind, or low. For high hoofs have the frog, as it is called, well off the ground; but flat hoofs tread with the strongest and weakest part of the foot simultaneously, like a bow-legged man. Moreover, Simon says that the ring, too, is a clear test of good feet: and he is right; for a hollow hoof rings like a cymbal in striking the ground. [4]

Having begun here, we will proceed upwards by successive steps to the rest of the body.

The bones (of the pastern) above the hoofs and below the fetlocks should not be too upright, like a goat's: such legs give too hard a tread, jar the rider, and are more liable to inflammation. Nor yet should the bones be too low, else the fetlocks are likely to become bare and sore when the horse is ridden over clods or stones. [5]

The bones of the shanks should be thick, since these are the pillars of the body; but not thick with veins nor with flesh, else when the horse is ridden over hard ground, these parts are bound to become charged with blood and varicose; the legs will swell, and the skin will fall away, and when this gets loose the pin, too, is apt to give way and lame the horse. [6]

If the colt's knees are supple when bending as he walks, you may guess that his legs will be supple when he is ridden too, for all horses acquire greater suppleness at the knee as time goes on. Supple knees are rightly approved, since they render the horse less likely to stumble and tire than stiff legs. [7]

The arms below the shoulders, as in man, are stronger and better looking if they are thick.

A chest of some width is better formed both for appearance and for strength, and for carrying the legs well apart without crossing. [8]

His neck should not hang downwards from the chest like a boar's, but stand straight up to the crest, like a cock's; but it should be flexible at the bend; and the head should be bony, with a small cheek. Thus the neck will protect the rider, and the eye see what lies before the feet. Besides, a horse of such a mould will have least power of running away, be he never so high-spirited, for horses do not arch the neck and head, but stretch them out when they try to run away. [9]

You should notice, too, whether both jaws are soft or hard, or only one; for horses with unequal jaws are generally unequally sensitive in the mouth.

A prominent eye looks more alert than one that is hollow, and, apart from that, it gives the horse a greater range of vision. [10] And wide open nostrils afford room for freer breathing than close ones, and at the same time make the horse look fiercer, for whenever a horse is angry with another or gets excited under his rider, he dilates his nostrils. [11]

A fairly large crest and fairly small ears give the more

characteristic shape to a horse's head.

High withers offer the rider a safer seat and a stronger grip on the shoulders.

The double back is both softer to sit on than the single and more pleasing to the eye. [12]

The deeper the flanks and the more swelling toward the belly, the firmer is the seat and the stronger, and as a rule, the better feeder is the horse.

The broader and shorter the loins, the more easily the horse lifts his fore quarters and the more easily he brings up his hind quarters. And, apart from that, the belly looks smallest so, and if it is big it disfigures the horse to some extent, and also makes him to some extent both weaker and clumsier. [13]

The haunches must be broad and fleshy, that they may be in right proportion to the flanks and chest, and if they are firm all over, they will be lighter for running and will make the horse speedier. [14]

If the gap that separates the hams under the tail is broad, he will also extend his hind legs well apart under his belly; and by doing that he will be more fiery and stronger when he throws himself on his haunches and when he is ridden, and will make the best of himself in all ways. One can infer this from the action of a man: for when he wants to lift anything from the ground, a man invariably tries to lift it with his legs apart rather than close together. [15]

A horse's stones should not be big: but it is impossible to observe this in a colt.

As for the parts below, the hocks, shin bones, fetlocks and hoofs, what we have said about the corresponding parts in the forelegs applies to these also. [16]

I want also to explain how one is least likely to be disappointed in the matter of size. The colt that is longest in the shanks at the time he is foaled makes the biggest horse. For in all quadrupeds the shanks increase but little in size as time goes on, whereas the rest of the body grows to them, so as to be in the right proportion. [17]

He who applies these tests to a colt's shape is sure, in my opinion, to get a beast with good feet, strong, muscular, of the right look and the right size. If some change as they grow, still we may confidently rely on these tests, for it is far commoner for an ugly colt to make a

useful horse than for a colt like this to turn out ugly.

2. We do not think it necessary to give directions for breaking a colt. For in our states the cavalry are recruited from those who have ample means and take a considerable part in the government. And it is far better for a young man to get himself into condition and when he understands the art of horsemanship to practise riding than to be a horse-breaker; and an older man had far better devote himself to his estate and his friends and affairs of state and of war than spend his time in horse-breaking. [2] So he who shares my opinion about horse-breaking will, of course, send his colt out. Still he should put in writing what the horse is to know when he is returned, just as when he apprentices his son to a profession. For these articles will serve as notes to remind the horse-breaker of what he must attend to if he is to get his money. [3]

Still, care must be taken that the colt is gentle, tractable, and fond of man when he is sent to the horse-breaker. That sort of business is generally done at home through the groom, if he knows how to contrive that hunger and thirst and horseflies are associated by the colt with solitude, while eating and drinking and delivery from irritation come through man's agency. For in these circumstances a foal is bound not only to like men, but to hanker after them. [4] One should also handle those parts in which the horse likes most to be cherished, that is to say the hairiest parts and those where the horse has least power of helping himself, if anything worries him. [5] Let the groom be under orders also to lead him through crowds, and accustom him to all sorts of sights and all sorts of noises. If the colt shies at any of them, he must teach him, by quieting him and without impatience, that there is nothing to be afraid of.

I think that the directions I have given on the subject of horse-breaking are sufficient for the private person.

3. In case the intention is to buy a horse already ridden, we will write out some notes that the buyer must thoroughly master if he is not to be cheated over his purchase.

First, then, he must not fail to ascertain the age. A horse that has shed all his milk teeth does not afford much ground for pleasing expectations, and is not so easily got rid of. [2]

If he is clearly a youngster, one must notice further how he

receives the bit in his mouth and the headstall about his ears. This may best be noticed if the buyer sees the bridle put on and taken off again. [3]

Next, attention must be paid to his behaviour when he receives the rider on his back. For many horses will not readily accept a thing if they know beforehand that, if they accept it, they will be forced to work. [4]

Another thing to be observed is whether when mounted he is willing to leave his companions, or whether in passing standing horses he does not bolt towards them. Some too, in consequence of bad training run away from the riding ground to the paths that lead home. [5]

A horse with jaws unequally sensitive is detected by the exercise called the "ring," but much more by changing the exercise. For many do not attempt to bolt unless they have a bad mouth, and the road along which they can bolt home gives them their chance. It is likewise necessary to know whether, when going at full speed he can be pulled up sharp, and whether he turns readily. [6] And it is well to make sure whether he is equally willing to obey when roused by a blow. For a disobedient servant and a disobedient army are of course useless; and a disobedient horse is not only useless, but often behaves just like a traitor. [7]

As we have assumed that the horse to be bought is designed for war, he must be tested in all the particulars in which he is tested by war. These include springing across ditches, leaping over walls, rushing up banks, jumping down from banks. One must also try him by riding up and down hill and on a slope. All these experiments prove whether his spirit is strong and his body sound. [8]

Nevertheless, it is not necessary to reject a horse that is not perfect in these trials. For many break down in these not from want of ability, but from lack of experience. With teaching, use and discipline they will perform all these exercises well, provided they are otherwise sound and not faulty. [9] But one should beware of horses that are naturally shy. For timid horses give one no chance of using them to harm the enemy, and often throw their rider and put him in a very awkward situation. [10]

It is necessary also to find out whether the horse has any vice

towards horses or towards men, and whether he will not stand tickling: for all these things prove troublesome to the owner. [11]

As regards objection to being bridled or mounted, and the other reactions, there is a much better way still of detecting these, namely, by trying to do over again, after the horse has finished his work, just what one did before starting on the ride. All horses that are willing after their work to do another spell thereby give sufficient proofs of a patient temper. [12]

To sum up: the horse that is sound in his feet, gentle and fairly speedy, has the will and the strength to stand work, and, above all, is obedient, is the horse that will, as a matter of course, give least trouble and the greatest measure of safety to his rider in warfare. But those that want a lot of driving on account of their laziness, or a lot of coaxing and attention on account of their high spirit, make constant demands on the rider's hands and rob him of confidence in moments of danger.

4. When a man has found a horse to his mind, bought him and taken him home, it is well to have the stable so situated with respect to the house that his master can see him very often; and it is a good plan to have the stall so contrived that it will be as difficult to steal the horse's fodder out of the manger as the master's victuals from the larder. He who neglects this seems to me to neglect himself; for it is plain that in danger the master entrusts his life to his horse. [2] But a well-secured stall is not only good for preventing theft of the fodder but also because one can see when the horse does not spill his food. And on noticing this one may be sure that either his body is overfull of blood and needs treatment or the horse is overworked and wants rest, or that laminitis or some other ailment is coming on. It is the same with horses as with men: all distempers in the early stage are more easily cured than when they have become chronic and have been wrongly treated. [3]

Just as the food and exercise of the horse must be attended to in order that he may keep sound, so his feet must be cared for. Now damp and slippery floors ruin even well-formed hoofs. In order that they may not be damp, the floors should have a slope to carry off the wet, and, that they may not be slippery, they should be paved all over with stones, each one about the size of the hoof. Such floors, indeed,

have another advantage because they harden the feet of the horses standing on them. [4]

To take the next point: the groom must lead out the horse to clean him, and must loose him from the stall after the morning feed, that he may return to his evening feed with more appetite. Now the stableyard will be of the best form and will strengthen the feet if he throws down and spreads over it four or five loads of round stones, the size of a fist, about a pound in weight, and surrounds them with a border of iron so that they may not be scattered. Standing on these will have the same effect as if the horse walked on a stone road for some time every day. [5] When he is being rubbed down and teased with flies he is bound to use his hoofs in the same way as when he walks. The frogs also are hardened by stones scattered in this way.

The same care must be taken to make his mouth tender as to harden his hoofs. This is done by the same methods as are employed to soften human flesh.

5. It is a mark of a good horseman, in our opinion, to see that his groom, like himself, is instructed in the way in which he should treat the horse.

First then the man ought to know that he should never make the knot in the halter at the point where the headstall is put on. For if the halter is not easy about the ears, the horse will often rub his head against the manger and may often get sores in consequence. Now if there are sore places thereabouts the horse is bound to be restive both when he is bridled and when he is rubbed down. [2] It is well also for the groom to have orders to remove the dung and litter daily to one and the same place. For by doing this he will get rid of it most easily and at the same time relieve the horse. [3] The groom must also know about putting the muzzle on the horse when he takes him out to be groomed or to the rolling-place. In fact he must always put the muzzle on when he leads him anywhere without a bridle. For the muzzle prevents him from biting without hampering his breathing; and moreover, when it is put on, it goes far towards preventing any propensity to mischief. [4]

He should tie up the horse at a place above the head, because when anything irritates his face, the horse instinctively tries to get rid of it by tossing his head upwards; and if he is tied thus he loosens the

halter instead of breaking it by tossing up his head. [5]

In rubbing the horse down, the man should start at the head and mane; for if the upper parts are not clean, it is idle to clean his lower parts. Next, going over the rest of his body, he should make the hair stand up with all the dressing instruments, and get the dust out by rubbing him the way the hair lies. But he should not touch the hair on the backbone with any instrument; he should rub and smooth it down with the hands the way it naturally grows; for so he will be least likely to injure the rider's seat. [6] He must wash the head well with water, for, as it is bony, to clean it with iron or wood would hurt the horse. He must also wet the forelock, for this tuft of hair, even if pretty long, does not obstruct his sight, but drives from his eyes anything that worries them; and we must presume that the gods have given the horse this hair in lieu of the long ears that they have given to asses and mules as a protection to their eyes. [7] He should also wash the tail and mane, for growth of the tail is to be encouraged in order that the horse may be able to reach as far as possible and drive away anything that worries him, and growth of the mane in order to give the rider as good a hold as possible. [8] Besides, the mane, forelock and tail have been given to the horse by the gods as an ornament. A proof of this is that brood mares herding together, so long as they have fine manes, are reluctant to be covered by asses; for which reason all breeders of mules cut off the manes of the mares for covering. [9]

Washing down of the legs we disapprove of; it does no good, and the hoofs are injured by being wetted every day. Excessive cleaning under the belly also should be diminished; for this worries the horse very much, and the cleaner these parts are, the more they collect under the belly things offensive to it; [10] and notwithstanding all the pains that may be taken with these parts, the horse is no sooner led out than he looks much the same as an unwashed animal. So these operations should be omitted; and as for the rubbing of the legs, it is enough to do it with the bare hands.

6. We will now show how one may rub down a horse with least danger to oneself and most advantage to the horse. If in cleaning him the man faces in the same direction as the horse, he runs the risk of getting a blow in the face from his knee and his hoof. [2] But if he

faces in the opposite direction to the horse and sits by the shoulder out of reach of his leg when he cleans him, and rubs him down so, then he will come to no harm, and can also attend to the horse's frog by lifting up the hoof. Let him do exactly the same in cleaning the hind-legs. [3] The man employed about the horse is to know that in these operations and in all that he has to do he must be very chary of approaching from the head or tail to do his work. For if the horse attempts to show mischief he has the man in his power in both these directions; but if he approaches from the side he can manage the horse with least danger to himself and in the best manner. [4]

When it is necessary to lead the horse, we do not approve of leading him behind one for this reason, that the man leading him is then least able to take care of himself while the horse has the utmost freedom to do whatever he chooses. [5] On the other hand we also disapprove of training the horse to go in front on a long lead for the following reasons: the horse has the power of misbehaving on either side as he chooses, and has also the power of turning round and facing his driver. [6] And if several horses together are driven in this fashion, how can they possibly be kept from interfering with one another? But a horse that is accustomed to being led from the side will have least power of doing harm either to horses or to men, and will be in the handiest position for the rider should he want to mount quickly. [7]

In order to put the bit in properly, first let the groom approach on the near side of the horse. Then let him throw the reins over the head and drop them on the withers, and next lift the headstall with the right hand and offer the bit with the left. [8] If he takes the bit, of course the bridle should be put on. But if he refuses to open his mouth, the man must hold the bit to his teeth and put the thumb of the left hand in the horse's jaw. Most horses open the mouth when this is done. If he still resists, the man should squeeze his lip against the tusk; and very few resist when they are treated in this way. [9] The groom should also be instructed in the following points: first, never to lead the horse on the rein — that gives the horse a hard mouth on one side — and secondly, what is the correct distance from the bit to the jaws. For if it is too high up, it hardens the mouth so that it loses its sensitiveness; and if it lies too low in the mouth, it gives the horse

power to take it between his teeth and refuse to obey. [10] The groom must also pay some attention to such points as the following: whether the horse will not easily take the bit when he knows that he has work to do. Willingness to receive the bit is, in fact, so important that a horse that refuses it is quite useless. [11] But if he is bridled not only when he is going to be ridden, but also when he is taken to his food and when he is led home from exercise, it would not be at all surprising if he seized the bit of his own accord when offered to him. [12]

It is well for the groom to know how to give a legup in the Persian fashion, so that his master himself, in case he is indisposed or is getting old may have someone to put him up conveniently, and may, if he wishes, oblige his friend with a man to give him a lift-up. [13]

The one best rule and practice in dealing with a horse is never to approach him in anger; for anger is a reckless thing, so that it often makes a man do what he must regret. [14] Moreover, when the horse is shy of anything and will not come near it, you should teach him that there is nothing to be afraid of, either with the help of a plucky horse — which is the surest way — or else by touching the object that looks alarming yourself, and gently leading the horse up to it. [15] To force him with blows only increases his terror; for when horses feel pain in such a predicament, they think that this too is caused by the thing at which they shy. [16]

When the groom presents the horse to his rider, we take no exception to his understanding how to cause the horse to crouch, for convenience in mounting. We think, however, that the rider should get used to mounting even without his horse's help. For a rider gets a different sort of horse at different times, and the same one does not always serve him in the same way.

7. We will now describe what the rider should do when he has received his horse and is going to mount, if he is to make the best of himself and his horse in riding.

First, then, he must hold the lead-rope fastened to the chin-strap or the nose-band ready in the left hand, and so loose as not to jerk the horse whether he means to mount by holding on to the mane near the ears or to spring up with the help of the spear. With his right hand let him take hold of the reins by the withers along with the mane, so that

he may not jerk the horse's mouth with the bit in any way as he mounts. [2] When he has made his spring in order to mount, he should raise his body with his left hand, while at the same time he helps himself up by stretching out his right; for by mounting in this way he will not present an awkward appearance even from behind by bending his leg. Neither must he touch the horse's back with his knee, but throw the leg right over the off side. Having brought the foot over, he must then let his buttocks down on the horse's back. [3]

In case the horseman happens to be leading the horse with the left hand and holding his spear in the right, it is well, we think, to practise mounting on the off side also. For this purpose all that he needs to learn is to do with the left parts of the body what in the other case he did with the right, and vice versa. [4] The reason why we recommend this method of mounting also is, that no sooner is the rider mounted than he is quite ready to fight with the enemy on a sudden, if occasion requires. [5]

When he is seated, whether on the bare back or on the cloth, we would not have him sit as if he were on his chair, but as though he were standing upright with his legs astride. For thus he will get a better grip of his horse with his thighs, and the erect position will enable him, if need be, to throw his spear and deliver a blow on horseback with more force. [6]

The lower leg including the foot must hang lax and easy from the knee down. For if he keeps his leg stiff and should strike it against anything, he may break it, whereas a loose leg will recoil, whatever it encounters, without disturbing the position of the thigh at all. [7] The rider must also accustom himself to keeping his body above the hips as loose as possible, for thus he will be able to stand more fatigue and will be less liable to come off when he is pulled or pushed. [8]

As soon as he is seated, he must teach his horse to stand quiet at first, until he has shifted anything that wants arranging underneath him, gathered the reins even in his hand and grasped his spear in the most convenient manner. Then let him keep his left arm close to his side, for thus the horseman's figure will look best, and his hand will have most power. [9] As for reins, we recommend that they be of equal strength, not weak nor slippery nor thick, in order that the spear may be held in the same hand when necessary. [10]

When he directs his horse to go forward, let him begin at a walk, for this prevents any flurry. If the horse carries his head too low, let the rider hold the hands higher; if too high, lower; for in this way he will give him the most graceful carriage. [11] After this, if he breaks into his natural trot, he will relax his body in the easiest fashion and come to the gallop most readily. Since, too, the more approved method is to begin with the left, one will best begin on this side, by giving the horse the signal to gallop while trotting, at the instant when he is treading with the right (fore) foot. [12] As he is then on the point of raising the left, he will begin with it, and, as soon as the rider turns him to the left, will immediately begin the stride. For it is natural for the horse to lead with the right when turned to the right and with the left when turned to the left. [13]

The exercise that we recommend is the one called the ring, since it accustoms the horse to turn on both jaws. It is also well to change the exercise, in order that both jaws may be equally practised on each side of the exercise. [14] We recommend the manage rather than the complete ring, for thus the horse will turn more willingly when he has gone some distance in a straight course, and one can practise the career and the turn at the same time. [15] It is necessary to collect him at the turns; for it is neither easy for the horse nor safe to turn short when going fast, especially if the ground is uneven or slippery. [16] In collecting him the rider must slant the horse as little as possible with the bit, and slant his own body as little as possible; else he may be sure that a trifling cause will be enough to bring him and his horse down. [17] As soon as the horse faces the straight after turning, push him along at once. For of course, in war too, turns are made with a view to pursuit or retreat. It is well, therefore, to practise increasing the pace after turning. [18] So soon as the horse appears to have been exercised enough, it is well to let him rest a certain time, and then suddenly to put him to his top speed again, of course away from, not towards, other horses, and to pull him up again in the midst of his career as short as possible, and then to turn and start him again from the stand. For it is obvious that a time will come when it will be necessary to do one or the other. [19]

When the time has come to dismount, the rider must never dismount among other horses or near a group of people or outside the

riding-ground; but let the place where the horse is forced to work be the place where he also receives his reward of ease.

8. As the horse will frequently have to gallop down hill and up hill and along a slope, and as he will have to leap over, and to leap out, and to jump down at various times, the rider must teach and practise both himself and his horse in all these things. For thus they will be able to help each other, and will be thought altogether more efficient. [2]

If anyone thinks that we are repeating ourselves, because we are referring to matters already dealt with, this is not repetition. For we recommended the purchaser to try whether the horse could do these things at the time of buying: but now we say that a man should teach his own horse; and we will show how to teach him. [3]

When a man has a raw horse quite ignorant of leaping, he must get over the ditch himself first, holding him loosely by the leading-rein, and then give him a pull with the rein to make him leap over. [4] If he refuses, let someone strike him as hard as he can with a whip or a stick: whereupon he will leap, and not only the necessary distance, but much further than was required. In future there will be no need to beat him, for if he merely sees a man approaching behind him, he will leap. [5] As soon as he has grown accustomed to leap in this way, let him be mounted and tried first at narrow, and then at wider ditches. Just as he is on the point of springing touch him with the spur. Similarly he should be taught to leap up and to leap down by a touch of the spur. For if he does all these things with his body compactly gathered, it will be safer for the horse as well as the rider than if his hind-quarters lag in taking a leap over, or in springing upwards or jumping downwards. [6]

Going down hill should first be taught on soft ground; and in the end, when the horse gets used to this, he will canter down more readily than up hill. If some fear that horses may put out their shoulders by being ridden down hill, they may take comfort when they understand that the Persians and Odrysians all ride races down hill, and yet keep their horses just as sound as the Greeks. [7]

Nor will we omit to state how the rider is to assist in all these movements. If the horse springs suddenly, he should lean forward; for so the horse is less likely to slip away and throw the rider off. But

in pulling him up short he should lean back; for so he himself will be less jolted. [8] When jumping a ditch or riding up hill it is well to take hold of the mane, that the horse may not be burdened by his bridle and the difficulty of the ground at the same time. When going down a steep incline, he should throw his body back and support the horse with the bridle, that neither rider nor horse may be tossed headlong down hill. [9]

It is correct also to exercise the horse sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, and to make the exercises sometimes long and sometimes short; for this is less irksome to the horse than being exercised always in the same place and for the same length of time. [10]

Since it is necessary that the rider should have a firm seat when riding at top speed over all sorts of country, and should be able to use his weapons properly on horseback, the practice of horsemanship by hunting is to be recommended where the country is suitable and big game is to be found. Where these conditions are lacking, it is a good method of training for two riders to work together thus: one flies on his horse over all kinds of ground and retreats, reversing his spear so that it points backwards, while the other pursues, having buttons on his javelins and holding his spear in the same position, and when he gets within javelin shot, tries to hit the fugitive with the blunted weapons, and if he gets near enough to use his spear, strikes his captive with it. [11] It is also a good plan, in case of a collision between them, for one to pull his adversary towards him and suddenly push him back again, since that is the way to dismount him. The right thing for the man who is being pulled is to urge his horse forward; by doing this the pulled is more likely to unhorse the puller than to be unhorsed himself. [12]

If at any time when an enemy's camp lies in front there is a cavalry skirmish, and one side presses the pursuit right up to the enemy's line of battle, but then retreats hastily to its own main body, it is well to know in that case that so long as you are by your friends, it is proper and safe to be among the first to wheel and make for the enemy at full speed; but when you come near the enemy to keep your horse well in hand. For in this way you have the best chance of injuring the enemy without coming to harm yourself. [13]

Now, whereas the gods have given to men the power of instructing one another in their duty by word of mouth, it is obvious that you can teach a horse nothing by word of mouth. If, however, you reward him when he behaves as you wish, and punish him when he is disobedient, he will best learn to do his duty. [14] This rule can be stated in few words, but it applies to the whole art of horsemanship. He will receive the bit, for example, more willingly if something good happens to him as soon as he takes it. He will also leap over and jump out of anything, and perform all his actions duly if he can expect a rest as soon as he has done what is required of him.

9. So far we have described how to avoid being cheated in buying a colt or a horse, how to avoid spoiling him in usage and how to impart to a horse all the qualities required by a cavalryman for war. It is time perhaps to give directions, in case one has to deal with a horse that is too spirited or too sluggish, for the correct way of managing either. [2]

First, then, it must be realised that spirit in a horse is precisely what anger is in a man. Therefore, just as you are least likely to make a man angry if you neither say nor do anything disagreeable to him, so he who abstains from annoying a spirited horse is least likely to rouse his anger. [3] Accordingly, at the moment of mounting, the rider should take care to worry him as little as possible; and when he is mounted, he should let him stand still longer than is otherwise usual, and then direct him to go by the most gentle aids. Then let him begin at a very slow pace and increase the speed with the same gentle help, so that the horse will not be aware of the transition to a quicker motion. [4] Any sudden sign disturbs a spirited horse, just as sudden sights and sounds and sensations disturb a man. It is important to realise that a horse too is flurried by anything sudden. [5] If you want to correct a spirited horse when he is going too fast, do not pull him suddenly, but quietly check him with the bit, soothing him, not forcing him, to a quiet pace. [6] Long rides rather than frequent turnings, calm horses; and quiet ones lasting long soothe and calm a spirited horse and do not excite him. [7] But if anyone supposes that he will calm a horse by frequent riding at a quick pace so as to tire him, his opinion is the opposite of the truth. For in such cases a spirited horse does his utmost to get the upper hand by force, and in

his excitement, like an angry man, he often causes many irreparable injuries both to himself and to his rider. [8] One must prevent a high-spirited horse from going at his top speed, and of course, entirely avoid letting him race with another horse; for as a rule the most highly spirited horses are also most eager for victory. [9]

As for bits, the smooth are more suitable than the rough; but if a rough one is used, it should be made to resemble a smooth one by lightness of hand. It is also well to accustom oneself to sit still, especially on a spirited horse, and to touch him as little as possible with anything other than the parts that give us a safe seat by contact. [10]

It should also be known that a horse can be taught to be calm by a chirp with the lips and to be roused by a cluck with the tongue. And if from the first you use with the cluck aids to calm him, and with the chirp aids to rouse him, the horse will learn to rouse himself at the chirp and to calm down at the cluck. [11] Accordingly, if a shout is heard or a trumpet sounds, you must not allow the horse to notice any sign of alarm in you, and must on no account do anything to him to cause him alarm, but as far as possible let him rest in such circumstances, and, if you have the opportunity, bring him his morning or evening meal. [12] But the best advice is not to get an over-spirited horse for war.

As for a sluggish beast, I may be content with the remark that in everything you must do the opposite of what we advise for the treatment of a high-spirited one.

10. If a man wants to make a useful war-horse look more stately and showy when ridden, he must avoid pulling his mouth with the bit, and using the spur and whip, means by which most people imagine that they show off a horse. In point of fact the results they produce are the very opposite of what they intend. [2] For by dragging the mouth up they blind their horses instead of letting them see ahead, and by spurring and whipping, flurry them so that they are startled and get into danger. That is the behaviour of horses that strongly object to being ridden and that behave in an ugly and unseemly fashion. [3] But if you teach the horse to go with a slack bridle, to hold his neck up and to arch it towards the head, you will cause the horse to do the very things in which he himself delights and

takes the greatest pleasure. [4] A proof that he delights in them is that whenever he himself chooses to show off before horses, and especially before mares, he raises his neck highest and arches his head most, looking fierce; he lifts his legs freely off the ground and tosses his tail up. [5] Whenever, therefore, you induce him to carry himself in the attitudes he naturally assumes when he is most anxious to display his beauty, you make him look as though he took pleasure in being ridden, and give him a noble, fierce, and attractive appearance. How we think that these effects may be produced we will now try to explain. [6]

To begin with, you should possess two bits at least. One of these should be smooth and have the discs of a good size; the other should have the discs heavy and low, and the teeth sharp, so that when the horse seizes it he may drop it because he objects to its roughness, and when he is bitted with the smooth one instead, may welcome its smoothness and may do on the smooth bit what he has been trained to do with the aid of the rough one. [7] In case, however, he takes no account of it because of its smoothness, and keeps bearing against it, we put large discs on the smooth bit to stop this, so that they may force him to open his mouth and drop the bit. It is possible also to make the rough bit adaptable by wrapping it up and tightening the reins. [8] But whatever be the pattern of the bits, they must all be flexible. For wherever a horse seizes a stiff one, he holds the whole of it against his jaws, just as you lift the whole of a spit wherever you take hold of it. [9] But the other kind of bit acts like a chain: for only the part that you hold remains unbent, while the rest of it hangs loose. As the horse continually tries to seize the part that eludes him in his mouth, he lets the bit drop from his jaws. This is why little rings are hung in the middle on the axles, in order that the horse may feel after them with his tongue and teeth and not think of taking the bit up against the jaws. [10]

In case the meaning of the terms flexible and stiff as applied to a bit is not known, we will explain this too. "Flexible" means that the axles have broad and smooth links so that they bend easily; and if everything that goes round the axles has large openings, and does not fit tight, it is more flexible. [11] "Stiff," on the other hand, means that the pieces of the bit do not run over the axles and work in

combination easily.

Whatever the pattern may be, the same method of using it must be carried out in all the points that follow, assuming that you want your horse to have just the appearance I have described. [12] The mouth must neither be pulled so hard that he holds his nose in the air, nor so gently that he takes no notice. As soon as he raises his neck when you pull, give him the bit at once. Invariably, in fact, as we cannot too often repeat, you must humour you horse whenever he responds to your wishes. [13] And when you notice that high carriage of his neck and lightness of hand give him pleasure, you should not deal hardly with him as though you were forcing him to work, but coax him as when you want to stop; for thus he will break into a fast pace with most confidence. [14] There is plain proof that a horse takes pleasure in going fast: for when he breaks loose a horse never goes at a walking pace, but always runs. He instinctively takes pleasure in this, provided he is not compelled to run too far for his strength. Nothing in excess is ever pleasing either to horse or man. [15]

When your horse has progressed so far as to bear himself proudly when ridden, he has, of course, already been accustomed in the early exercises to break into a quicker pace after turning. Now if after he has learnt this you pull him up with the bit and at the same time give him one of the signs to go forward, then being held back by the bit and yet roused by the signal to go forward, he throws his chest out and lifts his legs from the ground impatiently, but not with a supple motion; for when horses feel uncomfortable, the action of their legs is not at all supple. [16] But if, when he is thus excited, you give him the bit, then, mistaking the looseness of the bit for a deliverance from restraint, he bounds forward for very joy with a proud bearing and supple legs, exultant, imitating exactly in every way the graces that he displays before horses. [17] And those who watch the horse when he is like that call him well-bred, a willing worker, worth riding, mettlesome, magnificent, and declare his appearance to be at once pleasing and fiery.

And here we conclude these explanations addressed to those who want this sort of thing.

11. But in case anyone wants to own a horse suitable for parade, with a high and showy action, such qualities are by no means to be

found in every horse: but it is essential that he should have plenty of spirit and a strong body. [2] Many suppose that an animal that has supple legs will also be capable of rearing his body. That, however, is not the case: rather it is the horse with supple, short, strong loins that will be able to extend his hind-legs well under the forelegs. By “loins” we do not mean the parts about the tail, but those between the flanks and haunches about the belly. [3] Now, if when he is planting his hind-legs under him you pull him up with the bit, he bends the hind-legs on the hocks and raises the fore-part of his body, so that anyone facing him can see the belly and the sheath. When he does that you must give him the bit that he may appear to the onlookers to be doing willingly the finest things that a horse can do. [4] Some, however, teach these accomplishments by striking him under the hocks with a rod, others by telling a man to run alongside and hit him with a stick under the gaskins. [5] We, however, consider that the lesson is most satisfactory if, as we have repeatedly said, the rider invariably allows him relaxation when he has done something according to his wishes. [6] For what a horse does under constraint, as Simon says, he does without understanding, and with no more grace than a dancer would show if he was whipped and goaded. Under such treatment horse and man alike will do much more that is ugly than graceful. No, a horse must make the most graceful and brilliant appearance in all respects of his own will with the help of aids. [7] Further, if you gallop him during a ride until he sweats freely, and as soon as he prances in fine style, quickly dismount and unbridle him, you may be sure that he will come willingly to the prance. [8]

This is the attitude in which artists represent the horses on which gods and heroes ride, and men who manage such horses gracefully have a magnificent appearance. [9] Indeed a prancing horse is a thing so graceful, terrible and astonishing that it rivets the gaze of all beholders, young and old alike. At all events no one leaves him or is tired of gazing at him so long as he shows off his brilliance. [10]

Should the owner of such a horse happen to be a colonel or a general, he must not make it his object to be the one brilliant figure, but must attach much more importance to making the whole troop behind him worth looking at. [11] Now if a horse is leading in the manner which wins most praise for such horses, prancing high and

with his body closely gathered, so that he moves forward with very short steps, the rest of the horses must obviously follow also at a walking pace. Now what can there be really brilliant in such a sight? [12] But if you rouse your horse and lead neither too fast nor too slow, but at the pace at which the most spirited horses look most fiery and stately — if you lead your men in that way, there will be such a continual stamping, such a continual neighing and snorting of the horses going on behind you, that not only you yourself but all the troop behind you will be worth watching. [13]

If a man buys his horses well, trains them so that they can stand work, and uses them properly in the training for war, in the exhibition rides and on the battle-fields, what is there then to hinder him from making horses more valuable than they are when he takes them over, and why should he not be the owner of famous horses, and also become famous himself for his horsemanship, provided no divine power prevents?

12. We want to explain also how a man who is to face danger on horseback should be armed.

We say, then, that in the first place his breastplate must be made to fit his body. For the wellfitting breastplate is supported by the whole body, whereas one that is too loose is supported by the shoulders only, and one that is too tight is rather an encumbrance than a defence. [2] And, since the neck is one of the vital parts, we hold that a covering should be available for it also, standing up from the breastplate itself and shaped to the neck. For this will serve as an ornament, and at the same time, if properly made, will cover the rider's face, when he pleases, as high as the nose. [3] For the helmet we consider the Boeotian pattern the most satisfactory: for this, again, affords the best protection to all the parts that project above the breastplate without obstructing the sight. As for the pattern of the breastplate, it should be so shaped as not to prevent the wearer from sitting down or stooping. [4] About the abdomen and middle and round that region let the flaps be of such material and such a size that they will keep out missiles. [5] And as a wound in the left hand disables the rider, we also recommend the piece of armour invented for it called the "hand." For it protects the shoulder, the arm, the elbow, and the fingers that hold the reins; it will also extend and fold

up; and in addition it covers the gap left by the breastplate under the armpit. [6] But the right hand must be raised when the man intends to fling his javelin or strike a blow. Consequently that portion of the breastplate that hinders him in doing that should be removed; and in place of it there should be detachable flaps at the joints, in order that, when the arm is elevated, they may open correspondingly, and may close when it is lowered. [7] For the fore-arm it seems to us that the piece put over it separately like a greave is better than one that is bound up together with a piece of armour. The part that is left exposed when the right arm is raised should be covered near the breastplate with calf-skin or metal; otherwise the most vital part will be unprotected. [8]

Since the rider is seriously imperilled in the event of his horse being wounded, the horse also should be armed, having head, chest, and thigh pieces: the last also serve to cover the rider's thighs. But above all the horse's belly must be protected; for this, which is the most vital part, is also the weakest. It is possible to make the cloth serve partly as a protection to it. [9] The quilting of the cloth should be such as to give the rider a safer seat and not to gall the horse's back.

Thus horse and man alike will be armed in most parts. [10] But the rider's shins and feet will of course be outside the thigh-pieces. These too can be guarded if boots made of shoe-leather are worn: there will thus be armour for the shins and covering for the feet at the same time. [11]

These are the defensive arms which with the gracious assistance of heaven will afford protection from harm. For harming the enemy we recommend the sabre rather than the sword, because, owing to his lofty position, the rider will find the cut with the Persian sabre more efficacious than the thrust with the sword. [12] And, in place of the spear with a long shaft, seeing that it is both weak and awkward to manage, we recommend rather the two Persian javelins of cornel wood. For the skilful man may throw the one and can use the other in front or on either side or behind. They are also stronger than the spear and easier to manage. [13]

We recommend throwing the javelin at the longest range possible. For this gives a man more time to turn his horse and to grasp the

other javelin. We will also state in a few words the most effective way of throwing the javelin. If a man, in the act of advancing his left side, drawing back his right, and rising from his thighs, discharges the javelin with its point a little upwards, he will give his weapon the strongest impetus and the furthest carrying power; it will be most likely to hit the mark, however, if at the moment of discharge the point is always set on it. [14]

These notes, instructions and exercises which we have here set down are intended only for the private person. What it belongs to a cavalry leader to know and to do has been set forth in another book.

ON THE CAVALRY GENERAL



Translated by E. C. Marchant

This second treatise on horsemanship mainly concerns the duties, exercises and military manœuvres of the cavalry commander (the ‘hipparchus’).

ON THE CAVALRY GENERAL

1. The first duty is to sacrifice to the gods and pray them to grant you the thoughts, words and deeds likely to render your command most pleasing to the gods and to bring yourself, your friends and your city the fullest measure of affection and glory and advantage. [2] Having gained the goodwill of the gods, you have then to recruit a sufficient number of mounted men that you may bring the number up to the total required by the law, and also may prevent any decrease in the cavalry establishment. Unless additional recruits are enrolled in the force, the number will constantly dwindle, for some men are bound to retire through old age and others to drop off for various reasons. [3]

While the ranks are filling up, you must see that the horses get enough food to stand hard work, since horses unfit for their work can neither overtake nor escape. You must see that they are docile, because disobedient animals assist the enemy more than their own side. [4] And horses that kick when mounted must be got rid of, for such brutes often do more mischief than the enemy. You must also look after their feet, so that they can be ridden on rough ground, for you know that wherever galloping is painful to them, they are useless. [5]

Having made sure that the horses are in good condition, the next business is to train the men. First they must learn to mount from the spring, since many before now have owed their lives to that. Secondly, they must practise riding over all sorts of ground, since any kind of country may become the area of war. [6] As soon as they have acquired a firm seat, your next task is to take steps that as many as possible shall be able to throw the javelin when mounted and shall become efficient in all the details of horsemanship.

After that both horses and men must be armed, so that, while they are themselves thoroughly protected against wounds, they may have the means of inflicting the greatest loss on the enemy. [7] Then you must contrive to make the men obedient: otherwise neither good horses nor a firm seat nor fine armour are of any use.

For ensuring efficiency in all these matters the cavalry commander, as a matter of course, is the principal authority. [8] But, at

the same time, the state thinks it difficult for the cavalry commander to carry out all these duties single-handed; therefore, it also elects colonels of regiments to assist him; and it has charged the Council with the duty of taking a share in the management of the cavalry. I think it well, then, that you should encourage the colonels to be as eager as yourself for the efficiency of the cavalry, and should have suitable spokesmen in the Council, that their speeches may alarm the men — they will do better under the influence of fear — and may also appease the wrath of the Council, in case it shows indignation at the wrong time. [9]

Here, then, you have brief notes on the matters that demand your attention. I will now try to explain how these duties may best be carried out in detail.

As for the men, you must obviously raise them as required by the law, from among those who are most highly qualified by wealth and bodily vigour, either by obtaining an order of the court or by the use of persuasion. [10] The cases that should be brought before the court, I think, are those of men who otherwise might be suspected of having bribed you not to apply for a judgment. For the smaller men will at once have a ground for escaping, unless you first compel the most highly qualified to serve. [11] I think, too, that, by dwelling on the brilliancy of horsemanship, you might fire some of the young men with ambition to serve in the cavalry, and that you might overcome the opposition of their guardians by informing them that they will be required to keep horses by someone, if not by you, on account of their wealth; whereas, if their [12] boys join up during your command, you will put an end to their extravagance in buying expensive horses, and see that they soon make good riders. And you must try to suit your actions to your words. [13]

As for the existing cavalry, I think that the Council should give notice that in future double the amount of exercise will be required, and that any horse unable to keep up will be rejected. This warning would put the screw on the men and make them feed their horses better and take more care of them. [14] I think it would be well, too, if notice were given that vicious horses would be rejected. Under the stimulus of this threat men would break in such animals more thoroughly and would be more careful in buying horses. [15] Again, it

would be well to give notice that horses found kicking at exercise will be rejected. For it is impossible even to keep such animals in line; in a charge against an enemy they are bound to lag behind, and the consequence is, that through the bad behaviour of his horse, the man himself becomes useless. [16]

For getting horses' feet into the best condition, if anyone has an easier and cheaper method than mine, by all means adopt it. If not, I hold — and I speak from experience — that the right way is to throw down some stones from the road, averaging about a pound in weight, and to curry the horse on these and to make him stand on them whenever he goes out of the stable. For the horse will constantly use his feet on the stones when he is cleaned and when he is worried by flies. Try it, and you will find your horses' feet round, and will believe in the rest of my rules. [17]

Assuming that the horses are in good condition, I will explain how to make the men themselves thoroughly efficient.

We would persuade the young recruits to learn for themselves how to mount from the spring; but if you provide an instructor, you will receive well-merited praise. The way to help the older men is to accustom them to get a leg-up in the Persian fashion. [18]

To ensure that the men have a firm seat, whatever the nature of the ground, it is, perhaps, too much trouble to have them out frequently when there is no war going on; but you should call the men together, and recommend them to practise turning off the roads and galloping over all sorts of ground when they are riding to quarters or any other place. For this does as much good as taking them out, and it is less tedious. [19] It is useful to remind them that the state supports an expenditure of nearly forty talents a year in order that she may not have to look about for cavalry in the event of war, but may have it ready for immediate use. For with this thought in their minds the men are likely to take more pains with their horsemanship, so that when war breaks out they may not have to fight untrained for the state, for glory and for life. [20] It is well also to give notice to the men that you intend to take them out yourself some day, and lead them over country of all kinds. And during the manoeuvres that precede the sham fight it is proper to take them out to a different piece of country at different times: this is better for both men and horses. [21]

As for throwing the javelin on horseback, I think that the greatest number will practise that if you add a warning to the colonels that they will be required to ride to javelin exercise themselves at the head of the marksmen of the regiment. Thus, in all probability, everyone of them will be eager to turn out as many marksmen as possible for the service of the state. [22]

Towards the proper arming of the men, I think that the greatest amount of assistance will be obtained from the colonels, if they are persuaded that from the point of view of the state the brilliance of the regiment is a far more glorious ornament to them than the brightness of their own accoutrements only. [23] It is likely that they will not be hard to persuade in such matters, considering that honour and glory were the attractions that the colonelcy held out to them, and they can arm the men in accordance with the regulations laid down in the law without incurring expense themselves, afterwards compelling the men to spend their pay on their arms, as the law ordains. [24]

To make the men who are under your command obedient, it is important to impress on them by word of mouth the many advantages of obedience to authority, and no less important to see that good discipline brings gain and insubordination loss in every respect. [25]

The best way of inducing every colonel to take pride in commanding a well equipped regiment, I think, is to arm your company of couriers as well as you can, to demand of them constant practice in the use of the javelin, and to instruct them in it after making yourself proficient. [26] And if you could offer prizes to the regiments for skill in all the feats that the public expects the cavalry to perform at the spectacles, I think this would appeal strongly to the spirit of emulation in every Athenian. For evidence of this I may refer to the choruses, in which many labours and heavy expenses are the price paid for trifling rewards. Only you must find judges whose suffrage will shed lustre on a victory.

2. When your men are well trained in all these points, they must, of course, understand some plan of formation, that in which they will show to greatest advantage in the sacred processions and at manoeuvres, fight, if need be, with the greatest courage, and move along roads and cross rivers with perfect ease in unbroken order. So I will now try to explain the formation that I think will give the best

results in these various circumstances. [2]

Now the state has divided the cavalry into ten separate regiments. I hold that within these you should, to begin with, appoint file-leaders after consulting each of the colonels, choosing sturdy men, who are bent on winning fame by some brilliant deed. These should form the front rank. [3] Next you should choose an equal number of the oldest and most sensible to form the rear rank. To use an illustration, steel has most power to cut through steel when its edge is keen and its back reliable. [4]

To fill the ranks between the front and rear, the file-leaders should choose the men to form the second line, and these in turn the men to form the third, and so on throughout. In this way every man will naturally have complete confidence in the man behind him. [5]

You must be very careful to appoint a competent man as leader in the rear. For if he is a good man, his cheers will always hearten the ranks in front of him in case it becomes necessary to charge; or, should the moment come to retreat, his prudent leadership will, in all probability, do much for the safety of his regiment. [6]

An even number of file-leaders has this advantage over an odd, that it is possible to divide the regiment into a larger number of equal parts.

The reasons why I like this formation are these. In the first place, all the men in the front rank are officers; and the obligation to distinguish themselves appeals more strongly to men when they are officers than when they are privates. Secondly, when anything has to be done, the word of command is much more effective if it is passed to officers rather than to privates. [7]

Let us assume that this formation has been adopted: every file-leader must know his position in the line of march by word passed along by the colonel, just as every colonel is informed by the commander of his proper place in the charge. For when these instructions are given there will be much better order than if the men hamper one another like a crowd leaving the theatre. [8] And in the event of a frontal attack, the men in the van are far more willing to fight when they know that this is their station; so is the rear-rank in the event of a surprise attack in the rear, when the men there understand that it is disgraceful to leave their post. [9] But if no order

is kept there is confusion whenever the roads are narrow or rivers are being crossed; and when an action is fought no one voluntarily takes his post in the fighting line.

All these preliminaries must be thoroughly mastered by all the cavalry, if they are to give their leader unflinching support.

3. Now we come to duties that the cavalry commander must perform himself. First, he must sacrifice to propitiate the gods on behalf of the cavalry; secondly, he must make the processions during the festivals worth seeing; further, he must conduct all the other obligatory displays before the people with as much splendour as possible, that is to say, the reviews in the Academy, in the Lyceum, at Phalerum, and in the Hippodrome.

These again are only brief notes; and I will now explain exactly how the details of these various functions may be carried out with most splendour. [2]

As for the processions, I think they would be most acceptable both to the gods and to the spectators if they included a gala ride in the market place. The starting point would be the Herms; and the cavalry would ride round saluting the gods at their shrines and statues. So at the Great Dionysia the dance of the choruses forms part of the homage offered to the Twelve and to other gods.

When the circuit is completed and the cavalcade is again near the Herms, the next thing to do, I think, is to gallop at top speed by regiments as far as the Eleusinium. [3] I will add a word on the position in which the lances should be held to prevent crossing. Every man should point his lance between his horse's ears, if the weapons are to look fearsome, stand out distinctly, and at the same time to convey the impression of numbers. [4]

The gallop finished and the goal reached, the right plan is to ride back to the temples by the same route, but at a slow pace: thus every effect that can be obtained from a horse with a man on his back will be included in the display, to the satisfaction of gods and men alike. [5]

I know that our cavalrymen are not accustomed to these movements: but I am sure that they are desirable and beautiful, and will delight the spectators. I am aware, too, that the cavalry have exhibited other novel feats of skill in days when the cavalry

commanders had sufficient influence to get their wishes carried out. [6]

During the parade at the Lyceum, before the javelin-throwing, the right way is to ride in two divisions in line of battle, each division consisting of five regiments with its commander at the head and the colonels; and the line should be so extended that the whole breadth of the course will be covered. [7] As soon as they reach the highest point looking down on the Theatre opposite, I think it would clearly be useful if you displayed your men's ability to gallop downhill in fairly large companies. [8] To be sure, I know well enough that, if they feel confident of their ability to gallop, they will welcome the opportunity of showing off their skill: but you must see that they are not short of practice, or the enemy will compel them to do it against their will. [9]

The formation that would add most to the beauty of the exercises at the inspections has already been explained. Provided his horse is strong enough, the leader should ride round with the file that is on the outside every time. He will be galloping all the time himself, and the file whose turn it is to be on the outside with him will also be galloping. Thus the eyes of the Council will always be on the galloping file, and the horses will get a breathing space, resting by turns. [10]

When the Hippodrome is the scene of the display, the right plan would be that the men should first be drawn up on a front broad enough to fill the Hippodrome with horses and drive out the people standing there. [11] In the sham fight when the regiments pursue and fly from one another at the gallop in two squadrons of five regiments, each side led by its commander, the regiments should ride through one another. How formidable they will look when they charge front to front; how imposing when, after sweeping across the Hippodrome, they stand facing one another again; how splendid, when the trumpet sounds and they charge once more at a quicker pace! [12] After the halt, the trumpet should sound once more, and they should charge yet a third time at top speed; and when they have crossed, they should all range themselves in battle line preparatory to being dismissed, and ride up to the Council, just as you are accustomed to do. [13] I think that these manoeuvres would look more like war and would have the

charm of novelty. It is unworthy of his high rank that a cavalry commander should gallop at a slower pace than the colonels, and ride in the same way as they do. [14]

When the ride is to take place in the Academy on the hard ground, I have the following recommendations to make. To avoid being thrown the riders should throw the body back in charging, and collect their horses when wheeling, to keep them from falling. In the straight, however, they should gallop. The Council will thus watch a safe as well as a beautiful performance.

4. During a march the cavalry commander must always think ahead, in order that he may rest the horses' backs and relieve the men by walking, giving moderate spells of alternate riding and marching. You can't misjudge what is a moderate spell, since every man is himself the measure that will show you when they are getting tired. [2]

But when it is uncertain whether you will encounter an enemy on your way to any place, you must give the regiments a rest in turn. For it would be a bad job if all the men were dismounted when the enemy is close at hand. [3]

If you are riding along narrow roads, the order must be given to form column; but when you find yourself on broad roads, the order must be given to every regiment to extend front. When you reach open ground, all the regiments must be in line of battle. Incidentally these changes of order are good for practice, and help the men to get over the ground more pleasantly by varying the march with cavalry manoeuvres. [4]

When riding on difficult ground away from roads, whether in hostile or friendly country, it is very useful to have some of the aides-de-camp in advance of each regiment, that they may find a way round into the open in case they come across pathless woodland, and show the men what line they should follow, so that whole companies may not go astray. [5]

If your route lies in dangerous country, a prudent commander will have a second advanced guard ahead of his scouts for reconnaissance purposes. For it is useful both for attack and defence to discover an enemy as far off as possible. It is useful also to halt at the passage of a river, that the rear guard may not wear out their horses in chasing

their leader. These rules, no doubt, are familiar to nearly everybody; but few will take the trouble to observe them. [6]

A cavalry commander should be at pains even in time of peace to acquaint himself with hostile and friendly country alike. In case he is without personal experience, he should at least consult the men in the force who have the best knowledge of various localities. For the leader who knows the roads has a great advantage over one who does not. In making plans against the enemy, too, a knowledge of the district makes a great difference. [7]

You must also have taken steps to enlist the services of spies before the outbreak of war. Some of these should be citizens of neutral states, and some merchants, since all states invariably welcome the importer of merchandise. Sham deserters, too, have their use on occasions. [8] Still, you must never neglect to post guards through reliance on spies; on the contrary, your precautions must at all times be as complete as when you have information that the enemy is approaching. For even if the spies are entirely reliable, it is difficult to report at the critical moment, since many things happen in war to hinder them. [9]

The advance of cavalry is less likely to be detected by the enemy if orders are not given by a herald or in writing beforehand, but passed along. Accordingly, for this purpose, too, that the order to advance may be given by word of mouth, it is well to post fileleaders, and half file-leaders behind them, so that each may pass the word to as few men as possible. Thus, too, the half file-leaders will wheel and extend the line without confusion, whenever there is occasion to do so. [10]

When it is necessary to keep a look out, I am all in favour of the plan of having hidden outposts and guards. For these serve at once as guards to protect your friends and snares to trap the enemy. [11] And the men, being unseen, are more secure themselves and at the same time more formidable to the enemy. For the enemy, conscious that there are outposts somewhere, but ignorant of their whereabouts and their strength, feels nervous and is forced to suspect every possible position; whereas visible outposts show them where danger lies and where all is safe. [12] Besides, if you conceal your outposts, you will have the chance of luring the enemy into an ambush by placing a few

guards in the open to screen the hidden men. Occasionally, too, a cunning trap may be laid by posting a second body of exposed guards behind the men in hiding; for this plan may prove as deceptive to the enemy as the one just referred to. [13]

A prudent commander will never take risks unnecessarily, except when it is clear beforehand that he will have the advantage of the enemy. To play into the enemy's hand may fairly be considered treachery to one's allies rather than courage. [14] Another sound principle is to go for any position where the enemy is weak, even if it is a long way off, since hard work is less dangerous than a struggle against superior forces. [15] But if the enemy places himself somewhere between yourself and fortresses friendly to you, then it is proper to attack him, even if he is greatly superior, on that side where your presence is unsuspected, or on both flanks at once, for when one part of your force is retiring, a charge on the opposite flank will flurry the enemy and rescue your friends. [16]

It is an old maxim that, in attempting to discover what the enemy is about, it is well to employ spies. But the best plan of all, in my opinion, is for the commander himself to watch the enemy from some safe coign of vantage, if possible, and take notice of his mistakes. [17] And when anything can be filched by cunning, you should send likely men to steal it; and when anything may be seized you should despatch troops to seize it. If the enemy is marching on some objective and a part of his force weaker than your own separates from the main body or straggles carelessly, the chance must not be missed; the hunter, however, must always be stronger than the hunted. [18]

You can see the point of this if you consider. Even wild creatures less intelligent than man, such as hawks, will grab unguarded plunder and get away into a place of safety before they can be caught: wolves, again, prey on anything left unprotected and steal things lying in holes and corners; and if a dog does pursue and overtake him, [19] the wolf, if stronger than the dog, attacks him; or if weaker, snatches away the prize and makes off. Moreover, when a pack of wolves feels no fear of a convoy, they arrange themselves so that some shall drive off the convoy, and others seize the plunder; and thus they get their food. [20] Well, if wild beasts show such sagacity,

surely any man may be expected to show more wisdom than creatures that are themselves taken by the skill of man.

5. Every horseman should know at what distance a horse can overtake a man on foot, and how much start a slow horse needs to escape from a fast one. A cavalry commander should also be able to judge of the ground where infantry has an advantage over cavalry and where cavalry has an advantage over infantry. [2] He must also have sufficient ingenuity to make a small company of horse look large, and conversely, to make a large one look small; to seem to be absent when present, and present when absent; to know how to deceive, not merely how to steal the enemy's possessions, but also how to conceal his own force and fall on the enemy unexpectedly. [3] Another neat ruse is to create a scare among the enemy when your own position is precarious, so that he may not attack, and to put him in good heart, when it is strong, so that he may make an attempt. Thus you are least likely to come to harm yourself and most likely to catch the enemy tripping. [4]

That I may not seem to demand impossibilities, I will add a solution of the problems that seem most puzzling. Success in an attempt to pursue or retreat depends on experience of horses and their powers. But how are you to get this experience? By watching the friendly encounters of the sham fights and noticing what condition the horses are in after the pursuits and flights. [5]

When your object is to make the number of your cavalry look large, first take it for an axiom, if possible, not to attempt the ruse when you are near the enemy: for distance gives safety and increases the illusion. Secondly you must know that horses look many when crowded, owing to the animal's size, but are easily counted when scattered. [6] Another way of exaggerating the apparent strength of your force is to arm the grooms with lances or even imitation lances, and put them between the cavalrymen, whether you display the cavalry at the halt or wheel it into line. Thus the bulk of the company is bound to look denser and more massive. [7]

On the other hand, if your object is to make a large number look small, then, assuming that your ground affords cover, you can obviously conceal your cavalry by having part in the open and part hidden. If, however, the whole of the ground is exposed, you must

form the files into rows and wheel, leaving a gap between each two rows; and the men in each file who are next the enemy must hold their lances upright, while the rest keep theirs low down out of sight. [8]

The means to employ for scaring the enemy are false ambuscades, false reliefs and false information. An enemy's confidence is greatest when he is told that the other side is in difficulties and is preoccupied. [9]

But given these instructions, a man must himself invent a ruse to meet every emergency as it occurs. For there is really nothing more profitable in war than deception. [10] Even children are successful deceivers when they play "Guess the number"; they will hold up a counter or two and make believe that they have got a fist-full, and seem to hold up few when they are holding many; so surely men can play similar tricks when they are intent on deceiving in earnest. [11] And on thinking over the successes gained in war you will find that most of them, and these the greatest, have been won with the aid of deception. For these reasons either you should not essay to command, or you should pray to heaven that your equipment may include this qualification, and you should contrive on your own part to possess it. [12]

For those near the sea two effective ruses are, to strike on land while fitting out ships, and to attack by sea while ostensibly planning a land attack. [13]

Another duty of a cavalry commander is to demonstrate to the city the weakness of cavalry destitute of infantry as compared with cavalry that has infantry attached to it. Further, having got his infantry, a cavalry commander should make use of it. A mounted man being much higher than a man on foot, infantry may be hidden away not only among the cavalry but in the rear as well. [14]

For the practical application of these devices and any others you may contrive for the undoing of your foes by force or craft, I counsel you to work with God, so that, the gods being propitious, fortune too may favour you. [15]

Another ruse that proves highly effective at times is to feign excess of caution and reluctance to take risks. For this pretence often lures the enemy into making a more fatal blunder through want of

caution. Or once come to be thought venturesome, and you can give the enemy trouble by merely sitting still and pretending that you are on the point of doing something.

6. However, no man can mould anything to his mind unless the stuff in which he proposes to work lies ready to obey the artist's will. No more can you make anything of men, unless, by God's help, they are ready to regard their commander with friendly feelings and to think him wiser than themselves in the conduct of operations against the enemy. [2]

Now the feeling of loyalty will naturally be fostered when the commander is kind to his men, and obviously takes care that they have victuals, and that they are safe in retreat and well protected when at rest. [3] In the garrisons he must show an interest in fodder, tents, water, firewood, and all other supplies: he must show that he thinks ahead and keeps his eyes open for the sake of his men. And when he is doing well the chief's best policy is to give them a share in his good things. [4]

To put it shortly, a commander is least likely to incur the contempt of his men if he shows himself more capable than they of doing whatever he requires of them. [5] He must therefore practise every detail of horsemanship — mounting and the rest, — that they may see their commander able to take a ditch without a spill, clear a wall, leap down from a bank and throw a javelin skilfully. For all these feats are so many stepping stones to their respect. [6] If they know him also to be a master of tactics and able to put them in the way of getting the better of the enemy; and if besides, they are certain that he will never lead them against an enemy recklessly or without the gods' approval or in defiance of the sacrifices, all these conditions increase the men's readiness to obey their commander.

7. Every commander, then, should have intelligence. The Athenian cavalry commander, however, should excel greatly both in the observance of his duty to the gods and in the qualities of a warrior, seeing that he has on his borders rivals in the shape of cavalry as numerous as his and large forces of infantry. [2] And if he attempts to invade the enemy's country without the other armed forces of the state, he will have to take his chance with the cavalry only against both arms. Or if the enemy invades Athenian territory, in the first

place, he will certainly not fail to bring with him other cavalry besides his own and infantry in addition, whose numbers he reckons to be more than a match for all the Athenians put together. [3] Now provided that the whole of the city's levies turn out against such a host in defence of their country, the prospects are good. For our cavalymen, God helping, will be the better, if proper care is taken of them, and our heavy infantry will not be inferior in numbers, and I may add, they will be in as good condition and will show the keener spirit, if only, with God's help, they are trained on the right lines. And, remember, the Athenians are quite as proud of their ancestry as the Boeotians. [4] But if the city falls back on her navy, and is content to keep her walls intact, as in the days when the Lacedaemonians invaded us with all the Greeks to help them, and if she expects her cavalry to protect all that lies outside the walls, and to take its chance unaided against her foes, — why then, I suppose, we need first the strong arm of the gods to aid us, and in the second place it is essential that our cavalry commander should be masterly. For much sagacity is called for in coping with a greatly superior force, and abundance of courage when the call comes. [5]

I take it, he must also be able to stand hard work. For if he should elect to take his chance against the army confronting him — an army that not even the whole state is prepared to stand up to — it is evident that he would be entirely at the mercy of the stronger and incapable of doing anything. [6] But should he guard whatever lies outside the walls with a force that will be just sufficient to keep an eye on the enemy and to remove into safety from as great a distance as possible property that needs saving, — and a large force is not necessary for this: a small force can keep a look-out as well as a large one, and when it comes to guarding and removing the property of friends, men who have no confidence in themselves or their horses will meet the case, because Fear, it seems, is a [7] formidable member of a guard — well, it may perhaps be a sound plan to draw on these men for his guards. But if he imagines that the number remaining over and above the guard constitutes an army, he will find it too small; for it will be utterly inadequate to risk a conflict in the open. Let him use these men as raiders, and he will probably have a force quite sufficient for this purpose. [8] His business, it seems to me, is to

watch for any blunder on the enemy's part without showing himself, keeping men constantly on the alert and ready to strike. [9] It happens that, the greater is the number of soldiers, the more they are apt to blunder. Either they scatter deliberately in search of provisions, or they are so careless of order on the march that some get too far ahead, while others lag too far behind. [10] So he must not let such blunders go unpunished, or the whole country will be occupied; only he must take good care to retire the moment he has struck, without giving time for the main supports to arrive on the scene. [11]

An army on the march often comes to roads where large numbers have no advantage over small. In crossing rivers, again, a man with his wits about him may dog the enemy's steps without danger and regulate according to his will the number of the enemy that he chooses to attack. [12] Sometimes it is proper to tackle the enemy while his troops are at breakfast or supper or when they are turning out of bed. For at all these moments soldiers are without arms, infantry for a shorter and cavalry for a longer time. [13] Pickets and outposts, however, should be the mark of incessant plots, these being invariably weak in numbers and sometimes remote from their main force. [14] But when the enemy has learned to take due precautions against such attacks, it is proper, with God's help, to enter his country stealthily after ascertaining his strength at various points and the position of his outposts. For no booty that you can capture is so fine as a patrol. [15] Besides, patrols are easily deceived, for they pursue a handful of men at sight, believing that to be their special duty. You must see, however, that your line of retreat does not lead you straight into the enemy's supports.

8. It is clear, however, that no troops will be able to inflict loss on a much stronger army with impunity, unless they are so superior in the practical application of horsemanship to war that they show like experts contending with amateurs. [2] This superiority can be attained first and foremost if your marauding bands are so thoroughly drilled in riding that they can stand the hard work of a campaign. For both horses and men that are carelessly trained in this respect will naturally be like women struggling with men. [3] On the contrary, those that are taught and accustomed to jump ditches, leap walls, spring up banks, leap down from heights without a spill, and gallop

down steep places, will be as superior to the men and horses that lack this training as birds to beasts. Moreover, those that have their feet well hardened will differ on rough ground from the tender-footed as widely as the sound from the lame. And those that are familiar with the locality, compared with those to whom it is unfamiliar, will differ in the advance and retreat as much as men with eyes differ from the blind. [4]

It should also be realised that horses, to be well fettled, must be well fed and thoroughly exercised, so as to do their work without suffering from heaves. And since bits and saddle-cloths are fastened with straps, a cavalry leader must never be short of them, for at a trifling expense he will make men in difficulties efficient. [5]

In case anyone feels that his troubles will be endless if his duty requires him to practise horsemanship in this way, let him reflect that men in training for gymnastic contests face troubles far more numerous and exacting than the most strenuous votaries of horsemanship. [6] For most gymnastic exercises are carried out with sweat and drudgery, but nearly all equestrian exercises are pleasant work. For if it is true that any man would like to fly, no action of man bears a closer resemblance to flying. [7] And, remember, it is far more glorious to win a victory in war than in a boxing match, because, whereas the state as well as the victor has a considerable share in this glory, for a victory in war the gods generally crown states with happiness as well. For my part, therefore, I know not why any art should be more assiduously cultivated than the arts of war. [8] It should be noticed that a long apprenticeship to toil enables seapirates to live at the expense of much stronger folk. On land, too, pillage, though not for those who reap what they have sown, is the natural resource of men who are deprived of food. For either men must work or they must eat the fruits of other men's labour: else it is a problem how to live and to obtain peace. [9]

If you charge a superior force, you must remember never to leave behind you ground difficult for horses. For a fall in retreat and a fall in pursuit are very different things. [10]

I want to add a word of warning against another error. Some men, when they suppose themselves to be stronger than the enemy whom they are going to attack, take an utterly inadequate force with them.

The consequence is that they are apt to incur the loss they expected to inflict. Or, when they know themselves to be weaker than the enemy, they use all their available strength in the attack. [11] The right procedure, in my opinion, is just the opposite: when the commander expects to win, he should not hesitate to use the whole of his strength: for an overwhelming victory never yet was followed by remorse. [12] But when he tries conclusions with a much stronger force, knowing beforehand that he is bound to retreat when he has done his best, I hold that it is far better in such a case to throw a small part of his strength into the attack than the whole of it; only horses and men alike should be his very best. For such a force will be able to achieve something and to retreat with less risk. [13] But when he has thrown the whole of his strength into an attack on a stronger force, and wants to retire, the men on the slowest mounts are bound to be taken prisoners; others to be thrown through lack of horsemanship; and others to be cut off owing to inequalities in the ground, since it is hard to find a wide expanse of country entirely to your liking. [14] Moreover, owing to their numbers they will collide and hinder and hurt one another frequently. But good horses and men will contrive to escape, especially if you manage to scare the pursuers by using your reserves. [15] Sham ambuscades, too, are helpful for this purpose. It is also useful to discover on what quarter your friends may suddenly reveal themselves in a safe position and make the pursuit slower. [16] Then again it is obvious that in point of endurance and speed the advantage is much more likely to rest with a small than with a large force. I do not mean that mere paucity of numbers will increase the men's powers of endurance and add to their speed; but it is easier to find few men than many who will take proper care of their horses and will practise the art of horsemanship intelligently on their own account. [17]

Should it happen at any time that the cavalry forces engaged are about equal, I think it would be a good plan to split each regiment into two divisions, putting one under the command of the colonel, and the other under the best man available. [18] The latter would follow in the rear of the colonel's division for a time; but presently, when the adversary is near, he would wheel on receiving the order and charge. This plan, I think, would make the blow delivered by the

regiment more stunning and more difficult to parry. [19] Both divisions should have an infantry contingent; and if the infantry, hidden away behind the cavalry, came out suddenly and went for the enemy, I think they would prove an important factor in making the victory more decisive; for I have noticed that a surprise cheers men up if it is pleasant, but stuns them if it is alarming. [20] Anyone will recognise the truth of this who reflects that, however great their advantage in numbers, men are dazed when they fall into an ambushade, and that two hostile armies confronting each other are scared out of their wits for the first few days. [21]

There is no difficulty in adopting these tactics; but only a good cavalry commander can find men who will show intelligence, reliability and courage in wheeling to charge the enemy. [22] For the commander must be capable both by his words and action of making the men under him realize that it is good to obey, to back up their leader, and to charge home; of firing them with a desire to win commendation; and of enabling them to carry out their intentions with persistence. [23]

Suppose now that the cavalry are busy in the no-man's-land that separates two battle lines drawn up face to face or two strategic positions, wheeling, pursuing and retreating. After such manoeuvres both sides usually start off at a slow pace, but gallop at full speed in the unoccupied ground. [24] But if a commander first feints in this manner, and then after wheeling, pursues and retreats at the gallop he will be able to inflict the greatest loss on the enemy, and will probably come through with the least harm, by pursuing at the gallop so long as he is near his own defence, and retreating at the gallop from the enemy's defences. [25] If, moreover, he can secretly leave behind him four or five of the best horses and men in each division, they will be at a great advantage in falling on the enemy as he is turning to renew the charge.

9. To read these suggestions a few times is enough; but it is always necessary for the commander to hit on the right thing at the right moment, to think of the present situation and to carry out what is expedient in view of it. To write out all that he ought to do is no more possible than to know everything that is going to happen. [2] The most important of all my hints, I think, is this: Whatever you decide to be

best, see that it gets done. Whether you are a farmer, a skipper or a commander, sound decisions bear no fruit unless you see to it that, with heaven's help, they are duly carried out. [3]

Further, I am of opinion that the full complement of a thousand cavalry would be raised much more quickly and in a manner much less burdensome to the citizens if they established a force of two hundred foreign cavalry. For I believe that the presence of these men would improve the discipline of the whole force and would foster rivalry in the display of efficiency. [4] I know that the fame of the Lacedaemonian horse dates from the introduction of foreign cavalry: and in the other states everywhere I notice that the foreign contingents enjoy a high reputation; for need helps to produce great eagerness. [5] To defray the cost of their horses, I believe that money would be forthcoming from those who strongly object to serve in the cavalry — since even men actually enrolled are willing to pay in order to get out of the service — from rich men who are physically unfit, and also, I think, from orphans possessed of large estates. [6] I believe also that some of the resident aliens would be proud to be enrolled in the cavalry. For I notice that, whenever the citizens give them a share in any other honourable duty, some are willing enough to take pride in doing the part assigned to them. [7] I fancy, too, that infantry attached to the cavalry will be most effective if it consists of persons who are very bitter against the enemy.

All these things are feasible provided the gods give their consent. [8] If anyone is surprised at my frequent repetition of the exhortation to work with God, I can assure him that his surprise will diminish, if he is often in peril, and if he considers that in time of war foemen plot and counterplot, but seldom know what will come of their plots. [9] Therefore there is none other that can give counsel in such a case but the gods. They know all things, and warn whomsoever they will in sacrifices, in omens, in voices, and in dreams. And we may suppose that they are more ready to counsel those who not only ask what they ought to do in the hour of need, but also serve the gods in the days of their prosperity with all their might.

ON HUNTING



Translated by E. C. Marchant

This minor treatise belongs to a genre of literature about breeding and the care and use of dogs and horses, which is now categorised as *Cynegeticon*. Xenophon opens the work by discussing the importance of hunting and how the gods Apollo and Artemis bestowed game and hounds upon Chiron the gentle centaur, who used hunting to teach twenty-one heroes. Xenophon goes on to describe the excellence of these individual mythological heroes and their skill in hunting. The author claims that, “hunting is the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed” In the next part of the treatise Xenophon discusses what is required of the young man who wishes to hunt and his attire, with an explanation of each item’s purpose, and also the net-keeper that should assist him, including a brief detail of the net required.

Xenophon ends the discussion on the practical side of hunting and explains the benefits of hunting. First he discusses the health benefits of improved sight and hearing, longevity, and lastly that it is the best training for war. Once he mentions the military he goes on to discuss the benefits of hunting as war training such as the recovery of fellow troops in a difficult area. Xenophon explains, “For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success”. Hunting also “makes men sober and upright ... because they are trained in the school of truth”. These men can do whatever honourable employment they desire and make good soldiers and generals because they desire virtue.

Xenophon goes on to defend hunting from those who think it causes them to avoid domestic affairs, however he believes that they will instead protect and assist their fellow citizens.



Ancient Greek depiction of a hunting scene

ON HUNTING

1. Game and hounds are the invention of gods, of Apollo and Artemis. They bestowed it on Cheiron and honoured him therewith for his righteousness. And he, receiving it, rejoiced in the gift, and used it. [2] And he had for pupils in venery and in other noble pursuits — Cephalus, Asclepius, Meilanion, Nestor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Palamedes, Odysseus, Menestheus, Diomedes, Castor, Polydeuces, Machaon, Podaleirius, Antilochus, Aeneas, Achilles, of whom each in his time was honoured by gods. [3] Let no man marvel that the more part of these, even though they pleased gods, died none the less; for that was nature's work; but the praise of them grew mightily; — nor yet that not all of these flourished at one time. For Cheiron's lifetime sufficed for all. [4] For Zeus and Cheiron were brethren, sons of one sire, but the mother of the one was Rhea, of the other the nymph Nais: and so, though he was born before these, he died after them, for he taught Achilles. [5]

Through the heed they paid to hounds and hunting and the rest of their scholarship they excelled greatly and were admired for their virtue. Cephalus was carried away by a goddess. [6] Asclepius won yet, greater preferment — to raise the dead, to heal the sick; and for these things he has everlasting fame as a god among men. [7] Meilanion was so peerless in love of toil that, though the princeliest of that age were his rival suitors for the greatest Lady of the time, only he won Atalanta. Nestor's virtue is an old familiar tale to Greek ears; so there is no need for me to tell of it. [8] Amphiaraus when he fought against Thebes, gained great praise and won from the gods the honour of immortality. Peleus stirred a desire even in the gods to give him Thetis and to hymn their marriage in Cheiron's home. [9] Telamon waxed so mighty that he wedded from the greatest city the maiden of his choice, Periboea, daughter of Alcathus: and when the first of the Greeks, Heracles son of Zeus, distributed the prizes of valour after taking Troy, to him he gave Hesione/. [10] As for Meleager, the honours that he won are manifest; and it was not by his own fault that he came to sorrow when his father in old age forgot

the goddess. Theseus single-handed slew the enemies of all Greece; and because he enlarged greatly the borders of his country he is admired to this day. [11] Hippolytus was honoured by Artemis and held converse with her; and for his prudence and holiness he was counted happy when he died. Palamedes far outstripped the men of his generation in wisdom while he lived; and being unjustly slain he won from the gods such vengeance as fell to the lot of no other mortal. But his end was not compassed by those whom some imagine, else could not the one of them have been well-nigh the best, and the other the peer of the good; but bad men did the deed. [12] Menestheus through the heed he paid to hunting, so far surpassed others in love of toil that the first of the Greeks confessed themselves his inferiors in feats of war, all save Nestor; and he, it is said, outdid not, but rivalled him. [13] Odysseus and Diomedes were brilliant in every single deed, and in short, to them was due the capture of Troy. Castor and Polydeuces, through the renown that they won by displaying in Greece the arts they learned of Cheiron, are immortal. [14] Machaon and Podaleirius, schooled in all the selfsame arts, proved in crafts and reasonings and wars good men. Antilochus, by giving his life for his father, won such glory that he alone was proclaimed among the Greeks as "the Devoted Son." [15] Aeneas saved the gods of his father's and his mother's family, and withal his father himself; wherefore he bore away fame for his piety, so that to him alone among all the vanquished at Troy even the enemy granted not to be despoiled. [16] Achilles, nursed in this schooling, bequeathed to posterity memorials so great and glorious that no man wearies of telling and hearing of him. [17]

These, whom the good love even to this day and the evil envy, were made so perfect through the care they learned of Cheiron that, when troubles fell upon any state or any king in Greece, they were composed through their influence; or if all Greece was at strife or at war with all the Barbarian powers, these brought victory to the Greeks, so that they made Greece invincible. [18]

Therefore I charge the young not to despise hunting or any other schooling. For these are the means by which men become good in war and in all things out of which must come excellence in thought and word and deed.

2. The first pursuit, therefore, that a young man just out of his boyhood should take up is hunting, and afterwards he should go on to the other branches of education, provided he has means. He must look to his means, and, if they are sufficient, spend as much as the benefit to himself is worth; or, if they are insufficient, at least let him supply enthusiasm, in no way coming short of his power. [2]

I will give a list and a description of the intending hunter's outfit, and the explanation of each item, in order that he may understand the business before he puts his hand to it. And let no one regard these details as trivial; inasmuch as nothing can be done without them. [3]

The net-keeper should be a man with a keen interest in the business, one who speaks Greek, about twenty years old, agile and strong, and resolute, that, being well qualified to overcome his tasks, he may take pleasure in the business. [4] The purse-nets should be made of fine Phasian or Carthaginian flax, and the road-nets and hayes of the same material.

Let the purse-nets be of nine threads woven in three strands, each strand consisting of three threads. The proper length for these nets is forty-five inches, the proper width of the meshes six inches. The cords that run round them must be without knots, so that they may run easily. [5] The road-nets should be of twelve threads, and the hayes of sixteen. The length of the road-nets may be twelve, twenty-four or thirty-feet; that of the hayes sixty, a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and eighty feet. If they are longer, they will be unwieldy. Both kinds should be thirty knots high, and should have meshes of the same width as those of the purse-nets. [6] At the elbows at either end let the road-nets have slip-knots of string and the hayes metal rings, and let the cords be attached by loops. [7] The stakes for the purse-nets should be thirty inches long, but some should be shorter. Those of unequal length are for use on sloping ground, to make the height of the nets equal, while those of the same length are used on the level. These stakes must be so shaped at the top that the nets will pull off readily and they must be smooth. The stakes for the road-nets should be twice the length of these, and those for the hayes forty-five inches long. The latter should have little forks with shallow grooves, and all should be stout, of a thickness proportioned to the length. [8] The number of stakes used for the hayes may be large or small; fewer

are required if the nets are strained tight when set up, more if they are slack. [9] A calf-skin bag will be wanted for carrying the purse-nets and road-nets and hayes and the bill-hooks for cutting wood and stopping gaps where necessary.

3. The hounds used are of two kinds, the Castorian and the Vulpine. The Castorian is so called because Castor paid special attention to the breed, making a hobby of the business. The Vulpine is a hybrid between the dog and the fox: hence the name. In the course of time the nature of the parents has become fused. [2] Inferior specimens (that is to say, the majority) show one or more of the following defects. They are small, hook-nosed, grey-eyed, blinking, ungainly, stiff, weak, thin-coated, lanky, ill-proportioned, cowardly, dull-scented, unsound in the feet. [3] Now small dogs often drop out of the running through their want of size; hook-nosed dogs have no mouth and can't hold the hare; grey-eyed dogs and blinkers have bad sight; ungainly dogs look ugly; stiff ones are in a bad way at the end of the hunt; no work can be got out of the weak and the thin-coated ones; those that are lanky and ill-proportioned are heavy movers and carry themselves anyhow; cowards leave their work and give up and slink away from the sun into shady places and lie down; dogs with no nose seldom scent the hare and only with difficulty; and those with bad feet, even if they are plucky, can't stand the hard work, and tire because they are foot-sore. [4]

Moreover, hounds of the same breed vary much in behaviour when tracking. Some go ahead as soon as they find the line without giving a sign, and there is nothing to show that they are on it. Some move the ears only, but keep the tail still; others keep the ears still and wag the tip of the tail. [5] Others prick up the ears and run frowning along the track, dropping their tails and putting them between their legs. Many do none of these things, but rush about madly round the track, and when they happen upon it, stupidly trample out the traces, barking all the time. [6] Others again, continually circling and straying, get ahead of the line when clean off it and pass the hare, and every time they run against the line, begin guessing, and if they catch sight of the hare, tremble and never go for her until they see her stir. [7] Hounds that run forward and frequently examine the discoveries of the others when they are casting about

and pursuing have no confidence in themselves; while those that will not let their cleverer mates go forward, but fuss and keep them back, are confident to a fault. Others will drive ahead, eagerly following false lines and getting wildly excited over anything that turns up, well knowing that they are playing the fool; others will do the same thing in ignorance. Those that stick to game paths and don't recognise the true line are poor tools. [8] A hound that ignores the trail and races over the track of the hare on the run is ill-bred. Some, again, will pursue hotly at first, and then slack off from want of pluck; others will cut in ahead and then get astray; while others foolishly dash into roads and go astray, deaf to all recall. [9] Many abandon the pursuit and go back through their hatred of game, and many through their love of man. Others try to mislead by baying on the track, representing false lines as true ones. [10] Some, though free from this fault, leave their own work when they hear a shout from another quarter while they are running, and make for it recklessly. When pursuing some are dubious, others are full of assumptions but their notions are wrong. Then there are the skirterers, some of whom merely pretend to hunt, while others out of jealousy perpetually scamper about together beside the line. [11]

Now most of these faults are natural defects, but some by which hounds are spoilt are due to unintelligent training. Anyhow such hounds may well put a keen hunter off the sport. What hounds of the same breed ought to look like and what they should be in other respects I will now explain.

4. First, then, they should be big. Next, the head should be light, flat and muscular; the lower parts of the forehead sinewy; the eyes prominent, black and sparkling; the forehead broad, with a deep dividing line; the ears small and thin with little hair behind; the neck long, loose and round; the chest broad and fairly fleshy; the shoulder-blades slightly outstanding from the shoulders; the forelegs short, straight, round and firm; the elbows straight; the ribs not low down on the ground, but sloping in an oblique line; the loins fleshy, of medium length, and neither too loose nor too hard; the flanks of medium size; the hips round and fleshy at the back, not close at the top, and smooth on the inside; the under part of the belly itself slim; the tail long, straight and thin; the thighs hard; the shanks long, round

and solid; the hind-legs much longer than the fore-legs and slightly bent; the feet round. [2] Hounds like these will be strong in appearance, agile, well-proportioned, and speedy; and they will have a jaunty expression and a good mouth. [3]

When tracking they should get out of the game paths quickly, hold their heads well down and aslant, smiling when they find the scent and lowering their ears; then they should all go forward together along the trail towards the form circling frequently, with eyes continually on the move and tails wagging. [4] As soon as they are close on the hare, they should let the huntsman know, quickening the pace and showing more emphatic signs by their excitement, movements of the head and eyes, changes of attitude, by looking up and looking into the covert and returning again and again to the hare's form, by leaps forward, backward and to the side, displays of unaffected agitation and overpowering delight at being near the hare. [5]

They should pursue with unremitting vigour, giving tongue and barking freely, dogging the hare's steps wherever she goes. They should be fast and brilliant in the chase, frequently casting about and giving tongue in the right fashion; and they should not leave the track and go back to the huntsman. [6]

Along with this appearance and behaviour they should have pluck, keen noses, sound feet and good coats. They will be plucky if they don't leave the hunting-ground when the heat is oppressive; keen-nosed if they smell the hare on bare, parched and sunny ground in the dog days; sound in the feet if at the same season their feet are not torn to bits during a run in the mountains; they will have a good coat if the hair is fine, thick and soft. [7] The colour of the hounds should not be entirely tawny, black or white; for this is not a sign of good breeding: on the contrary, unbroken colour indicates a wild strain. [8] So the tawny and the black hounds should show a patch of white about the face, and the white hounds a tawny patch. At the top of the thighs the hair should be straight and thick, and on the loins and at the lower end of the tail, but it should be moderately thick higher up. [9]

It is advisable to take the hounds to the mountains often, but less frequently to cultivated land. For in the mountains it is possible to

track and follow a hare without hindrance, whereas it is impossible to do either in cultivated land owing to the game paths. [10]

It is also well to take the hounds out into rough ground, whether they find a hare or not; for they get sound in the feet, and hard work in such country is good for their bodies. [11] In summer they should be out till midday, in winter at any hour of the day, in autumn at any time except midday, and before evening during the spring; for at these times the temperature is mild.

5. The scent of the hare lies long in winter owing to the length of the nights, and for a short time in summer for the opposite reason. In the winter, however, there is no scent in the early morning whenever there is a white frost or the earth is frozen hard. For both white and black frost hold heat; since the one draws it out by its own strength, and the other congeals it. [2] The hounds' noses, too, are numbed by the cold, and they cannot smell when the tracks are in such a state until the tracks thaw in the sun or as day advances. Then the dogs can smell and the scent revives. [3] A heavy dew, again, obliterates scent by carrying it downwards; and storms, occurring after a long interval, draw smells from the ground and make the earth bad for scent until it dries. South winds spoil scent, because the moisture scatters it, but north winds concentrate and preserve it, if it has not been previously dissolved. [4] Heavy showers drown it, and so does light rain, and the moon deadens it by its warmth, especially when at the full. Scent is most irregular at that time, for the hares, enjoying the light, fling themselves high in the air and jump a long way, frolicking with one another; and it becomes confused when foxes have crossed it. [5] Spring with its genial temperature yields a clear scent, except where the ground is studded with flowers and hampers the hounds by mingling the odours of the flowers with it. In summer it is thin and faint, for the ground, being baked, obliterates what warmth it possesses, which is thin; and the hounds' noses are not so good at that season, because their bodies are relaxed. In the autumn it is unimpeded; for the cultivated crops have been harvested and the weeds have withered, so that the odours of the herbage do not cause trouble by mingling with it. [6] In winter and summer and autumn the scent lies straight in the main. In spring it is complicated; for though the animal couples at all times, it does so especially at this season; so

instinct prompts them to roam about together, and this is the result they produce. [7]

The scent left by the hare in going to her form lasts longer than the scent of a running hare. For on the way to the form the hare keeps stopping, whereas when on the run she goes fast; consequently the ground is packed with it in the one case, but in the other is not filled with it. In coverts it is stronger than in open ground, because she touches many objects while running about and sitting up. [8]

They find a resting-place where there is anything growing or lying on the ground, underneath anything, on the top of the objects, inside, alongside, well away or quite near or fairly near; occasionally even in the sea by springing on to anything she can reach, or in fresh water, if there is anything sticking out or growing in it, the hare, when going to her [9] form generally choosing a sheltered place for it in cold weather and a cool one in hot, but in spring and autumn a place exposed to the sun; but hares on the run do not do that, because they are scared by the hounds. [10] When she sits, she puts the hind-legs under the flanks, and most commonly keeps the fore-legs close together and extended, resting the chin on the ends of the feet, and spreading the ears over the shoulder-blades, so that she covers the soft parts. The hair too, being thick and soft, serves as a protection. [11] When awake she blinks her eyelids; but when she is asleep the eyelids are wide open and motionless, and the eyes still. She moves her nostrils continually when sleeping, but less frequently when awake. [12] When the ground is bursting with vegetation they frequent the fields rather than the mountains. Wherever she may be she remains there when tracked, except when she is suddenly alarmed at night; in which case she moves off. [13]

The animal is so prolific that at the same time she is rearing one litter, she produces another and she is pregnant. The scent of the little leverets is stronger than that of the big ones; for while their limbs are still soft they drag the whole body on the ground. [14] Sportsmen, however, leave the very young ones to the goddess. Yearlings go very fast in the first run, but then flag, being agile, but weak. [15]

Find the hare's track by beginning with the hounds in the cultivated lands and gradually working downwards. To track those that do not come into cultivated land, search the meadows, valleys,

streams, stones and woody places. If she moves off, don't shout, or the hounds may get wild with excitement and fail to recognise the tracks. [16] Hares when found by hounds and pursued sometimes cross brooks and double back and slip into gullies or holes. The fact is they are terrified not only of the hounds, but of eagles as well; for they are apt to be snatched up while crossing hillocks and bare ground until they are yearlings, and the bigger ones are run down and caught by the hounds. [17]

The swiftest are those that frequent mountains; those of the plain are not so speedy; and those of the marshes are the slowest. Those that roam over any sort of country are difficult to chase, since they know the short cuts. They run mostly uphill or on the level, less frequently in uneven ground, and very seldom downhill. [18] When being pursued they are most conspicuous across ground that has been broken up, if they have some red in their coats, or across stubble, owing to the shadow they cast. They are also conspicuous in game paths and on roads if these are level, since the bright colour of their coats shows up in the light. But when their line of retreat is amongst stones, in the mountains, over rocky or thickly wooded ground they cannot be seen owing to the similarity of colouring. [19] When they are well ahead of the hounds, they will stop, and sitting up will raise themselves and listen for the baying or the footfall of the hounds anywhere near; and should they hear the sound of them from any quarter, they make off. [20] Occasionally, even when they hear no sound, some fancy or conviction prompts them to jump hither and thither past and through the same objects, mixing the tracks as they retreat. [21] The longest runners are those that are found on bare land, because they are exposed to view; the shortest, those found in thick covers, since the darkness hinders their flight.

There are two species of hare. [22] The large are dark brown, and the white patch on the forehead is large; the smaller are chestnut, with a small white patch. [23] The larger have spots round the scut, the smaller at the side of it. The eyes in the large species are blue, in the small grey. The black at the tip of the ear is broad in the one species, narrow in the other. [24] The smaller are found in most of the islands, both desert and inhabited. They are more plentiful in the islands than on the mainland, for in the majority of these there are no foxes to

attack and carry off the hares and their young; nor eagles, for they haunt big mountains rather than small, and the mountains in the islands, generally speaking, are rather small. [25] Hunters seldom visit the desert islands, and there are few people in the inhabited ones, and most of them are not sportsmen; and if an island is consecrated, one may not even take dogs into it. Since, then, but few of the old hares and the leverets that they produce are exterminated by hunting, they are bound to be abundant. [26]

The sight of the hare is not keen for several reasons. The eyes are prominent; the lids are too small and do not give protection to the pupils; consequently the vision is weak and blurred. [27] Added to this, though the animal spends much time asleep, it gets no benefit from that, so far as seeing goes. Its speed, too, accounts in no small degree for its dim sight. For it glances at an object and is past it in a flash, before realising its nature. [28] And those terrors, the hounds, close behind them when they are pursued combine with these causes to rob them of their wits. The consequence is that the hare bumps against many obstacles unawares and plunges into the net. [29] If she ran straight, she would seldom meet with this mishap. But instead of that she comes round and hugs the place where she was born and bred, and so is caught. In a fair run she is seldom beaten by the hounds owing to her speed. Those that are caught are beaten in spite of their natural characteristics through meeting with an accident. Indeed, there is nothing in the world of equal size to match the hare as a piece of mechanism. For the various parts that make up her body are formed as follows. [30]

The head is light, small, drooping, narrow at the front; the ears are upright; the neck is thin, round, not stiff, and fairly long; the shoulder-blades are straight and free at the top; the fore-legs are agile and close together; the chest is not broad; the ribs are light and symmetrical; the loins are circular; the rump is fleshy; the flanks are soft and fairly spongy; the hips are round, well filled out, and the right distance apart at the top; the thighs are small and firm, muscular on the outside and not puffy on the inside; the shanks are long and firm; the fore-feet are extremely pliant and narrow and straight and the hind-feet hard and broad; and all four are indifferent to rough ground; the hind-legs are much longer than the fore-legs, and slightly

bent outwards; the coat is short and light. [31] With such a frame she cannot fail to be strong, pliant and very agile.

Here is a proof of her agility. When going quietly, she springs — no one ever saw or ever will see a hare walking — bringing the hind-feet forward in advance of the fore-feet and outside them; and that is how she runs. [32] This is obvious when snow is on the ground. The scut is of no assistance in running, for it is not able to steer the body owing to its shortness. The hare does this by means of one of her ears; and when she is roused by the hounds she drops one ear on the side on which she is being pressed and throws it aslant, and then bearing on this she wheels round sharply and in a moment leaves the assailant far behind. [33] So charming is the sight that to see a hare tracked, found, pursued and caught is enough to make any man forget his heart's desire. [34]

When hunting on cultivated land avoid growing crops and let pools and streams alone. It is unseemly and wrong to interfere with them, and there is a risk of encouraging those who see to set themselves against the law. On days on which there is no hunting, all hunting tackle should be removed.

6. The trappings of hounds are collars, leashes, and surcingles. The collars should be soft and broad, so as not to chafe the hounds' coat. The leashes should have a noose for the hand, and nothing else; for if the collar is made in one piece with the leash, perfect control of the hounds is impossible. The straps of the surcingles should be broad, so as not to rub the flanks, and they should have little spurs sewed on to them, to keep the breed pure. [2]

Hounds should not be taken out hunting when off their feed, since this is a proof that they are ailing; nor when a strong wind is blowing, since it scatters the scent and they cannot smell, and the purse-nets will not stand in position, nor the hayes. [3] But when neither of these hindrances prevents, have the hounds out every other day. Do not let them take to pursuing foxes; for it is utter ruin, and they are never at hand when wanted. [4] Vary the hunting-ground frequently, so that the hounds may be familiar with the hunting-grounds and the master with the country. Start early, and so give the hounds a fair chance of following the scent. A late start robs the hounds of the find and the hunters of the prize; for the scent is by its nature too thin to last all

day. [5]

Let the net-keeper wear light clothing when he goes hunting. Let him set up the purse-nets in winding, rough, steep, narrow, shady paths, brooks, ravines, running watercourses (these are the places in which the hare is most apt to take refuge: a list of all the others would be endless), leaving [6] unobstructed and narrow passages to and through these places, just about daybreak, and not too early, so that in case the line of nets be near the growth to be searched, the hare may not be frightened by hearing the noise close by (if the distance is considerable, it matters less if the work is done early), seeing that the nets stand clear so that nothing may cling to them. [7] He must fix the stakes aslant, so that when pulled they may stand the strain. On the tops of them let him put an equal number of meshes, and set the props uniformly, raising the purse towards the centre. [8] To the cord let him attach a long, big stone, so that the net may not pull away when the hare is inside. Let him make his line long and high, so that the hare may not jump over.

When it comes to tracking the hare, he must not be too zealous. To do everything possible to effect a quick capture shows perseverance, but is not hunting. [9]

Let him stretch the hayes on level ground and put the road-nets in roads and from game tracks into the adjacent ground, fastening down the (lower) cords to the ground, joining the elbows, fixing the stakes between the selvages, putting the ends on the top of the stakes and stopping the byways. [10] Let him mount guard, going round the nets. If a purse-net is pulling its stake out of line, let him put it up. When the hare is being chased into the purse-nets he must run forward and shout as he runs after her. When she is in, he must calm the excitement of the hounds, soothing without touching them. He must also shout to the huntsman and let him know that the hare is caught, or that she has run past on this or that side, or that he has not seen her, or where he caught sight of her. [11]

Let the huntsman go out to the hunting ground in a simple light dress and shoes, carrying a cudgel in his hand, and let the net-keeper follow. Let them keep silence while approaching the ground, so that, in case the hare is near, she may not move off on hearing voices. [12] Having tied the hounds separately to the trees so that they can easily

be slipped, let him set up the purse-nets and hayes in the manner described. After this let the net-keeper keep guard, and let the huntsman take the hounds and go to the place in the hunting ground where the hare may be lurking; and after [13] registering a vow to Apollo and Artemis the Huntress to give them a share of the spoil, let him loose one hound, the cleverest at following a track, at sunrise in winter, before dawn in summer, and some time between at other seasons. [14] As soon as the hound picks up a line from the network of tracks that leads straight ahead, let him slip another. If the track goes on, let him set the others going one by one at short intervals, and follow without pressing them, accosting each by name, but not often, that they may not get excited too soon. [15] They will go forward full of joy and ardour, disentangling the various tracks, double or triple — springing forward now beside, now across the same ones — tracks interlaced or circular, straight or crooked, close or scattered, clear or obscure, running past one another with tails wagging, ears dropped and eyes flashing. [16] As soon as they are near the hare they will let the huntsman know by the quivering of the whole body as well as the tail, by making fierce rushes, by racing past one another, by scampering along together persistently, massing quickly, breaking up and again rushing forward. At length they will reach the hare's form and will go for her. [17] She will start up suddenly, and will leave the hounds barking and baying behind her as she makes off. Let the huntsman shout at her as she runs, "Now, hounds, now! Well done! Bravo, hounds! Well done, hounds!" Wrapping his cloak round his arm and seizing his cudgel he must follow up behind the hare and not try to head her off, since that is useless. [18] The hare, making off, though out of sight, generally doubles back to the place where she is found. Let him call out to the man, "Hit her, boy; hit her, hit her!" and the man must let him know whether she is caught or not.

If she is caught in the first run, let him call in the hounds and look for another. But if not, he must follow up at top speed and not let her go, but stick to it persistently. [19] If the hounds come on her again in the pursuit, let him cry, "Good, good, hounds; after her, hounds!" If they have got so far ahead of him that he cannot overtake them by following up and is quite out of the running, or if he cannot see them though they are moving about somewhere near or sticking to the

tracks, let him find out by shouting as he runs past to anyone near, "Hullo! have you seen the hounds?" [20] As soon as he has found out, let him stand near if they are on the track, and cheer them on, running through the hounds' names, using all the variations of tone he can produce, pitching his voice high and low, soft and loud. Amongst other calls, if the chase is in the mountains, let him sing out, "Oho, hounds, oho!" If they are not clinging to the track, but are over-running, let him call them in with, "Back, hounds, back with you!" [21] As soon as they are close on the tracks, let him cast them round, making many circles, and wherever they find the track dim, let him stick a pole in the ground as a mark, and beginning from this mark keep them together until they clearly recognise the track, encouraging and coaxing them. [22] As soon as the track is clear they will be off in hot pursuit, hurling themselves on it, jumping beside it, working together, guessing, signalling to one another and setting bounds for one another that they can recognise. When they are thus scurrying in a bunch along the track, let him follow up without pressing them, or they may over-run the line through excess of zeal. [23]

As soon as they are near the hare and give the huntsman clear evidence of the fact, let him take care, or in her terror of the hounds she will slip away and be off. The hounds, wagging their tails, colliding and frequently jumping over one another, and baying loudly, with heads uplifted and glances at the huntsman, showing him plainly that they have the real thing now, will rouse the hare for themselves and go for her, giving tongue. [24] If she plunges into the purse-nets or bolts past them on the inside or outside, the net-keeper must in each event make it known by shouting. If she is caught, look for another; if not, continue the pursuit, using the same methods of encouragement. [25]

As soon as the hounds are getting tired of pursuing and the day is far advanced, it is time for the huntsman to search for the hare, worn out as she is, passing over nothing growing or lying on the ground, retracing his steps continually for fear of an oversight — since the animal rests in a small space and is too tired and frightened to get up, — bringing the hounds along, encouraging and exhorting the gentle frequently, the wilful sparingly, the average sort in moderation, until

he kills her in a fair run or drives her into the purse-nets. [26]

After this take up the purse-nets and hayes, rub down the hounds and leave the hunting-ground, after waiting, if it be an afternoon in summer, in order that the hounds' feet may not be overheated on the road.

7. For breeding purposes, relieve the bitches of work in the winter, that the rest may help them to produce a fine litter towards spring, which is the best growing season for hounds. They are in heat for fourteen days. [2] Mate them with good dogs near the end of the period, that they may the sooner become pregnant. When they are near their time do not take them out hunting continually, but only now and then, or love of work may result in a miscarriage. The period of gestation is sixty days. [3] After the birth of the puppies leave them with the mother and do not place them under another bitch; for nursing by a foster mother does not promote growth, whereas the mother's milk and breath do them good, and they like her caresses. [4] As soon as the puppies can get about, give them milk for a year, and the food that will form their regular diet, and nothing else. For heavy feeding warps the puppies' legs and sows the seeds of disease in the system, and their insides go wrong. [5]

Give the hounds short names, so as to be able to call to them easily. The following are the right sort: Psyche, Thymus, Porpax, Styra, Lonchê, Lochus, Phrura, Phylax, Taxis, Xiphon, Phonax, Phlegon, Alcê, Teuchon, Hyleus, Medas, Porthon, Sperchon, Orgê, Bremon, Hybris, Thallon, Rhomê, Antheus, Hebe, Getheus, Chara, Leusson, Augo, Polys, Bia, Stichon, Spudê, Bryas, Oenas, Sterrus, Craugê, Caenon, Tyrbas, Sthenon, Aether, Actis, Aechmê, Noes, Gnomê, Stibon, Hormê. [6]

Take the bitches to the hunting ground at eight months, the dogs at ten. Do not slip them on the trail that leads to the form, but keep them in long leashes and follow the tracking hounds, letting the youngsters run to and fro in the tracks. [7] As soon as the hare is found, if they shape well for the run don't let them go at once; but as soon as the hare has got so far ahead in the run that they can't see her, send them along. [8] For if the huntsman slips good-looking, plucky runners close to the hare, the sight of her will cause them to strain themselves and crack, since their bodies are not yet firm. So

she should be very careful about this. [9] But if they are poor runners there is no reason why he should not let them go, for as they have no hope of catching the hare from the first, they will not meet with this accident. On the other hand, let the youngsters follow the track of the hare on the run until they catch her; and when she is caught, give her to them to break up. [10] As soon as they show reluctance to stick to it and begin scattering, call then in, until they grow accustomed to keep on till they find the hare, lest if they get into the way of misbehaving when they seek her, they end by becoming skitters — a vile habit. [11]

Give them their food near the purse-nets so long as they are young, while the nets are being taken up, so that if they have gone astray in the hunting ground, through inexperience, they may come back safe for their meal. This will be discontinued when they come to regard the game as an enemy; they will be too intent on that to worry about their food. [12] As a rule when they are hungry the master should feed the hounds himself; for when they are not hungry they do not know to whom that is due; but when they want food and get it, they love the giver.

8. Track the hare when it snows so hard that the ground is covered; but if there are black spaces, she will be hard to find. When it is cloudy and the wind is in the north, the tracks lie plain on the surface for a long time, because they melt slowly; but only for a short time if the wind is south and the sun shines, since they soon melt away.

But when it snows without stopping, don't attempt it, since the tracks are covered; nor when there is a high wind, since they are buried in the snowdrifts it causes. [2] On no account have the hounds out with you for this kind of sport, for the snow freezes their noses and feet, and destroys the scent of the hare owing to the hard frost. But take the hayes, and go with a companion to the mountains, passing over the cultivated land, and as soon as the tracks are found, follow them. [3] If they are complicated, go back from the same ones to the same place and work round in circles and examine them, trying to find where they lead. The hare roams about uncertain where to rest, and, moreover, it is her habit to be tricky in her movements, because she is constantly being pursued in this manner. [4] As soon as the track is clear, push straight ahead. It will lead either to a thickly wooded spot or to a steep declivity. For the gusts of wind carry the

snow over such places; consequently many resting-places are left, and she looks for one of these. [5] As soon as the tracks lead to such a place, don't go near, or she will move off, but go round and explore. For she is probably there, and there will be no doubt about the matter, since the tracks will nowhere run out from such places. [6] As soon as it is evident that she is there, leave her — for she will not stir — and look for another before the tracks become obscure, and take care, in case you find others, that you will have enough daylight left to surround them with nets. [7] When the time has come, stretch the hayes round each of them in the same way as in places where no snow lies, enclosing anything she may be near, and as soon as they are up, approach and start her. [8] If she wriggles out of the hayes, run after her along the tracks. She will make for other places of the same sort, unless indeed she squeezes herself into the snow itself. Wherever she may be, mark the place and surround it; or, if she doesn't wait, continue the pursuit. For she will be caught even without the hayes; for she soon tires owing to the depth of the snow, and because large lumps of it cling to the bottom of her hairy feet.

9. For hunting fawns and deer use Indian hounds; for they are strong, big, speedy and plucky, and these qualities render them capable of hard work. Hunt the calves in spring, since they are born at that season. [2] First go to the meadows and reconnoitre, to discover where hinds are most plentiful. Wherever they are, let the keeper of the hounds go with the hounds and javelins to this place before daybreak and tie up the dogs to trees some distance off, so that they may not catch sight of the hinds and bark, and let him watch from a coign of vantage. [3] At daybreak he will see every dam leading her fawn to the place where she means to lay it. When they have put them down, suckled them, and looked about to make sure that they are not seen, they move away into the offing and watch their calves. [4] On seeing this, let him loose the dogs, and taking the javelins approach the spot where he saw the nearest fawn laid, carefully observing the positions so as not to make a mistake, since they look quite different when approached from what they seemed to be at a distance. [5] As soon as he sees the fawn, let him go close up to it. It will keep still, squeezing its body tight against the ground, and will let itself be lifted, bleating loudly, unless it is wet through, in

which case it will not stay, since the rapid condensation of the moisture in its body by the cold causes it to make off. [6] But it will be caught by the hounds if hotly pursued. Having taken it, let him give it to the net-keeper. It will cry out; and the sight and the sound between them will bring the hind running up to the holder, in her anxiety to rescue it. [7] That is the moment to set the hounds on her, and ply the javelms. Having settled this one, let him proceed to tackle the rest, hunting them in the same manner. [8]

Young fawns are caught by this method; but big ones are difficult to catch. For they graze with their dams and other deer; and when pursued they make off in the midst of them, or sometimes in front, but rarely in the rear. [9] The hinds trample on the hounds in their efforts to defend their fawns; consequently it is not easy to catch them, unless a man gets amongst them at once and scatters them, so that one of the fawns is isolated. [10] The result of this strain on the hounds is that they are left behind in the first run; for the absence of the hinds fills the creature with terror, and the speed of fawns at that age is without parallel. But they are soon caught in the second or third run, since their bodies are still too young to stand the work. [11]

Caltrops are set for deer in the mountains, about meadows and streams and glades, in alleys and cultivated lands that they frequent. [12] The caltrops should be made of plaited yew, stripped of the bark, so as not to rot. They should have circular crowns, and the nails should be of iron and wood alternately, plaited into the rim, the iron nails being the longer, so that the wooden ones will yield to the foot and the others hurt it. [13] The noose of the cord to be laid on the crown and the cord itself should be of woven esparto, since this is rot-proof. The noose itself and the cord must be strong; and the clog attached must be of common or evergreen oak, twenty-seven inches long, not stripped of the bark, and three inches thick. [14]

To set the caltrops make a round hole in the ground fifteen inches deep, of the same size at the top as the crowns of the traps, but tapering towards the bottom. Make shallow drills in the ground for the cord and the clog to lie in. [15] Having done this lay the caltrop on the hole a little below the surface, and level, and put the noose of the cord round the top. Having laid the cord and the clog in their places, lay spindle-wood twigs on the top, not letting them stick out beyond

the circle, and on these any light leaves in season. [16] Next throw some earth on them, beginning with the surface soil taken from the holes, and on top of this some unbroken soil from a distance, in order that the position may be completely concealed from the deer. Remove any earth remaining over to a place some distance from the caltrop; for if the deer smells earth recently disturbed, it shies; and it is not slow to smell it. [17] Accompanied by the hounds, inspect the traps set in the mountains, preferably at daybreak (but it should be done also at other times during the day), in the cultivated lands early. For in the mountains deer may be caught in the daytime as well as at night owing to the solitude; but on cultivated land only at night, because they are afraid of human beings in the daytime. [18]

On coming across a caltrop upset, slip the hounds, give them a hark-forward, and follow along the track of the clog, noticing which way it runs. That will be clear enough for the most part: for the stones will be displaced and the trail of the clog will be obvious in the cultivated ground; and if the deer crosses rough places, there will be fragments of bark torn from the clog on the rocks, and the pursuit will be all the easier. [19]

If the deer is caught by the fore-foot it will soon be taken, as it hits every part of its body and its face with the clog during the run; or if by the hindleg, the dragging of the clog hampers the whole body; and sometimes it dashes into forked branches of trees, and unless it breaks the cord, is caught on the spot. [20] But, whether you catch it in this way or by wearing it out, don't go near it; for it will butt, if it's a stag, and kick, and if it's a hind, it will kick. So throw javelins at it from a distance.

In the summer months they are also caught by pursuit without the aid of a caltrop; for they get dead beat, so that they are hit standing. When hard pressed, they will even plunge into the sea and into pools in their bewilderment; and occasionally they drop from want of breath.

10. For hunting the wild boar provide yourself with Indian, Cretan, Locrian and Laconian hounds, boar nets, javelins, spears and caltrops. In the first place the hounds of each breed must be of high quality, that they may be qualified to fight the beast. [2] The nets must be made of the same flax as those used for hares, of forty-five

threads woven in three strands, each strand containing fifteen threads. The height should be ten knots, counted from the top, and the depths of the meshes fifteen inches. The ropes at top and bottom must be half as thick again as the nets. There must be metal rings at the elbows, and the ropes must be inserted under the meshes, and their ends must pass out through the rings. Fifteen nets are sufficient. [3]

The javelins must be of every variety, the blades broad and keen, and the shafts strong. The spears must have blades fifteen inches long, and stout teeth at the middle of the socket, forged in one piece but standing out; and their shafts must be of cornel wood, as thick as a military spear. The caltrops must be similar to those used in hunting deer. There must be several huntsmen, for the task of capturing the beast is no light one even for a large number of men. I will now explain how to use each portion of the outfit in hunting. [4]

First then, when the company reach the place where they suppose the game to lurk, let them slip one of the Laconian hounds, and taking the others in leash, go round the place with the hound. [5] As soon as she has found his tracks, let the field follow, one behind another, keeping exactly to the line of the track. The huntsmen also will find many evidences of the quarry, the tracks in soft ground, broken branches where the bushes are thick, and marks of his tusks wherever there are trees. [6] The hound following the track will, as a rule, arrive at a well-wooded spot. For the beast usually lies in such places, since they are warm in winter and cool in summer. As soon as the hound reaches the lair, she will bark. [7] But in most cases the boar will not get up. So take the hound and tie her up with the others at a good distance from the lair, and have the nets put up in the convenient anchorages, hanging the meshes on forked branches of trees. Out of the net itself make a long projecting bosom, putting sticks inside to prop it up on both sides, so that the light of day may penetrate as much as possible into the bosom through the meshes, in order that the interior may be as light as possible when the boar rushes at it. Fasten the (lower) rope to a strong tree, not to a bush, since the bushes give way at the bare stem. Wherever there is a gap between a net and the ground, fill in the places that afford no anchorage with wood, in order that the boar may rush into the net,

and not slip out. [8]

As soon as they are in position, let the party go to the hounds and loose them all, and take the javelins and the spears and advance. Let one man, the most experienced, urge on the hounds, while the others follow in regular order, keeping well behind one another, so that the boar may have a free passage between them; for should he beat a retreat and dash into a crowd, there is a risk of being gored, since he spends his rage on anyone he encounters. [9]

As soon as the hounds are near the lair, they will go for him. The noise will cause him to get up, and he will toss any hound that attacks him in front. He will run and plunge into the nets; or if not, you must pursue him. If the ground where he is caught in the net is sloping, he will quickly get up; if it is level, he will immediately stand still, intent on himself. [10] At this moment the hounds will press their attack, and the huntsmen must fling their javelins at him warily, and pelt him with stones, gathering round behind and a good way off, till he shoves hard enough to pull the rope of the net tight. Then let the most experienced and most powerful man in the field approach him in front and thrust his spear into him. [11] If, in spite of javelins and stones, he refuses to pull the rope tight, but draws back, wheels round and marks his assailant, in that case the man must approach him spear in hand, and grasp it with the left in front and the right behind, since the left steadies while the right drives it. The left foot must follow the left hand forward, and the right foot the other hand. [12] As he advances let him hold the spear before him, with his legs not much further apart than in wrestling, turning the left side towards the left hand, and then watching the beast's eye and noting the movement of the fellow's head. Let him present the spear, taking care that the boar doesn't knock it out of his hand with a jerk of his head, since he follows up the impetus of the sudden knock. [13] In case this accident should happen, the man must fall on his face and clutch the undergrowth beneath him, for, if the beast attacks him in this position, he is unable to lift the man's body owing to the upward curve of his tusks; but if his body is off the ground, the man is certain to be gored. Consequently the boar tries to lift him up, and, if he cannot, he stands over and tramples on him. [14] For a man in this critical situation there is only one escape from these disasters. One of

his fellow huntsmen must approach with a spear and provoke the boar by making as though he would hurl it; but he must not hurl it, or he may hit the man on the ground. [15] On seeing this the boar will leave the man under him and turn savagely and furiously on his tormentor. The other must jump up instantly, remembering to keep his spear in his hand as he rises, for safety without victory is not honourable. [16] He must again present the spear in the same way as before, and thrust it inside the shoulder-blade where the throat is, and push with all his might. The enraged beast will come on, and but for the teeth of the blade, would shove himself forward along the shaft far enough to reach the man holding the spear. [17]

His strength is so great that he has some peculiar properties which one would never imagine him to possess. Thus, if you lay hairs on his tusks immediately after he is dead, they shrivel up, such is the heat of the tusks. While he is alive they become intensely hot whenever he is provoked, or the surface of the hounds' coats would not be singed when he tries to gore them and misses. [18]

All this trouble, and even more, the male animal causes before he is caught. If the creature in the toils is a sow, run up and stick her, taking care not to be knocked down. Such an accident is bound to result in your being trampled and bitten. So don't fall under her, if you can help it. If you get into that position unintentionally, the same aids to rise that are used to assist a man under a boar are employed. When on your feet again, you must ply the spear until you kill her. [19]

Another way of capturing them is as follows. The nets are set up for them at the passages from glens into oak coppices, dells and rough places, on the outskirts of meadows, fens and sheets of water. The keeper, spear in hand, watches the nets. The huntsmen take the hounds and search for the likeliest places. As soon as the boar is found, he is pursued. If he falls into the net, the net-keeper must take [20] his spear, approach the boar, and use it as I have explained. The boar is also captured, in hot weather, when pursued by the hounds; for in spite of his prodigious strength, the animal tires with hard breathing. [21] Many hounds are killed in this kind of sport, and the huntsmen themselves run risks, whenever in the course of the pursuit they are forced to approach a boar with their spears in their hands,

when he is tired or standing in water or has posted himself by a steep declivity or is unwilling to come out of a thicket; for neither net nor anything else stops him from rushing at anyone coming near him. Nevertheless approach they must in these circumstances, and show the pluck that led them to take up this hobby. [22] They must use the spear and the forward position of the body as explained; then, if a man does come to grief, it will not be through doing things the wrong way.

Caltrops are also set for them as for the deer and in the same places. The routine of inspection and pursuit, the methods of approach and the use of the spear are the same. [23]

The young pigs are not to be caught without difficulty. For they are not left alone so long as they are little, and when the hounds find them or they see something coming, they quickly vanish into the wood; and they are generally accompanied by both parents, who are fierce at such times and more ready to fight for their young than for themselves.

11. Lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears and all similar wild beasts are captured in foreign countries, about Mt. Pangaeus and Cittus beyond Macedonia, on Mysian Olympus and Pindus, on Nysa beyond Syria, and in other mountain ranges capable of supporting such animals. [2] On the mountains they are sometimes poisoned, owing to the difficulty of the ground, with aconite. Hunters put it down mixed with the animals' favourite food round pools and in other places that they frequent. [3] Sometimes, while they are going down to the plain at night, they are cut off by parties of armed and mounted men. This is a dangerous method of capturing them. [4] Sometimes the hunters dig large, round, deep holes, leaving a pillar of earth in the middle. They tie up a goat and put it on the pillar in the evening, and pile wood round the hole without leaving an entrance, so that the animals cannot see what lies in front. On hearing the bleating in the night, the beasts run round the barrier, and finding no opening, jump over and are caught.

12. With the practical side of hunting I have finished. But the advantages that those who have been attracted by this pursuit will gain are many. For it makes the body healthy, improves the sight and hearing, and keeps men from growing old; and it affords the best

training for war. [2] In the first place, when marching over rough roads under arms, they will not tire: accustomed to carry arms for capturing wild beasts, they will bear up under their tasks. Again, they will be capable of sleeping on a hard bed and of guarding well the place assigned to them. [3] In an attack on the enemy they will be able to go for him and at the same time to carry out the orders that are passed along, because they are used to do the same things on their own account when capturing the game. If their post is in the van they will not desert it, because they can endure. [4] In the rout of the enemy they will make straight for the foe without a slip over any kind of ground, through habit. If part of their own army has met with disaster in ground rendered difficult by woods and defiles or what not, they will manage to save themselves without loss of honour and to save others. For their familiarity with the business will give them knowledge that others lack. [5] Indeed, it has happened before now, when a great host of allies has been put to flight, that a little band of such men, through their fitness and confidence, has renewed the battle and routed the victorious enemy when he has blundered owing to difficulties in the ground. For men who are sound in body and mind may always stand on the threshold of success. [6] It was because they knew that they owed their successes against the enemy to such qualities that our ancestors looked after the young men. For in spite of the scarcity of corn it was their custom from the earliest times not to prevent hunters from hunting over any growing crops; and, in addition, not to permit hunting at [7] night within a radius of many furlongs from the city, so that the masters of that art might not rob the young men of their game. In fact they saw that this is the only one among the pleasures of the younger men that produces a rich crop of blessings. For it makes sober and upright men of them, because they are trained in the school of truth (and they perceived [8] that to these men they owed their success in war, as in other matters); and it does not keep them from any other honourable occupation they wish to follow, like other and evil pleasures that they ought not to learn. Of such men, therefore, are good soldiers and good generals made. [9] For they whose toils root out whatever is base and froward from mind and body and make desire for virtue to flourish in their place — they are the best, since they will not brook injustice to their

own city nor injury to its soil. [10]

Some say that it is not right to love hunting, because it may lead to neglect of one's domestic affairs. They are not aware that all who benefit their cities and their friends are more attentive to their domestic affairs than other men. [11] Therefore, if keen sportsmen fit themselves to be useful to their country in matters of vital moment, neither will they be remiss in their private affairs: for the state is necessarily concerned both in the safety and in the ruin of the individual's domestic fortunes. Consequently such men as these save the fortunes of every other individual as well as their own. [12] But many of those who talk in this way, blinded by jealousy, choose to be ruined through their own evil rather than be saved by other men's virtue. For most pleasures are evil, and by yielding to these they are encouraged either to say or to do what is wrong. [13] Then by their frivolous words they make enemies, and by their evil deeds bring diseases and losses and death on themselves, their children and their friends, being without perception of the evils, but more perceptive than others of the pleasures. Who would employ these to save a state? [14] From these evils, however, everyone who loves that which I recommend will hold aloof, since a good education teaches a man to observe laws, to talk of righteousness and hear of it. [15] Those, then, who have given themselves up to continual toil and learning hold for their own portion laborious lessons and exercises, but they hold safety for their cities. But if any decline to receive instruction because of the labour and prefer to live among untimely pleasures, they are by nature utterly evil. [16] For they obey neither laws nor good words, for because they toil not, they do not discover what a good man ought to be, so that they cannot be pious or wise men; and being without education they constantly find fault with the educated. [17] In these men's hands, therefore, nothing can prosper. All discoveries that have benefited mankind are due to the better sort. Now the better sort are those who are willing to toil. And this has been proved by a great example. [18] For among the ancients the companions of Cheiron to whom I referred learnt many noble lessons in their youth, beginning with hunting; from these lessons there sprang in them great virtue, for which they are admired even today. That all desire Virtue is obvious, but because they must toil if they

are to gain her, the many fall away. [19] For the achievement of her is hidden in obscurity, whereas the toils inseparable from her are manifest.

It may be that, if her body were visible, men would be less careless of virtue, knowing that she sees them as clearly as they see her. [20] For when he is seen by his beloved every man rises above himself and shrinks from what is ugly and evil in word or deed, for fear of being seen by him. [21] But in the presence of Virtue men do many evil and ugly things, supposing that they are not regarded by her because they do not see her. Yet she is present everywhere because she is immortal, and she honours those who are good to her, but casts off the bad. Therefore, if men knew that she is watching them, they would be impatient to undergo the toils and the discipline by which she is hardly to be captured, and would achieve her.

13. I am surprised at the sophists, as they are called, because, though most of them profess to lead the young to virtue they lead them to the very opposite. We have never seen anywhere the man whose goodness was due to the sophists of our generation. Neither do their contributions to literature tend to make men good: but they have written [2] many books on frivolous subjects, books that offer the young empty pleasures, but put no virtue into them. To read them in the hope of learning something from them is mere waste of time, and they keep one from useful occupations and teach what is bad. [3] Therefore their grave faults incur my graver censure. As for the style of their writings, I complain that the language is far-fetched, and there is no trace in them of wholesome maxims by which the young might be trained to virtue. [4] I am no professor, but I know that the best thing is to be taught what is good by one's own nature, and the next best thing is to get it from those who really know something good instead of being taught by masters of the art of deception. [5] I daresay that I do not express myself in the language of a sophist; in fact, that is not my object: my object is rather to give utterance to wholesome thoughts that will meet the needs of readers well educated in virtue. For words will not educate, but maxims, if well found. [6] Many others besides myself blame the sophists of our generation — philosophers I will not call them — because the wisdom they profess consists of words and not of thoughts.

I am well aware that someone, perhaps one of this set, will say that what is well and methodically written is not well and methodically written — for hasty and false censure will come easily to them. [7] But my aim in writing has been to produce sound work that will make men not wiseacres, but wise and good. For I wish my work not to seem useful, but to be so, that it may stand for all time unrefuted. [8] The sophists talk to deceive and write for their own gain, and do no good to anyone. For there is not, and there never was, a wise man among them; everyone of them is content to be called a sophist, which is a term of reproach among sensible men. So my advice is: [9] Avoid the behests of the sophists, and despise not the conclusions of the philosophers; for the sophists hunt the rich and young, but the philosophers are friends to all alike: but as for men's fortunes, they neither honour nor despise them. [10]

Envy not those either who recklessly seek their own advantage whether in private or in public life — bear in mind that the best of them, though they are favourably judged, are envied, and the bad both fare badly and are unfavourably judged. [11] For engaged in robbing private persons of their property, or plundering the state, they render less service than private persons when plans for securing the common safety are afoot, and in body they are disgracefully unfit for war because they are incapable of toil. But huntsmen offer their lives and their property in sound condition for the service of the citizens. [12] These attack the wild beasts, those others their friends. And whereas those who attack their friends earn infamy by general consent, huntsmen by attacking the wild beasts gain a good report. For if they make a capture, they win victory over enemy forces: and if they fail, they are commended, in the first place, because they assail powers hostile to the whole community; and, secondly, because they go out neither to harm a man nor for sordid gain. [13] Moreover, the very attempt makes them better in many ways and wiser; and we will give the reason. Unless they abound in labours and inventions and precautions, they cannot capture game. [14] For the forces contending with them, fighting for their life and in their own home, are in great strength; so that the huntsman's labours are in vain, unless by greater perseverance and by much intelligence he can overcome them. [15]

In fine, the politician whose objects are selfish practises for victory over friends, the huntsman for victory over common foes. This practice makes the one a better, the other a far worse fighter against all other enemies. The one takes prudence with him for companion in the chase, the other base rashness. [16] The one can despise malice and avarice, the other cannot. The language of the one is gracious, of the other ugly. As for religion, nothing checks impiety in the one, the other is conspicuous for his piety. [17] In fact, an ancient story has it that the gods delight in this business, both as followers and spectators of the chase. Therefore, reflecting on these things, the young who do what I exhort them to do will put themselves in the way of being dear to the gods and pious men, conscious that one or other of the gods is watching their deeds. These will be good to parents, good to the whole city, to every one of their friends and fellow-citizens. [18] For all men who have loved hunting have been good: and not men only, but those women also to whom the goddess has given this blessing, Atalanta and Procris and others like them.

HIERO



Translated by E. C. Marchant

Set circa 474 B.C., this short work is composed as a dialogue between Hiero, the tyrant of Syracuse, and the lyric poet Simonides. In the dialogue, Xenophon argues that a tyrant has no more access to happiness than a private person.



Hieron I was the tyrant of Syracuse in Sicily from 478 to 467 BC. During his reign, he greatly increased the power of Syracuse. He removed the inhabitants of Naxos and Catana to Leontini, peopled Catana, which he renamed Aetna, with Dorians, concluded an alliance with Agragas (Agrigentum) and espoused the cause of the Locrians against Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium.

HIERO

1. Simonides, the poet, once paid a visit to Hiero, the despot. When both found time to spare, Simonides said: "Hiero, will you please explain something to me that you probably know better than I?"

"And pray what is it," said Hiero, "that I can know better than one so wise as yourself?" [2]

"I know you were born a private citizen," he answered, "and are now a despot. Therefore, as you have experienced both fortunes, you probably know better than I how the lives of the despot and the citizen differ as regards the joys and sorrows that fall to man's lot." [3]

"Surely," said Hiero, "seeing that you are still a private citizen, it is for you to remind me of what happens in a citizen's life; and then, I think, I could best show you the differences between the two." [4]

"Well," said Simonides, taking the suggestion, "I think I have observed that sights affect private citizens with pleasure and pain through the eyes, sounds through the ears, smells through the nostrils, meat and drink through the mouth, carnal appetites — of course we all know how. [5] In the case of cold and heat, things hard and soft, light and heavy, our sensations of pleasure and pain depend on the whole body, I think. In good and evil we seem to feel pleasure or pain, as the case may be — sometimes through the instrumentality of the moral being only, at other times through that of the moral and the physical being together. [6] Sleep, it seems clear to me, affects us with pleasure; but how and by what means and when are puzzles that I feel less able to solve. And perhaps it is no matter for surprise if our sensations are clearer when we are awake than when we are asleep." [7]

"For my part, Simonides," said Hiero in answer to this, "I cannot say how a despot could have any sensations apart from those you have mentioned. So far, therefore, I fail to see that the despot's life differs in any respect from the citizen's." [8]

"In this respect it does differ," said Simonides: "the pleasures it experiences by means of these various organs are infinitely greater in number, and the pains it undergoes are far fewer."

"It is not so, Simonides," retorted Hiero; "I assure you far fewer

pleasures fall to despots than to citizens of modest means, and many more and much greater pains.”

“Incredible!” exclaimed Simonides. [9] “Were it so, how should a despot’s throne be an object of desire to many, even of those who are reputed to be men of ample means? And how should all the world envy despots?” [10]

“For this reason of course,” said Hiero, “that they speculate on the subject without experience of both estates. But I will try to show you that I am speaking the truth, beginning with the sense of sight. That was your first point, if I am not mistaken. [11]

“In the first place, then, taking the objects that we perceive by means of vision, I find by calculation that in regard to sight-seeing, despots are worse off. In every land there are things worth seeing: and in search of these private citizens visit any city they choose, and attend the national festivals, where all things reputed to be most worth seeing are assembled. [12] But despots are not at all concerned with missions to shows. For it is risky for them to go where they will be no stronger than the crowd, and their property at home is too insecure to be left in charge of others while they are abroad. For they fear to lose their throne, and at the same time to be unable to take vengeance on the authors of the wrong. Perhaps you may say: [13] ‘But, after all, such spectacles come to them even if they stay at home.’ No, no, Simonides, only one in a hundred such; and what there are of them are offered to despots at a price so exorbitant that showmen who exhibit some trifle expect to leave the court in an hour with far more money than they get from all the rest of the world in a lifetime.” [14]

“Ah,” said Simonides, “but if you are worse off in the matter of sight-seeing, the sense of hearing, you know, gives you the advantage. Praise, the sweetest of all sounds, is never lacking, for all your courtiers praise everything you do and every word you utter. Abuse, on the contrary, that most offensive of sounds, is never in your ears, for no one likes to speak evil of a despot in his presence.” [15]

“And what pleasure,” asked Hiero, “comes, do you suppose, of this shrinking from evil words, when one knows well that all harbour evil thoughts against the despot, in spite of their silence? Or what

pleasure comes of this praise, do you think, when the praises sound suspiciously like flattery?" [16]

"Well yes," replied Simonides, "in this of course I agree with you entirely, Hiero, that praise from the freest is sweetest. But this, now, you will not persuade anyone to believe, that the things which support human life do not yield you a far greater number of pleasures." [17]

"Yes, Simonides, and I know that the reason why most men judge that we have more enjoyment in eating and drinking than private citizens is this; they think that they themselves would find the dinner served at our table better eating than what they get. Anything, in fact, that is better than what they are accustomed to gives them pleasure. [18] This is why all men look forward to the festivals, except the despots. For their table is always laden with plenty, and admits of no extras on feast days. Here then is one pleasure in respect of which they are worse off than the private citizen, the pleasure of anticipation. [19] But further, your own experience tells you, I am sure, that the greater the number of superfluous dishes set before a man, the sooner a feeling of repletion comes over him; and so, as regards the duration of his pleasure too, the man who has many courses put before him is worse off than the moderate liver." [20]

"But surely," said Simonides, "so long as the appetite holds out, the man who dines at the costlier banquet has far more pleasure than he who is served with the cheaper meal." [21]

"Don't you think, Simonides, that the greater a man's pleasure in any occupation the stronger is his devotion to it?"

"Certainly."

"Then do you notice that despots fall to their meal with any more zest than private persons to theirs?"

"No, no, of course not; I should rather say with more disgust, according to the common opinion." [22]

"Well now," said Hiero, "have you observed all those pickles and sauces that are put before despots — acid, bitter, astringent and so forth?"

"Yes, certainly; and very unnatural cates I think them for human beings." [23]

"Don't you look on these condiments, then, as mere fads of a

jaded and pampered appetite? I know well enough, and I expect you know too, that hearty eaters have no need of these concoctions.” [24]

“Well, I certainly think that those costly unguents with which you anoint your bodies afford more satisfaction to those who are near you than to yourselves, just as the man who has eaten rank food is less conscious of the disagreeable smell than those who come near him.” [25]

“Quite so, and we may add that he who has all sorts of food at all times has no stomach for any sort. Offer a man a dish that he seldom tastes, and he eats a bellyful with gusto.” [26]

“It seems,” remarked Simonides, “as if the satisfaction of the sexual appetites were the only motive that produces in you the craving for despotism. For in this matter you are free to enjoy the fairest that meets your eye.” [27]

“I assure you that we are worse off than private citizens in the matter to which you now refer. First take marriage. It is commonly held that a marriage into a family of greater wealth and influence is most honourable, and is a source of pride and pleasure to the bridegroom. Next to that comes a marriage with equals. A marriage with inferiors is considered positively degrading and useless. [28] Now unless a despot marries a foreign girl, he is bound to marry beneath him; and so the thing to be desired does not come his way. And whereas it is exceedingly pleasant to receive the attentions of the proudest of ladies, the attentions of slaves are quite unappreciated when shown, and any little shortcomings produce grievous outbursts of anger and annoyance. [29]

“In his relations with young boys, again, even much more than in his relations with women, the despot is at a disadvantage. We all know, I suppose, that passion increases the sweets of sex beyond measure. [30] Passion, however, is very shy of entering the heart of a despot, for passion is fain to desire not the easy prize, but the hoped-for joy. Therefore, just as a man who is a stranger to thirst can get no satisfaction out of drinking, so he who is a stranger to passion is a stranger to the sweetest pleasures of sex.” [31]

To this speech of Hiero’s Simonides replied, laughing:

“How say you, Hiero? You deny that love for boys springs up in a despot’s heart? Then how about your passion for Dailochus, whom

they call most fair?" [32]

"Why, Simonides, the explanation, of course, is this: I desire to get from him not what I may have, apparently, for the asking, but that which a despot should be the last to take. [33] The fact is, I desire of Dailochus just that which human nature, maybe, drives us to ask of the fair. But what I long to get, I very strongly desire to obtain by his goodwill, and with his consent; but I think I could sooner desire to do myself an injury than to take it from him by force. [34] For to take from an enemy against his will is, I think, the greatest of all pleasures, but favours from a loved one are very pleasant, I fancy, only when he consents. [35] For instance, if he is in sympathy with you, how pleasant are his looks, how pleasant his questions and his answers; how very pleasant and ravishing are the struggles and bickerings. [36] But to take advantage of a favourite against his will seems to me more like brigandage than love. Nay, your brigand finds some pleasure in his gain and in hurting his foe; but to feel pleasure in hurting one whom you love, to be hated for your affection, to disgust him by your touch, surely that is a mortifying experience and pitiful! [37] The fact is, a private citizen has instant proof that any act of compliance on the part of his beloved is prompted by affection, since he knows that the service rendered is due to no compulsion; but the despot can never feel sure that he is loved. [38] For we know that acts of service prompted by fear copy as closely as possible the ministrations of affection. Indeed, even plots against despots as often as not are the work of those who profess the deepest affection for them."

2. To this Simonides replied: "Well, the points that you raise seem to me mere trifles. For I notice that many respected men willingly go short in the matter of meat and drink and delicacies, and deliberately abstain from sexual indulgence. [2] But I will show you where you have a great advantage over private citizens. Your objects are vast, your attainment swift: you have luxuries in abundance: you own horses unequalled in excellence, arms unmatched in beauty, superb jewelry for women, stately houses full of costly furniture: moreover you have servants many in number and excellent in accomplishments and you are rich in power to harm enemies and reward friends."

To this Hiero answered: [3] "Well, Simonides, that the multitude

should be deceived by despotic power surprises me not at all, since the mob seems to guess wholly by appearances that one man is happy, another miserable. [4] Despotism flaunts its seeming precious treasures outspread before the gaze of the world: but its troubles it keeps concealed in the heart of the despot, in the place where human happiness and unhappiness are stored away. [5] That this escapes the observation of the multitude I say, I am not surprised. But what does seem surprising to me is that men like you, whose intelligence is supposed to give you a clearer view of most things than your eyes, should be equally blind to it. [6] But I know well enough by experience, Simonides, and I tell you that despots get the smallest share of the greatest blessings, and have most of the greatest evils. [7] Thus, for instance, if peace is held to be a greatest blessing to mankind, very little of it falls to the share of despots: if war is a great evil, of that despots receive the largest share. [8] To begin with, so long as their state is not engaged in a war in which all take part, private citizens are free to go wherever they choose without fear of being killed. But all despots move everywhere as in an enemy's country; at any rate they think they are bound to wear arms continually themselves, and to take an armed escort about with them at all times. [9]

“Secondly, in the event of an expedition against an enemy's country, private citizens at least think themselves safe as soon as they have come home. But when despots reach their own city, they know that they are now among more enemies than ever. [10] Again, suppose that strangers invade their city in superior force; true, the weaker are conscious of danger while they are outside the walls; yet once they are inside the fortress, all feel themselves bestowed in safety. But the despot is not out of danger even when he passes within the palace gates; nay, it is just there that he thinks he must walk most warily. [11] Once again, to private citizens a truce or peace brings rest from war; but despots are never at peace with the people subject to their despotism, and no truce can ever make a despot confident. [12]

“There are, of course, wars that are waged by states against one another, and wars waged by the despot against his oppressed subjects. Now the hardships incidental to these wars that fall on the citizen fall also on the despot. [13] For both must wear arms, be

watchful, run risks; and the sting of a defeat is felt by both alike. [14] So far, then, both are equally affected by wars. But the joys that fall to the citizens of states at war are not experienced by despots. [15] For, you know, when states defeat their foes in a battle, words fail one to describe the joy they feel in the rout of the enemy, in the pursuit, in the slaughter of the enemy. What transports of triumphant pride! What a halo of glory about them! What comfort to think that they have exalted their city! [16] Everyone is crying: 'I had a share in the plan, I killed most'; and it's hard to find where they don't revel in falsehood, claiming to have killed more than all that were really slain. So glorious it seems to them to have won a great victory! [17] But when a despot harbours suspicion, and, well aware that opposition is on foot, puts the conspirators to death, he knows that he does not exalt the city as a whole; he understands that the number of his subjects will be less; he cannot look cheerful; nor does he boast himself of his achievement; nay, he belittles the occurrence as much as possible, and explains, while he is at the work, that there is nothing wrong in what he has done, so far are his deeds from seeming honourable even to himself. [18] Even the death of those whom he feared does not restore him to confidence; he is yet more on his guard afterwards than before. And now I have shown you the kind of war that a despot wages continually.

3. "Turn next to friendship, and behold how despots share in it. First let us consider whether friendship is a great blessing to mankind. [2] When a man is loved by friends, I take it, they rejoice at his presence, delight to do him good, miss him when he is absent, greet him most joyfully on his return, rejoice with him in his good fortune, unite in aiding him when they see him tripping. Even states are not blind to the fact that friendship is a very great blessing, and very delightful to men. At any rate, many states have a law that adulterers only may be put to death with impunity, obviously for this reason, because they believe them to be destroyers of the wife's friendship with her husband; [4] although, when a woman's lapse is the result of some accident, husbands do not honour their wives any less on that account, provided that wives seem to reserve their affection unblemished. [5] In my judgment, to be loved is a blessing so precious that I believe good things fall literally of themselves on

him who is loved from gods and men alike. [6]

“Such, then, is the nature of this possession — a possession wherein despots above all other men are stinted. If you want to know that I am speaking the truth, Simonides, consider the question in this way. [7] The firmest friendships, I take it, are supposed to be those that unite parents to children, children to parents, wives to husbands, comrades to comrades. [8] Now you will find, if you will but observe, that private citizens are, in fact, loved most deeply by these. But what of despots? Many have slain their own children; many have themselves been murdered by their children; many brothers, partners in despotism, have perished by each other’s hand; many have been destroyed even by their own wives, aye, and by comrades whom they accounted their closest friends. [9] Seeing, then, that they are so hated by those who are bound by natural ties and constrained by custom to love them most, how are we to suppose that they are loved by any other being?

4. “Next take confidence. Surely he who has very little of that is stinted in a great blessing? What companionship is pleasant without mutual trust? What intercourse between husband and wife is delightful without confidence? What squire is pleasant if he is not trusted? [2] Now of this confidence in others despots enjoy the smallest share. They go in constant suspicion even of their meat and drink; they bid their servitors taste them first, before the libation is offered to the gods, because of their misgiving that they may sup poison in the dish or the bowl. [3] Again, to all other men their fatherland is very precious. For citizens ward one another without pay from their slaves and from evildoers, to the end that none of the citizens may perish by a violent death. [4] They have gone so far in measures of precaution that many have made a law whereby even the companion of the bloodguilty is deemed impure; and so — thanks to the fatherland — every citizen lives in security. [5] But for despots the position is the reverse in this case too. Instead of avenging them, the cities heap honours on the slayer of the despot; and, whereas they exclude the murderers of private persons from the temples, the cities, so far from treating assassins in the same manner, actually put up statues of them in the holy places. [6]

“If you suppose that just because he has more possessions than the

private citizen, the despot gets more enjoyment out of them, this is not so either, Simonides. Trained athletes feel no pleasure when they prove superior to amateurs, but they are cut to the quick when they are beaten by a rival athlete; in like manner the despot feels no pleasure when he is seen to possess more than private citizens, but is vexed when he has less than other despots; for he regards them as his rivals in wealth. [7] Nor even does the despot gain the object of his desire any quicker than the private citizen. For the private citizen desires a house or a farm or a servant; but the despot covets cities or wide territory or harbours or strong citadels, and these are far more difficult and perilous to acquire than the objects that attract the citizen. [8] And, moreover, you will find that even poverty is rarer among private citizens than among despots. For much and little are to be measured not by number, but in relation to the owner's needs; so that what is more than enough is much, and what is less than enough is little. [9] Therefore, the despot with his abundance of wealth has less to meet his necessary expenses than the private citizen. For while private citizens can cut down the daily expenditure as they please, despots cannot, since the largest items in their expenses and the most essential are the sums they spend on the life-guards, and to curtail any of these means ruin. [10] Besides, when men can have all they need by honest means, why pity them as though they were poor? May not those who through want of money are driven to evil and unseemly expedients in order to live, more justly be accounted wretched and poverty-stricken? [11] Now, despots are not seldom forced into the crime of robbing temples and their fellow men through chronic want of cash to meet their necessary expenses. Living, as it were, in a perpetual state of war, they are forced to maintain an army, or they perish.

5. "Despots are oppressed by yet another trouble, Simonides, which I will tell you of. They recognize a stout-hearted, a wise or an upright man as easily as private citizens do. But instead of admiring such men, they fear them, — the brave lest they strike a bold stroke for freedom, the wise lest they hatch a plot, the upright lest the people desire them for leaders. [2] When they get rid of such men through fear, who are left for their use, save only the unrighteous, the vicious and the servile, — the unrighteous being trusted because, like

the despots, they fear that the cities may some day shake off the yoke and prove their masters, the vicious on account of the licence they enjoy as things are, the servile because even they themselves have no desire for freedom? This too, then, is a heavy trouble, in my opinion, to see the good in some men, and yet perforce to employ others. [3]

“Furthermore, even a despot must needs love his city, for without the city he can enjoy neither safety nor happiness. But despotism forces him to find fault even with his fatherland. For he has no pleasure in seeing that the citizens are stout-hearted and well armed; rather he delights to make the foreigners more formidable than the citizens, and these he employs as a body-guard. [4] Again, even when favourable seasons yield abundance of good things, the despot is a stranger to the general joy; for the needier the people, the humbler he thinks to find them.

6. “But now, Simonides,” he continued, “I want to show you all those delights that were mine when I was a private citizen, but which I now find are withheld from me since the day I became a despot. [2] I communed with my fellows then: they pleased me and I pleased them. I communed with myself whenever I desired rest. I passed the time in carousing, often till I forgot all the troubles of mortal life, often till my soul was absorbed in songs and revels and dances, often till the desire of sleep fell on me and all the company. [3] But now I am cut off from those who had pleasure in me, since slaves instead of friends are my comrades; I am cut off from my pleasant intercourse with them, since I see in them no sign of good-will towards me. Drink and sleep I avoid as a snare. [4] To fear a crowd, and yet fear solitude, to fear to go unguarded, and yet fear the very men who guard you, to recoil from attendants unarmed and yet dislike to see them armed — surely that is a cruel predicament! [5] And then, to trust foreigners more than citizens, strangers more than Greeks, to long to keep free men slaves, and yet be forced to make slaves free — do you not think that all these are sure tokens of a soul that is crushed with fear? [6] Fear, you know, is not only painful in itself by reason of its presence in the soul, but by haunting us even in our pleasures it spoils them utterly. [7]

“If, like me, you are acquainted with war, Simonides, and ever had the enemy’s battle-line close in front of you, call to mind what

sort of food you ate at that time, and what sort of sleep you slept. [8] I tell you, the pains that despots suffer are such as you suffered then. Nay, they are still more terrible; for despots believe that they see enemies not in front alone, but all around them.”

To this Simonides made answer: [9] “Excellent words in part, I grant! War is indeed a fearsome thing: nevertheless, Hiero, our way, when we are on active service, is this: we post sentries to guard us, and sup and sleep with a good courage.”

Then Hiero answered: [10] “No doubt you do, Simonides! For your sentries have sentries in front of them — the laws, — and so they fear for their own skins and relieve you of fear. But despots hire their guards like harvesters. [11] Now the chief qualification required in the guards, I presume, is faithfulness. But it is far harder to find one faithful guard than hundreds of workmen for any kind of work, especially when money supplies the guards, and they have it in their power to get far more in a moment by assassinating the despot than they receive from him for years of service among his guards. [12]

“You said that you envy us our unrivalled power to confer benefits on our friends, and our unrivalled success in crushing our enemies. But that is another delusion. [13] For how can you possibly feel that you benefit friends when you know well that he who receives most from you would be delighted to get out of your sight as quickly as possible? For, no matter what a man has received from a despot, nobody regards it as his own, until he is outside the giver’s dominion. [14] Or again, how can you say that despots more than others are able to crush enemies, when they know well that all who are subject to their despotism are their enemies and that it is impossible to put them all to death or imprison them — else who will be left for the despot to rule over? — and, knowing them to be their enemies, they must beware of them, and, nevertheless, must needs make use of them? [15] And I can assure you of this, Simonides: when a despot fears any citizen, he is reluctant to see him alive, and yet reluctant to put him to death. To illustrate my point, suppose that a good horse makes his master afraid that he will do him some fatal mischief: the man will feel reluctant to slaughter him on account of his good qualities, and yet his anxiety lest the animal may work some fatal mischief in a moment of danger will make him reluctant to keep

him alive and use him. [16] Yes, and this is equally true of all possessions that are troublesome as well as useful: it is painful to possess them, and painful to get rid of them.”

7. These statements drew from Simonides the following reply: “A great thing, surely, Hiero, is the honour for which men strive so earnestly that they undergo any toil and endure any danger to win it! [2] And what if despotism brings all those troubles that you tell of, yet such men as you, it seems, rush headlong into it that you may have honour, that all men may carry out your behests in all things without question, that the eyes of all may wait on you, that all may rise from their seats and make way for you, that all in your presence may glorify you by deed and word alike. (Such, in fact, is the behaviour of subjects to despots and to anyone else who happens to be their hero at the moment.) [3] For indeed it seems to me, Hiero, that in this man differs from other animals — I mean, in this craving for honour. In meat and drink and sleep and sex all creatures alike seem to take pleasure; but love of honour is rooted neither in the brute beasts nor in every human being. But they in whom is implanted a passion for honour and praise, these are they who differ most from the beasts of the field, these are accounted men and not mere human beings. [4] And so, in my opinion, you have good reason for bearing all those burdens that despotism lays on you, in that you are honoured above all other men. For no human joy seems to be more nearly akin to that of heaven than the gladness which attends upon honours.”

To this Hiero replied: [5] “Ah, Simonides, I think even the honours enjoyed by despots bear a close resemblance to their courtships, as I have described them to you. [6] The services of the indifferent seemed to us not acts of grace, and favours extorted appeared to give no pleasure. And so it is with the services proffered by men in fear: they are not honours. [7] For how can we say that men who are forced to rise from their seats rise to honour their oppressors, or that men who make way for their superiors desire to honour their oppressors? [8] And as for presents, most men offer them to one whom they hate, and that too at the moment when they have cause to fear some evil at his hands. These acts, I suppose, may not unfairly be taken for acts of servility; but honours, I should say, express the very opposite feelings. [9] For whenever men feel that some person is competent to

be their benefactor, and come to regard him as the fountain of blessings, so that henceforward his praise is ever on their lips, everyone of them looks on him as his peculiar blessing, they make way for him spontaneously and rise from their seats, through love and not through fear, crown him for his generosity and beneficence, and bring him freewill offerings, these same men in my opinion, honour that person truly by such services, and he who is accounted worthy of them is honoured in very deed. [10] And, for myself, I count him a happy man who is honoured thus; for I perceive that, instead of being exposed to treason, he is an object of solicitude, lest harm befall him, and he lives his life unassailed by fear and malice and danger, and enjoys unbroken happiness. But what is the despot's lot? I tell you, Simonides, he lives day and night like one condemned by the judgment of all men to die for his wickedness." [11]

When Simonides had listened to all this he asked: "Pray, how comes it, Hiero, if despotism is a thing so vile, and this is your verdict, that you do not rid yourself of so great an evil, and that none other, for that matter, who has once acquired it, ever yet surrendered despotic power?" [12]

"Simonides," said he, "this is the crowning misery of despotic power, that it cannot even be got rid of. For how could any despot ever find means to repay in full all whom he has robbed, or himself serve all the terms of imprisonment that he has inflicted? Or how could he forfeit a life for every man whom he has put to death? [13] Ah, Simonides," he cried, "if it profits any man to hang himself, know what my finding is: a despot has most to gain by it, since he alone can neither keep nor lay down his troubles with profit."

8. "Well, Hiero," retorted Simonides, "I am not surprised that you are out of heart with despotism for the moment, since you hold that it cuts you off from gaining the affection of mankind, which you covet. Nevertheless, I think I can show you that rule so far from being a bar to popularity, actually has the advantage of a citizen's life. [2] In trying to discover whether this is so, let us for the time being pass over the question whether the ruler, because of his greater power, is able to confer more favours. Assume that the citizen and the despot act alike, and consider which of the two wins the greater measure of gratitude from the same actions.

“You shall have the most trifling examples to begin with. [3] First, suppose that two men greet someone with a friendly remark on seeing him. One is a ruler, the other a citizen. In this case which greeting, do you think, is the more delightful to the hearer? Or again, both commend the same man. Which commendation, do you think, is the more welcome? Suppose that each does the honours when he offers sacrifice. Which invitation, think you, will be accepted with the more sincere thanks? [4] Suppose they are equally attentive to a sick man. Is it not obvious that the attentions of the mightiest bring most comfort to the patient? Suppose they give presents of equal value. Is it not clear in this case too that half the number of favours bestowed by the mightiest count for more than the whole of the plain citizen’s gift? [5] Nay, to my way of thinking, even the gods cause a peculiar honour and favour to dance attendance on a great ruler. For not only does rule add dignity of presence to a man, but we find more pleasure in the sight of that man when he is a ruler than when he is a mere citizen, and we take more pride in the conversation of those who rank above us than in that of our equals. [6] And favourites, mark you, who were the subject of your bitterest complaint against despotism, are not offended by old age in a ruler, and take no account of ugliness in the patron with whom they happen to be associated. For high rank in itself is a most striking embellishment to the person: it casts a shade over anything repulsive in him and shows up his best features in a high light. [7] Moreover, inasmuch as equal services rendered by you rulers are rewarded with deeper gratitude, surely, when you have the power of doing far more for others by your activities, and can lavish far more gifts on them, it is natural that you should be much more deeply loved than private citizens.”

Hiero instantly rejoined: [8] “Indeed it is not so, Simonides; for we are forced to engage far oftener than private citizens in transactions that make men hated. [9] Thus, we must extort money in order to find the cash to pay for what we want: we must compel men to guard whatever needs protection: we must punish wrongdoers; we must check those who would fain wax insolent; and when a crisis arises that calls for the immediate despatch of forces by land and sea, we must see that there is no dilly-dallying. [10] Further, a great despot must needs have mercenaries; and no burden presses more heavily on

the citizens than that, since they believe that these troops are maintained not in the interests of equality, but for the despot's personal ends."

9. In answer to this Simonides said: "Well, Hiero, I do not deny that all these matters must receive attention. But I should divide a ruler's activities into two classes, those that lead inevitably to unpopularity, and those that are greeted with thanks. [2] The duty of teaching the people what things are best, and of dispensing praise and honour to those who accomplish the same most efficiently, is a form of activity that is greeted with thanks. The duty of pronouncing censure, using coercion, inflicting pains and penalties on those who come short in any respect, is one that must of necessity give rise to a certain amount of unpopularity. [3] Therefore my sentence is that a great ruler should delegate to others the task of punishing those who require to be coerced, and should reserve to himself the privilege of awarding the prizes. The excellence of this arrangement is established by daily experience. [4] Thus, when we want to have a choral competition, the ruler offers prizes, but the task of assembling the choirs is delegated to choir-masters, and others have the task of training them and coercing those who come short in any respect. Obviously, then, in this case, the pleasant part falls to the ruler, the disagreeables fall to others. [5] Why, then, should not all other public affairs be managed on this principle? For all communities are divided into parts — 'tribes,' 'wards,' 'unions,' as the case may be — and every one of these parts is subject to its appointed ruler. [6] If, then, the analogy of the choruses were followed and prizes were offered to these parts for excellence of equipment, good discipline, horsemanship, courage in the field and fair dealing in business, the natural outcome would be competition, and consequently an earnest endeavour to improve in all these respects too. [7] And as a matter of course, with the prospect of reward there would be more despatch in starting for the appointed place, and greater promptitude in the payment of war taxes, whenever occasion required. Nay, agriculture itself, most useful of all occupations, but just the one in which the spirit of competition is conspicuous by its absence, would make great progress if prizes were offered for the farm or the village that can show the best cultivation, and many good results would follow for

those citizens who threw themselves vigorously into this occupation. [8] For apart from the consequent increase in the revenues, sobriety far more commonly goes with industry; and remember, vices rarely flourish among the fully employed. [9] If commerce also brings gain to a city, the award of honours for diligence in business would attract a larger number to a commercial career. And were it made clear that the discovery of some way of raising revenue without hurting anyone will also be rewarded, this field of research too would not be unoccupied. [10] In a word, once it becomes clear in every department that any good suggestion will not go unrewarded, many will be encouraged by that knowledge to apply themselves to some promising form of investigation. And when there is a wide-spread interest in useful subjects, an increase of discovery and achievement is bound to come. [11]

“In case you fear, Hiero, that the cost of offering prizes for many subjects may prove heavy, you should reflect that no commodities are cheaper than those that are bought for a prize. Think of the large sums that men are induced to spend on horse-races, gymnastic and choral competitions, and the long course of training and practice they undergo for the sake of a paltry prize.”

10. “Well, Simonides,” said Hiero, “I think you are right in saying that. But what about the mercenaries? Can you tell me how to employ them without incurring unpopularity? Or do you say that a ruler, once he becomes popular, will have no further need of a bodyguard?” [2]

“No, no, he will need them, of course,” said Simonides. “For I know that some human beings are like horses — the more they get what they want, the more unruly they are apt to become. [3] The way to manage men like that is to put the fear of the bodyguard into them. And as for the gentlemen, you can probably confer greater benefits on them by employing mercenaries than by any other means. [4] For I presume that you maintain the force primarily to protect yourself. But masters have often been murdered by their slaves. If therefore the first duty enjoined on the mercenaries were to act as the bodyguard of the whole community and render help to all, in case they got wind of any such intention — there are black sheep in every fold, as we all know — I say, if they were under orders to guard the

citizens as well as the depot, the citizens would know that this is one service rendered to them by the mercenaries. [5] Nor is this all: for naturally the mercenaries would also be able to give fearlessness and security in the fullest measure to the labourers and cattle in the country, and the benefit would not be confined to your own estates, but would be felt up and down the countryside. [6] Again, they are competent to afford the citizens leisure for attending to their private affairs by guarding the vital positions. Besides, should an enemy plan a secret and sudden attack, what handier agents can be found for detecting or preventing their design than a standing force, armed and organized? Or once more, when the citizens go campaigning, what is more useful to them than mercenaries? For these are, as a matter of course, the readiest to bear the brunt of toil and danger and watching. [7] And must not those who possess a standing force impose on border states a strong desire for peace? For nothing equals an organized body of men, whether for protecting the property of friends or for thwarting the plans of enemies. [8] Further, when the citizens get it into their heads that these troops do no harm to the innocent and hold the would-be malefactor in check, come to the rescue of the wronged, care for the citizens and shield them from danger, surely they are bound to pay the cost of them with a right good-will. At all events they keep guards in their homes for less important objects than these.

11. "Nor should you hesitate to draw on your private property, Hiero, for the common good. For in my opinion the sums that a great despot spends on the city are more truly necessary expenses than the money he spends on himself. [2] But let us go into details. First, which do you suppose is likely to bring you more credit, to own a palace adorned with priceless objects of art, or to have the whole city garnished with walls and temples and verandahs and market-places and harbours? [3] Which will make you look more terrible to the enemy, to dazzle all beholders with your own glittering panoply, or to present the whole of your people in goodly armour? [4] Which plan, think you, will yield revenues more abounding, to keep only your own capital employed, or to contrive to bring the capital of all the citizens into employment? [5] And what about the breeding of chariot horses, commonly considered the noblest and grandest business in

the world? By which method do you think you will gain most credit for that, if you out-do all other Greeks in the number of teams you breed and send to the festivals, or if the greatest number of breeders and the greatest number of competitors are drawn from your city? And how is the nobler victory gained, by the excellence of your team, or by the prosperity of the city of which you are the head? [6] Indeed my own opinion is that it is not even seemly for a great despot to compete with private citizens. For your victory would excite envy rather than admiration, on the ground that many estates supply the money that you spend, and no defeat would be greeted with so much ridicule as yours. [7] I tell you, Hiero, you have to compete with other heads of states, and if you cause your state to surpass theirs in prosperity, be well assured that you are the victor in the noblest and grandest competition in the world. [8] And in the first place you will forthwith have secured just what you really want, the affection of your subjects. Secondly, your victory will not be proclaimed by one herald's voice, but all the world will tell of your virtue. [9] The observed of all observers' eyes, you will be a hero, not only to private citizens, but to many states: you will be admired not only in your home, but in public among all men. [10] And you will be free to go wherever you choose, so far as safety is concerned, to see the sights, and equally free to enjoy them in your home; for you will have a throng of aspirants before you, some eager to display something wise or beautiful or good, others longing to serve you. [11] Everyone present will be an ally, everyone absent will long to see you.

“Thus you will be not only the loved, but the adored of mankind. You will need not to court the fair, but to listen patiently to their suit. Anxiety for your welfare will fall not on yourself, but on others. [12] You will have the willing obedience of your subjects; you will mark their unsolicited care for you; and should any danger arise, you will find in them not merely allies, but champions and zealots. Accounted worthy of many gifts, and at no loss for some man of goodwill with whom to share them, you will find all rejoicing in your good fortune, all fighting for your interests, as though they were their own. [13] And all the riches in the houses of your friends will be yours in fee.

“Take heart then, Hiero; enrich your friends, for so you will enrich

yourself. Exalt the state, for so you will deck yourself with power. [14] Get her allies [for so you will win supporters for yourself]. Account the fatherland your estate, the citizens your comrades, friends your own children, your sons possessions dear as life. And try to surpass all these in deeds of kindness. [15] For if you out-do your friends in kindness, it is certain that your enemies will not be able to resist you.

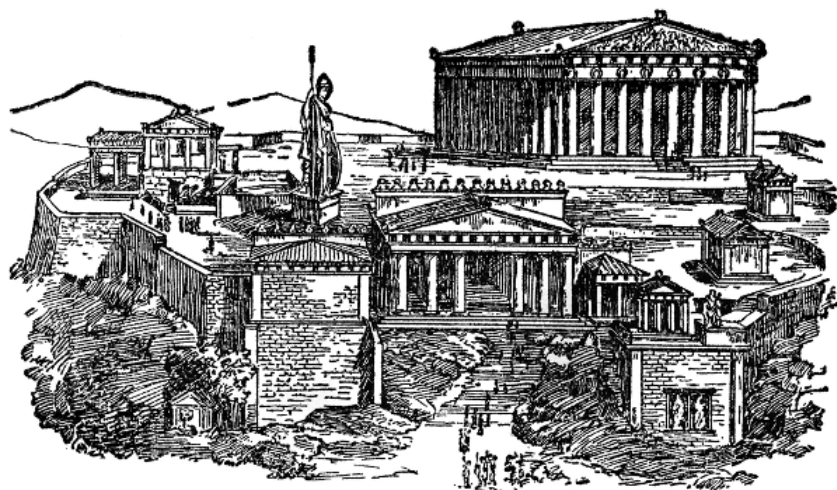
“And if you do all these things, rest assured that you will be possessed of the fairest and most blessed possession in the world; for none will be jealous of your happiness.”

WAYS AND MEANS



Translated by E. C. Marchant

The treatise *Πόροι* was written in 354 BC and is believed to be Xenophon's final work. Written half a century after Athens' defeat in the Peloponnesian War, it explores the subject of financial ruin that was facing the city at the time. In the first part Xenophon lists the qualities of Athens that should recommend it for producing a large revenue, including the mild seasons enjoyed in Attica, the highly productive nature of the surrounding land and sea and how distant the city is from 'barbarian lands'. Xenophon goes on to suggest that Athens should increase the metic population, which was largely populated by foreigners - until then not granted citizenship - as a means of increasing revenue.



Athens at the time of Xenophon

WAYS AND MEANS

1. For my part I have always held that the constitution of a state reflects the character of the leading politicians. But some of the leading men at Athens have stated that they recognize justice as clearly as other men; "but," they have said, "owing to the poverty of the masses, we are forced to be somewhat unjust in our treatment of the cities." This set me thinking whether by any means the citizens might obtain food entirely from their own soil, which would certainly be the fairest way. I felt that, were this so, they would be relieved of their poverty, and also of the suspicion with which they are regarded by the Greek world. [2]

Now as I thought over my ideas, one thing seemed clear at once, that the country is by its nature capable of furnishing an ample revenue. To drive home the truth of this statement I will first describe the natural properties of Attica. [3]

The extreme mildness of the seasons here is shown by the actual products. At any rate, plants that will not even grow in many countries bear fruit here. Not less productive than the land is the sea around the coasts. Notice too that the good things which the gods send in their season all come in earlier here and go out later than elsewhere. [4] And the pre-eminence of the land is not only in the things that bloom and wither annually: she has other good things that last for ever. Nature has put in her abundance of stone, from which are fashioned lovely temples and lovely altars, and goodly statues for the gods. Many Greeks and barbarians alike have need of it. [5] Again, there is land that yields no fruit if sown, and yet, when quarried, feeds many times the number it could support if it grew corn. And recollect, there is silver in the soil, the gift, beyond doubt, of divine providence: at any rate, many as are the states near to her by land and sea, into none of them does even a thin vein of silver ore extend. [6]

One might reasonably suppose that the city lies at the centre of Greece, nay of the whole inhabited world. For the further we go from her, the more intense is the heat or cold we meet with; and every traveller who would cross from one to the other end of Greece passes

Athens as the centre of a circle, whether he goes by water or by road. [7] Then, too, though she is not wholly sea-girt, all the winds of heaven bring to her the goods she needs and bear away her exports, as if she were an island; for she lies between two seas: and she has a vast land trade as well; for she is of the mainland. [8] Further, on the borders of most states dwell barbarians who trouble them: but the neighbouring states of Athens are themselves remote from the barbarians.

2. All these advantages, as I have said, are, I believe, due to the country itself. But instead of limiting ourselves to the blessings that may be called indigenous, suppose that, in the first place, we studied the interests of the resident aliens. For in them we have one of the very best sources of revenue, in my opinion, inasmuch as they are self-supporting and, so far from receiving payment for the many services they render to states, they contribute by paying a special tax. [2] I think that we should study their interests sufficiently, if we relieved them of the duties that seem to impose a certain measure of disability on the resident alien without conferring any benefit on the state, and also of the obligation to serve in the infantry along with the citizens. Apart from the personal risk, it is no small thing to leave their trades and their private affairs. [3] The state itself too would gain if the citizens served in the ranks together, and no longer found themselves in the same company with Lydians, Phrygians, Syrians, and barbarians of all sorts, of whom a large part of our alien population consists. [4] In addition to the advantage of dispensing with the services of these men, it would be an ornament to the state that the Athenians should be thought to rely on themselves rather than on the help of foreigners in fighting their battles. [5]

If, moreover, we granted the resident aliens the right to serve in the cavalry and various other privileges which it is proper to grant them, I think that we should find their loyalty increase and at the same time should add to the strength and greatness of the state. [6]

Then again, since there are many vacant sites for houses within the walls, if the state allowed approved applicants to erect houses on these and granted them the freehold of the land, I think that we should find a larger and better class of persons desiring to live at Athens. [7]

And if we appointed a board of Guardians of Aliens analogous to the Guardians of Orphans, and some kind of distinction were earmarked for guardians whose list of resident aliens was longest, that too would add to the loyalty of the aliens, and probably all without a city would covet the right of settling in Athens, and would increase our revenues.

3. I shall now say something of the unrivalled amenities and advantages of our city as a commercial centre.

In the first place, I presume, she possesses the finest and safest accomodation for shipping, since vessels can anchor here and ride safe at their moorings in spite of bad weather. [2] Moreover, at most other ports merchants are compelled to ship a return cargo, because the local currency has no circulation in other states; but at Athens they have the opportunity of exchanging their cargo and exporting very many classes of goods that are in demand, or, if they do not want to ship a return cargo of goods, it is sound business to export silver; for, wherever they sell it, they are sure to make a profit on the capital invested. [3]

If prizes were offered to the magistrates of the market for just and prompt settlement of disputes, so that sailings were not delayed, the effect would be that a far larger number of merchants would trade with us and with much greater satisfaction. [4] It would also be an excellent plan to reserve front seats in the theatre for merchants and shipowners, and to offer them hospitality occasionally, when the high quality of their ships and merchandise entitles them to be considered benefactors of the state. With the prospect of these honours before them they would look on us as friends and hasten to visit us to win the honour as well as the profit. [5]

The rise in the number of residents and visitors would of course lead to a corresponding expansion of our imports and exports, of sales, rents and customs. [6]

Now such additions to our revenues as these need cost us nothing whatever beyond benevolent legislation and measures of control. Other methods of raising revenue that I have in mind will require capital, no doubt. [7] Nevertheless I venture to hope that the citizens would contribute eagerly towards such objects, when I recall the large sums contributed by the state when Lysistratus was in

command and troops were sent to aid the Arcadians, and again in the time of Hegesileos. [8] I am also aware that large expenditure is frequently incurred to send warships abroad, though none can tell whether the venture will be for better or worse, and the only thing certain is that the subscribers will never see their money back nor even enjoy any part of what they contribute. [9] But no investment can yield them so fine a return as the money advanced by them to form the capital fund. For every subscriber of ten minae, drawing three obols a day, gets nearly twenty per cent. — as much as he would get on bottomry; and every subscriber of five minae gets more than a third of his capital back in interest. [10] But most of the Athenians will get over a hundred per cent. in a year, for those who advance one mina will draw an income of nearly two minae, guaranteed by the state, which is to all appearances the safest and most durable of human institutions. [11]

I think, too, that if their names were to be recorded in the roll of benefactors for all time, many foreigners also would subscribe, and a certain number of states would be attracted by the prospect of enrolment. I believe that even kings and despots and oriental governors would desire to share in this reward. [12]

When funds were sufficient, it would be a fine plan to build more lodging-houses for shipowners near the harbours, and convenient places of exchange for merchants, also hotels to accomodate visitors. [13] Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the Peiraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue. [14]

Moreover, I think it would be a good plan to take a hint from the state ownership of public warships, and to see whether it be possible to acquire a fleet of public merchant vessels and to lease them under securities, like our other public property. For if this proved to be practicable, these vessels would yield another large revenue.

4. As for the silver mines, I believe that if a proper system of working were introduced, a vast amount of money would be obtained from them apart from our other sources of revenue. I want to point out the possibilities of these mines to those who do not know. For, once you realize their possibilities, you will be in a better position to consider how the mines should be managed. [2]

Now, we all agree that the mines have been worked for many generations. At any rate, no one even attempts to date the beginning of mining operations. And yet, although digging and the removal of the silver ore have been carried on for so long a time, note how small is the size of the dumps compared with the virgin and silver-laden hills. [3] And it is continually being found that, so far from shrinking, the silver-yielding area extends further and further.

Well, so long as the maximum number of workmen was employed in them, no one ever wanted a job; in fact, there were always more jobs than the labourers could deal with. [4] And even at the present day no owner of slaves employed in the mines reduces the number of his men; on the contrary, every master obtains as many more as he can. The fact is, I imagine, that when there are few diggers and searchers, the amount of metal recovered is small, and when there are many, the total of ore discovered is multiplied. Hence of all the industries with which I am acquainted this is the only one in which expansion of business excites no jealousy. [5]

Further than this, every farmer can tell just how many yoke of oxen are enough for the farm and how many labourers. To put more on the land than the requisite number is counted loss. In mining undertakings, on the contrary, everyone tells you that he is short of labour. [6] Mining, in fact, is quite different from other industries. An increase in the number of coppersmiths, for example, produces a fall in the price of copper work, and the coppersmiths retire from business. The same thing happens in the iron trade. Again, when corn and wine are abundant, the crops are cheap, and the profit derived from growing them disappears, so that many give up farming and set up as merchants or shopkeepers or moneylenders. But an increase in the amount of the silver ore discovered and of the metal won is accompanied by an increase in the number of persons who take up this industry. [7] Neither is silver like furniture, of which a man never buys more when once he has got enough for his house. No one ever yet possessed so much silver as to want no more; if a man finds himself with a huge amount of it, he takes as much pleasure in burying the surplus as in using it. [8]

Mark too that, whenever states are prosperous, silver is in strong demand. The men will spend money on fine arms and good horses

and magnificent houses and establishments, and the women go in for expensive clothes and gold jewelry. [9] If, on the other hand, the body politic is diseased owing to failure of the harvest or to war, the land goes out of cultivation and there is a much more insistent demand for cash to pay for food and mercenaries. [10]

If anyone says that gold is quite as useful as silver, I am not going to contradict him; but I know this, that when gold is plentiful, silver rises and gold falls in value. [11]

With these facts before us, we need not hesitate to bring as much labour as we can get into the mines and carry on work in them, feeling confident that the ore will never give out and that silver will never lose its value. [12] I think, indeed, that the state has anticipated me in this discovery; at any rate she throws open the mining industry to foreigners on the same terms as are granted to citizens. [13]

To make myself clearer on the subject of alimony, I will now explain how the mines may be worked with the greatest advantage to the state. Not that I expect to surprise you by what I am going to say, as if I had found the solution of a difficult problem. For some things that I shall mention are still to be seen by anyone at the present day, and as for conditions in the past, our fathers have told us that they were similar. [14] But what may well excite surprise is that the state, being aware that many private individuals are making money out of her, does not imitate them. Those of us who have given thought to the matter have heard long ago, I imagine, that Nicias son of Niceratus, once owned a thousand men in the mines, and let them out to Socias the Thracian, on condition that Sosias paid him an obol a day per man net and filled all vacancies as they occurred. [15] Hipponicus, again, had six hundred slaves let out on the same terms and received a rent of a mina a day net. Philemonides had three hundred, and received half a mina. There were others too, owning numbers in proportion, I presume, to their capital. [16] But why dwell on the past? At this day there are many men in the mines let out in this way. [17] Were my proposals adopted, the only innovation would be, that just as private individuals have built up a permanent income by becoming slave owners, so the state would become possessed of public slaves, until there were three for every citizen. [18] Whether my plan is workable, let anyone who chooses judge for himself by

examining it in detail.

So let us take first the cost of the men. Clearly the treasury is in a better position to provide the money than private individuals. Moreover the Council can easily issue a notice inviting all and sundry to bring slaves, and can buy those that are brought to it. [19] When once they are purchased, why should there be more hesitation about hiring from the treasury than from a private person, the terms offered being the same? At any rate men hire consecrated lands and houses, and farm taxes under the state. [20]

The treasury can insure the slaves purchased by requiring some of the lessees to become guarantors, as it does in the case of the tax-farmers. In fact a tax-farmer can swindle the state more easily than a lessee of slaves. [21] For how are you to detect the export of public money? Money looks the same whether it is private property or belongs to the state. But how is a man to steal slaves when they are branded with the public mark and it is a penal offence to sell or export them?

So far, then, it appears to be possible for the state to acquire and to keep men. [22] But, one may ask, when labour is abundant, how will a sufficient number of persons be found to hire it? Well, if anyone feels doubtful about that, let him comfort himself with the thought that many men in the business will hire the state slaves as additional hands, since they have abundance of capital, and that among those now working in the mines many are growing old. Moreover there are many others, both Athenians and foreigners, who have neither will nor strength to work with their own hands, but would be glad to to make a living by becoming managers. [23]

Assume, however, that the total number of slaves to begin with is twelve hundred. By using the revenue derived from these the number might in all probability be raised to six thousand at the least in the course of five or six years. Further, if each man brings in a clear obol a day, the annual revenue derived from that number of men is sixty talents. [24] Out of this sum, if twenty talents are invested in additional slaves, the state will have forty talents available for any other necessary purpose. And when a total of ten thousand men is reached, the revenue will be a hundred talents. [25]

But the state will receive far more than that, as anyone will testify

who is old enough to remember how much the charge for slave labour brought in before the trouble at Decelea. And there is another proof. During the history of the mines an infinite number of men has worked in them; and yet the condition of the mines to-day is exactly the same as it was in the time of our ancestors, and their memory ran not to the contrary. [26] And present conditions all lead to the conclusion that the number of slaves employed there can never be greater than the works need. For the miners find no limit to shaft or gallery. [27] And, mark you, it is as possible now to open new veins as in former times. Nor can one say with any certainty whether the ore is more plentiful in the area already under work or in the unexplored tracts. [28]

Then why, it may be asked, are fewer new cuttings made nowadays than formerly? Simply because those interested in the mines are poorer. For operations have only lately been resumed, and a man who makes a new cutting incurs a serious risk. If he strikes good stuff he makes a fortune; but if he is [29] disappointed, he loses the money he has spent. Therefore people nowadays are very chary of taking such a risk. [30]

However, I think I can meet this difficulty too, and suggest a plan that will make the opening of new cuttings a perfectly safe undertaking. The Athenians, of course, are divided into ten tribes. Now assume that the state were to offer each tribe an equal number of slaves, and that when new cuttings were made, the tribes were to pool their luck. [31] The result would be that if one tribe found silver, the discovery would be profitable to all; and if two, three, four, or half the tribes found, the profits from these works would obviously be greater.

Nothing that has happened in the past makes it probable that all would fail to find. [32] Of course, private individuals also are able to combine on this principle and pool their fortunes in order to diminish the risk. Nevertheless there is no reason to fear that a public company formed on this plan will conflict with the interests of private persons, or be hampered by them. No, just as every new adhesion to a confederacy brings an increase of strength to all its members, so the greater the number of persons operating in the mines, the more treasure they will discover and unearth. [33]

I have now explained what regulations I think should be introduced into the state in order that every Athenian may receive sufficient maintenance at the public expense. [34] Some may imagine that enough money would never be subscribed to provide the huge amount of capital necessary, according to their calculations, to finance all these schemes. But even so they need not despair. [35] For it is not essential that the plan should be carried out in all its details in order that any advantage may come of it. No, whatever the number of houses built, or of ships constructed, or of slaves purchased, they will immediately prove a paying concern. [36] In fact in one respect it will be even more profitable to proceed gradually than to do everything at once. For if everybody begins building, we shall pay more for worse work than if we carry out the undertaking gradually; and if we try to find an enormous number of slaves, we shall be forced to buy inferior men at a high price. [37]

By proceeding as our means allow, we can repeat whatever is well conceived and avoid the repetition of mistakes. [38] Besides, were the whole scheme put in hand at once, we should have to find the whole of the money; but if some parts were proceeded with and others postponed, the income realised would help to provide the amount still required. [39]

Possibly the gravest fear in everyone's mind is that the works may become overcrowded if the state acquires too many slaves. But we can rid ourselves of that fear by not putting more men in year by year than the works themselves require. [40]

Accordingly I hold that this, which is the easiest way, is also the best way of doing these things. On the other hand, if you think that the burdens imposed during the late war make it impossible for you to contribute anything at all — well, keep down the cost of administration during the next year to the amount that the taxes yielded before the peace; and invest the balances over and above that amount, which you will get with peace, with considerate treatment of resident aliens and merchants, with the growth of imports and exports due to concentration of a larger population, and with the expansion of harbour and market dues, so that the investment will bring in the largest revenue. [41]

Or again, if any fear that this scheme would prove worthless in the

event of war breaking out, they should observe that, with this system at work, war becomes far more formidable to the aggressors than to the city. [42] For what instrument is more serviceable for war than men? We should have enough of them to supply crews to many ships of the state; and many men available for service in the ranks as infantry could press the enemy hard, if they were treated with consideration. [43]

But I reckon that, even in the event of war, the mines need not be abandoned. There are, of course, two fortresses in the mining district, one at Anaphlystus on the south side, the other at Thoricus on the north. The distance between them is about seven miles and a half. [44] Now suppose that we had a third stronghold between them on the highest point of Besa. The works would then be linked up by all the fortresses, and at the first intimation of a hostile movement, every man would have but a short distance to go in order to reach safety. [45] In case an enemy came in force, he would, no doubt, seize any corn or wine or cattle that he found outside; but the silver ore, when he had got it, would be of as much use to him as a heap of stones. [46] And how could an enemy ever go for the mines? The distance between Megara, the nearest city, and the silver mines, is of course much more than five hundred furlongs; and Thebes, which is next in proximity, lies at a distance of much more than six hundred furlongs from them. [47] Let us assume, then, that an enemy is marching on the mines from some such point. He is bound to pass Athens; and if his numbers are small, he is likely to be destroyed by our cavalry and patrols. On the other hand, to march on them with a large force, leaving his own property unprotected, is no easy matter; for when he arrived at the mines the city of Athens would be much nearer to his own states than he himself would be. [48] But even supposing that he should come, how is he to stay without supplies? And to send part of their forces in search of food may mean destruction to the foraging party and failure to achieve the ends for which he is contending; or if the whole force is continually foraging it will find itself blockaded instead of blockading. [49]

However, the rent derived from the slaves would not be the only source of relief to the community. With the concentration of a large population in the mining district, abundant revenue would be derived

from the local market, from state-owned houses near the silver mines, from furnaces and all the other sources. [50] For a densely populated city would grow up there, if it were organised on this plan; yes, and building sites would become as valuable there as they are in our suburbs. [51]

If the plans that I have put forward are carried out, I agree that, apart from the improvement in our financial position, we shall become a people more obedient, better disciplined, and more efficient in war. [52] For the classes undergoing physical training will take more pains in the gymnasium when they receive their maintenance in full than they take under the superintendents of the torch races; and the classes on garrison duty in a fortress, or serving as targeteers, or patrolling the country will show greater alacrity in carrying out all these duties when the maintenance is duly supplied for the work done.

5. If it seems clear that the state cannot obtain a full revenue from all sources unless she has peace, is it not worth while to set up a board of guardians of peace? Were such a board constituted, it would help to increase the popularity of the city and to make it more attractive and more densely thronged with visitors from all parts. [2] If any are inclined to think that a lasting peace for our city will involve a loss of her power and glory and fame in Greece, they too, in my opinion, are out in their calculations. For I presume that those states are reckoned the happiest that enjoy the longest period of unbroken peace; and of all states Athens is by nature most suited to flourish in peace. [3] For if the state is tranquil, what class of men will not need her? Shipowners and merchants will head the list. Then there will be those rich in corn and wine and oil and cattle; men possessed of brains and money to invest; craftsmen and professors and [4] philosophers; poets and the people who make use of their works; those to whom anything sacred or secular appeals that is worth seeing or hearing. Besides, where will those who want to buy or sell many things quickly meet with better success in their efforts than at Athens? [5]

No one, I dare say, contests this; but there are some who wish the state to recover her ascendancy, and they may think that it is more likely to be won by war than by peace. Let such, in the first place,

call to mind the Persian Wars. Was it by coercing the Greeks or by rendering services to them that we became leaders of the fleet and treasurers of the league funds? [6] Further, after the state had been stripped of her empire through seeming to exercise her authority with excessive harshness, did not the islanders even then restore to us the presidency of the fleet by their own free will, when we refrained from acts of injustice? [7] And again, did not the Thebans place themselves under the leadership of the Athenians in return for our good offices? Yet once again, it was not the effect of coercion on our part, but of generous treatment, that the Lacedaemonians permitted the Athenians to arrange the leadership as they chose. [8] And now, owing to the confusion prevalent in Greece, an opportunity, I think, has fallen to the state to win back the Greeks without trouble, without danger, and without expense. For she has it in her power to try to reconcile the warring states, she has it in her power to compose the factions contending in their midst. [9] And were it apparent that you are striving to make the Delphic shrine independent, as it used to be, not by joining in war, but by sending embassies up and down Greece, I for my part should not be in the least surprised if you found the Greeks all of one mind, banded together by oath and united in alliance against any that attempted to seize the shrine in the event of the Phocians abandoning it. [10] Were you to show also that you are striving for peace in every land and on every sea, I do think that, next to the safety of their own country, all men would put the safety of Athens first in their prayers. [11]

If, on the other hand, any one supposes that financially war is more profitable to the state than peace, I really do not know how the truth of this can be tested better than by considering once more what has been the experience of our state in the past. [12] He will find that in old days a very great amount of money was paid into the treasury in time of peace, and that the whole of it was spent in time of war; he will conclude on consideration that in our own time the effect of the late war on our revenues was that many of them ceased, while those that came in were exhausted by the multitude of expenses; whereas the cessation of war by sea has been followed by a rise in the revenues, and has allowed the citizens to devote them to any purpose they choose. [13]

But some one may ask me, Do you mean to say that, even if she is wronged, the state should remain at peace with the offender? No, certainly not; but I do say that our vengeance would follow far more swiftly on our enemies if we provoked nobody by wrong-doing; for then they would look in vain for an ally.

6. Well now, surely, if none of these proposals is impossible or even difficult, if by carrying them into effect we shall be regarded with more affection by the Greeks, shall live in greater security, and be more glorious; if the people will be maintained in comfort and the rich no more burdened with the expenses of war; if with a large surplus in hand we shall celebrate our festivals with even more splendour than at present, shall restore the temples, and repair the walls and docks, and shall give back to priests, councillors, magistrates, knights their ancient privileges; surely, I say, our proper course is to proceed with this scheme forthwith, that already in our generation we may come to see our city secure and prosperous. [2]

Furthermore, if you decide to go forward with the plan, I should advise you to send to Dodona and Delphi, and inquire of the gods whether such a design is fraught with weal for the state both now and in days to come. [3] And should they consent to it, then I would say that we ought to ask them further, which of the gods we must propitiate in order that we may prosper in our handiwork. Then, when we have offered an acceptable sacrifice to the gods named in their reply, it behoves us to begin the work. For with heaven to help us in what we do, it is likely that our undertakings will go forward continually to the greater weal of the state.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LACEDAEMONIANS



Translated by E. C. Marchant

1. It occurred to me one day that Sparta, though among the most thinly populated of states, was evidently the most powerful and most celebrated city in Greece; and I fell to wondering how this could have happened. But when I considered the institutions of the Spartans, I wondered no longer. [2]

Lycurgus, who gave them the laws that they obey, and to which they owe their prosperity, I do regard with wonder; and I think that he reached the utmost limit of wisdom. For it was not by imitating other states, but by devising a system utterly different from that of most others, that he made his country pre-eminently prosperous. [3]

First, to begin at the beginning, I will take the begetting of children. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved fashion, live on the very plainest fare, with a most meagre allowance of delicacies. Wine is either withheld altogether, or, if allowed them, is diluted with water. The rest of the Greeks expect their girls to imitate the sedentary life that is typical of handicraftsmen — to keep quiet and do wool-work. How, then, is it to be expected that women so brought up will bear fine children? [4]

But Lycurgus thought the labour of slave women sufficient to supply clothing. He believed motherhood to be the most important function of freeborn woman. Therefore, in the first place, he insisted on physical training for the female no less than for the male sex: moreover, he instituted races and trials of strength for women competitors as for men, believing that if both parents are strong they produce more vigorous offspring. [5]

He noticed, too, that, during the time immediately succeeding

marriage, it was usual elsewhere for the husband to have unlimited intercourse with his wife. The rule that he adopted was the opposite of this: for he laid it down that the husband should be ashamed to be seen entering his wife's room or leaving it. With this restriction on intercourse the desire of the one for the other must necessarily be increased, and their offspring was bound to be more vigorous than if they were surfeited with one another. [6] In addition to this, he withdrew from men the right to take a wife whenever they chose, and insisted on their marrying in the prime of their manhood, believing that this too promoted the production of fine children. [7] It might happen, however, that an old man had a young wife; and he observed that old men keep a very jealous watch over their young wives. To meet these cases he instituted an entirely different system by requiring the elderly husband to introduce into his house some man whose physical and moral qualities he admired, in order to beget children. [8] On the other hand, in case a man did not want to cohabit with his wife and nevertheless desired children of whom he could be proud, he made it lawful for him to choose a woman who was the mother of a fine family and of high birth, and if he obtained her husband's consent, to make her the mother of his children. [9]

He gave his sanction to many similar arrangements. For the wives want to take charge of two households, and the husbands want to get brothers for their sons, brothers who are members of the family and share in its influence, but claim no part of the money. [10]

Thus his regulations with regard to the begetting of children were in sharp contrast with those of other states. Whether he succeeded in populating Sparta with a race of men remarkable for their size and strength anyone who chooses may judge for himself.

2. Having dealt with the subject of birth, I wish next to explain the educational system of Lycurgus, and how it differs from other systems.

In the other Greek states parents who profess to give their sons the best education place their boys under the care and control of a moral tutor as soon as they can understand what is said to them, and send them to a school to learn letters, music and the exercises of the wrestling-ground. Moreover, they soften the children's feet by giving them sandals, and pamper their bodies with changes of clothing; and

it is customary to allow them as much food as they can eat. [2]

Lycurgus, on the contrary, instead of leaving each father to appoint a slave to act as tutor, gave the duty of controlling the boys to a member of the class from which the highest offices are filled, in fact to the “Warden” as he is called. He gave this person authority to gather the boys together, to take charge of them and to punish them severely in case of misconduct. He also assigned to him a staff of youths provided with whips to chastise them when necessary; and the result is that modesty and obedience are inseparable companions at Sparta. [3] Instead of softening the boys’ feet with sandals he required them to harden their feet by going without shoes. He believed that if this habit were cultivated it would enable them to climb hills more easily and descend steep inclines with less danger, and that a youth who had accustomed himself to go barefoot would leap and jump and run more nimbly than a boy in sandals. [4] And instead of letting them be pampered in the matter of clothing, he introduced the custom of wearing one garment throughout the year, believing that they would thus be better prepared to face changes of heat and cold. [5] As to the food, he required the prefect to bring with him such a moderate amount of it that the boys would never suffer from repletion, and would know what it was to go with their hunger unsatisfied; for he believed that those who underwent this training would be better able to continue working on an empty stomach, if necessary, and would be capable of carrying on longer without extra food, if the word of command were given to do so: they would want fewer delicacies and would accommodate themselves more readily to anything put before them, and at the same time would enjoy better health. [6] He also thought that a diet which made their bodies slim would do more to increase their height than one that consisted of flesh-forming food.

On the other hand, lest they should feel too much the pinch of hunger, while not giving them the opportunity of taking what they wanted without trouble he allowed them to alleviate their hunger by stealing something. [7] It was not on account of a difficulty in providing for them that he encouraged them to get their food by their own cunning. No one, I suppose, can fail to see that. Obviously a man who intends to take to thieving must spend sleepless nights and play the deceiver and lie in ambush by day, and moreover, if he

means to make a capture, he must have spies ready. There can be no doubt then, that all this education was planned by him in order to make the boys more resourceful in getting supplies, and better fighting men.

Someone may ask: [8] But why, if he believed stealing to be a fine thing, did he have the boy who was caught beaten with many stripes? I reply: Because in all cases men punish a learner for not carrying out properly whatever he is taught to do. So the Spartans chastise those who get caught for stealing badly. [9] He made it a point of honour to steal as many cheeses as possible [from the altar of Artemis Orthia], but appointed others to scourge the thieves, meaning to show thereby that by enduring pain for a short time one may win lasting fame and felicity. It is shown herein that where there is need of swiftness, the slothful, as usual, gets little profit and many troubles. [10]

In order that the boys might never lack a ruler even when the Warden was away, he gave authority to any citizen who chanced to be present to require them to do anything that he thought right, and to punish them for any misconduct. This had the effect of making the boys more respectful; in fact boys and men alike respect their rulers above everything. [11] And that a ruler might not be lacking to the boys even when no grown man happened to be present, he selected the keenest of the prefects, and gave to each the command of a division. And so at Sparta the boys are never without a ruler. [12]

I think I ought to say something also about intimacy with boys, since this matter also has a bearing on education. In other Greek states, for instance among the Boeotians, man and boy live together, like married people; elsewhere, among the Eleians, for example, consent is won by means of favours. Some, on the other hand, entirely forbid suitors to talk with boys. [13]

The customs instituted by Lycurgus were opposed to all of these. If someone, being himself an honest man, admired a boy's soul and tried to make of him an ideal friend without reproach and to associate with him, he approved, and believed in the excellence of this kind of training. But if it was clear that the attraction lay in the boy's outward beauty, he banned the connexion as an abomination; and thus he caused lovers to abstain from boys no less than parents abstain from sexual intercourse with their children and brothers and

sisters with each other. [14]

I am not surprised, however, that people refuse to believe this. For in many states the laws are not opposed to the indulgence of these appetites.

I have now dealt with the Spartan system of education, and that of the other Greek states. Which system turns out men more obedient, more respectful, and more strictly temperate, anyone who chooses may once more judge for himself.

3. When a boy ceases to be a child, and begins to be a lad, others release him from his moral tutor and his schoolmaster: he is then no longer under a ruler and is allowed to go his own way. Here again Lycurgus introduced a wholly different system. [2] For he observed that at this time of life self-will makes strong root in a boy's mind, a tendency to insolence manifests itself, and a keen appetite for pleasure in different forms takes possession of him. At this stage, therefore, he imposed on him a ceaseless round of work, and contrived a constant round of occupation. [3] The penalty for shirking the duties was exclusion from all future honours. He thus caused not only the public authorities, but their relations also to take pains that the lads did not incur the contempt of their fellow citizens by flinching from their tasks. [4]

Moreover, wishing modesty to be firmly rooted in them, he required them to keep their hands under their cloaks, to walk in silence, not to look about them, but to fix their eyes on the ground. The effect of this rule has been to prove that even in the matter of decorum the male is stronger than the female sex. [5] At any rate you would expect a stone image to utter a sound sooner than those lads; you would sooner attract the attention of a bronze figure; you might think them more modest even than a young bride in the bridal chamber. When they have taken their place at a public meal, you must be content if you can get an answer to a question.

Such was the care that he bestowed on the growing lads.

4. For those who had reached the prime of life he showed by far the deepest solicitude. For he believed that if these were of the right stamp they must exercise a powerful influence for good on the state. [2] He saw that where the spirit of rivalry is strongest among the people, there the choruses are most worth hearing and the athletic

contests afford the finest spectacle. He believed, therefore, that if he could match the young men together in a strife of valour, they too would reach a high level of manly excellence. I will proceed to explain, therefore, how he instituted matches between the young men. [3]

The Ephors, then, pick out three of the very best among them. These three are called Commanders of the Guard. Each of them enrolls a hundred others, stating his reasons for preferring one and rejecting another. [4] The result is that those who fail to win the honour are at war both with those who sent them away and with their successful rivals; and they are on the watch for any lapse from the code of honour. [5]

Here then you find that kind of strife that is dearest to the gods, and in the highest sense political — the strife that sets the standard of a brave man's conduct; and in which either party exerts itself to the end that it may never fall below its best, and that, when the time comes, every member of it may support the state with all his might. [6] And they are bound, too, to keep themselves fit, for one effect of the strife is that they spar whenever they meet; but anyone present has a right to part the combatants. If anyone refuses to obey the mediator the Warden takes him to the Ephors; and they fine him heavily, in order to make him realize that he must never yield to a sudden impulse to disobey the laws. [7]

To come to those who have passed the time of youth, and are now eligible to hold the great offices of state. While absolving these from the duty of bestowing further attention on their bodily strength, the other Greeks require them to continue serving in the army. But Lycurgus established the principle that for citizens of that age, hunting was the noblest occupation, except when some public duty prevented, in order that they might be able to stand the fatigues of soldiering as well as the younger men.

5. I have given a fairly complete account of the institutions of Lycurgus so far as they apply to the successive stages of life. I will now try to describe the system that he established for all alike. [2]

Lycurgus found the Spartans boarding at home like the other Greeks, and came to the conclusion that the custom was responsible for a great deal of misconduct. He therefore established the public

messes outside in the open, thinking that this would reduce disregard of orders to a minimum. [3] The amount of food he allowed was just enough to prevent them from getting either too much or too little to eat. But many extras are supplied from the spoils of the chase; and for these rich men sometimes substitute wheaten bread. Consequently the board is never bare until the company breaks up, and never extravagantly furnished. [4] Another of his reforms was the abolition of compulsory drinking, which is the undoing alike of body of mind. But he allowed everyone to drink when he was thirsty, believing that drink is then most harmless and most welcome.

Now what opportunity did these public messes give a man to ruin himself or his estate by gluttony or wine-bibbing? [5] Note that in other states the company usually consists of men of the same age, where modesty is apt to be conspicuous by its absence from the board. But Lycurgus introduced mixed companies at Sparta, so that the experience of the elders might contribute largely to the education of the juniors. [6] In point of fact, by the custom of the country the conversation at the public meals turns on the great deeds wrought in the state, and so there is little room for insolence or drunken uproar, for unseemly conduct or indecent talk. [7] And the system of feeding in the open has other good results. They must needs walk home after the meal, and, of course, must take good care not to stumble under the influence of drink (for they know that they will not stay on at the table); and they must do in the dark what they do in the day. Indeed, those who are still in the army are not even allowed a torch to guide them. [8]

Lycurgus had also observed the effects of the same rations on the hard worker and the idler; that the former has a fresh colour, firm flesh and plenty of vigour, while the latter looks puffy, ugly and weak. He saw the importance of this; and reflecting that even a man who works hard of his own will because it is his duty to do so, looks in pretty good condition, he required the senior for the time being in every gymnasium to take care that the tasks set should be not too small for the rations allowed. [9] And I think that in this matter too he succeeded. So it would not be easy to find healthier or handier men than the Spartans. For their exercises train the legs, arms and neck equally.

6. In the following respects, again, his institutions differ from the ordinary type. In most states every man has control of his own children, servants and goods. Lycurgus wanted to secure that the citizens should get some advantage from one another without doing any harm. He therefore gave every father authority over other men's children as well as over his own. [2] When a man knows that fathers have this power, he is bound to rule the children over whom he exercises authority as he would wish his own to be ruled. If a boy tells his own father when he has been whipped by another father, it is a disgrace if the parent does not give his son another whipping. So completely do they trust one another not to give any improper orders to the children. [3]

He also gave the power of using other men's servants in case of necessity; and made sporting dogs common property to this extent, that any who want them invite their master, and if he is engaged himself he is glad to send the hounds. A similar plan of borrowing is applied to horses also; thus a man who falls ill or wants a carriage or wishes to get to some place quickly, if he sees a horse anywhere, takes and uses it carefully and duly restores it. [4]

There is yet another among the customs instituted by him which is not found in other communities. It was intended to meet the needs of parties belated in the hunting-field with nothing ready to eat. He made a rule that those who had plenty should leave behind the prepared food, and that those who needed food should break the seals, take as much as they wanted, seal up the rest and leave it behind. [5] The result of this method of going shares with one another is that even those who have but little receive a share of all that the country yields whenever they want anything.

7. Nor does this exhaust the list of the customs established by Lycurgus at Sparta that are contrary to those of the other Greeks. In other states, I suppose, all men make as much money as they can. One is a farmer, another a ship-owner, another a merchant, and others live by different handicrafts. [2] But at Sparta Lycurgus forbade freeborn citizens to have anything to do with business affairs. He insisted on their regarding as their own concern only those activities that make for civic freedom. [3] Indeed, how should wealth be a serious object there, when he insisted on equal contributions to the

food supply and on the same standard of living for all, and thus cut off the attraction of money for indulgence' sake? Why, there is not even any need of money to spend on cloaks: for their adornment is due not to the price of their clothes, but to the excellent condition of their bodies. [4] Nor yet is there any reason for amassing money in order to spend it on one's messmates; for he made it more respectable to help one's fellows by toiling with the body than by spending money, pointing out that toil is an employment of the soul, spending an employment of wealth. [5]

By other enactments he rendered it impossible to make money in unfair ways. In the first place the system of coinage that he established was of such a kind that even a sum of ten minae could not be brought into a house without the master and the servants being aware of it: the money would fill a large space and need a wagon to draw it. [6] Moreover, there is a right of search for gold and silver, and, in the event of discovery, the possessor is fined. Why, then, should money-making be a preoccupation in a state where the pains of its possession are more than the pleasures of its enjoyment?

8. To continue: we all know that obedience to the magistrates and the laws is found in the highest degree in Sparta. For my part, however, I think that Lycurgus did not so much as attempt to introduce this habit of discipline until he had secured agreement among the most important men in the state. [2] I base my inference on the following facts. In other states the most powerful citizens do not even wish it to be thought that they fear the magistrates: they believe such fear to be a badge of slavery. But at Sparta the most important men show the utmost deference to the magistrates: they pride themselves on their humility, on running instead of walking to answer any call, in the belief that, if they lead, the rest will follow along the path of eager obedience. And so it has proved. [3]

It is probable also that these same citizens helped to set up the office of Ephor, having come to the conclusion that obedience is a very great blessing whether in a state or an army or a household. For they thought that the greater the power of these magistrates the more they would impress the minds of the citizens. [4] Accordingly, the Ephors are competent to fine whom they choose, and have authority to enact immediate payment: they have authority also to deprive the

magistrates of office, and even to imprison and prefer a capital charge against them. Possessing such wide power they do not, like other states, leave persons elected to office to rule as they like throughout the year, but in common with despots and the presidents of the games, they no sooner see anyone breaking the law than they punish the offender. [5]

Among many excellent plans contrived by Lycurgus for encouraging willing obedience to the laws among the citizens, I think one of the most excellent was this: before delivering his laws to the people he paid a visit to Delphi, accompanied by the most important citizens, and inquired of the god whether it was desirable and better for Sparta that she should obey the laws that he himself had framed. Only when the god answered that it was better in every way did he deliver them, after enacting that to refuse obedience to laws given by the Pythian god was not only unlawful, but wicked.

9. The following achievement of Lycurgus, again, deserves admiration. He caused his people to choose an honourable death in preference to a disgraceful life. And, in fact, one would find on consideration that they actually lose a smaller proportion of their men than those who prefer to retire from the danger zone. [2] To tell the truth, escape from premature death more generally goes with valour than with cowardice: for valour is actually easier and pleasanter and more resourceful and mightier. And obviously glory adheres to the side of valour, for all men want to ally themselves somehow with the brave. [3]

However, it is proper not to pass over the means by which he contrived to bring about this result. Clearly, what he did was to ensure that the brave should have happiness, and the coward misery. [4] For in other states when a man proves a coward, the only consequence is that he is called a coward. He goes to the same market as the brave man, sits beside him, attends the same gymnasium, if he chooses. But in Lacedaemon everyone would be ashamed to have a coward with him at the mess or to be matched with him in a wrestling bout. [5] Often when sides are picked for a game of ball he is the odd man left out: in the chorus he is banished to the ignominious place; in the streets he is bound to make way; when he occupies a seat he must needs give it up, even to a junior; he

must support his spinster relatives at home and must explain to them why they are old maids: he must make the best of a fireside without a wife, and yet pay forfeit for that: he may not stroll about with a cheerful countenance, nor behave as though he were a man of unsullied fame, or else he must submit to be beaten by his betters. [6] Small wonder, I think, that where such a load of dishonour is laid on the coward, death seems preferable to a life so dishonoured, so ignominious.

10. The law by which Lycurgus encouraged the practice of virtue up to old age is another excellent measure in my opinion. By requiring men to face the ordeal of election to the Council of Elders near the end of life, he prevented neglect of high principles even in old age. [2] Worthy of admiration also is the protection that he afforded to the old age of good men. For the enactment by which he made the Elders judges in trials on the capital charge caused old age to be held in greater honour than the full vigour of manhood. [3] And surely it is natural that of all contests in the world this should excite the greatest zeal. For noble as are the contests in the Games, they are merely tests of bodily powers. But the contest for the Council judges souls whether they be good. As much then, as the soul surpasses the body, so much more worthy are the contests of the soul to kindle zeal than those of the body. [4]

Again, the following surely entitles the work of Lycurgus to high admiration. He observed that where the cult of virtue is left to voluntary effort, the virtuous are not strong enough to increase the fame of their fatherland. So he compelled all men at Sparta to practise all the virtues in public life. And therefore, just as private individuals differ from one another in virtue according as they practise or neglect it, so Sparta, as a matter of course, surpasses all other states in virtue, because she alone makes a public duty of gentlemanly conduct. [5] For was not this too a noble rule of his, that whereas other states punish only for wrong done to one's neighbour, he inflicted penalties no less severe on any who openly neglected to live as good a life as possible? [6] For he believed, it seems, that enslavement, fraud, robbery, are crimes that injure only the victims of them; but the wicked man and the coward are traitors to the whole body politic. And so he had good reason, I think, for visiting their

offences with the heaviest penalties. [7]

And he laid on the people the duty of practising the whole virtue of a citizen as a necessity irresistible. For to all who satisfied the requirements of his code he gave equal rights of citizenship, without regard to bodily infirmity or want of money. But the coward who shrank from the task of observing the rules of his code he caused to be no more reckoned among the peers. [8]

Now that these laws are of high antiquity there can be no doubt: for Lycurgus is said to have lived in the days of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, in spite of their antiquity, they are wholly strange to others even at this day. Indeed, it is most astonishing that all men praise such institutions, but no state chooses to imitate them.

11. The blessings that I have enumerated so far were shared by all alike in peace and in war. But if anyone wishes to discover in what respect Lycurgus' organisation of the army on active service was better than other systems, here is the information that he seeks. [2]

The Ephors issue a proclamation stating the age-limit fixed for the levy, first for the cavalry and infantry, and then for the handicraftsmen. Thus the Lacedaemonians are well supplied in the field with all things that are found useful in civil life. All the implements that an army may require in common are ordered to be assembled, some in carts, some on baggage animals; thus anything missing is not at all likely to be overlooked. [3]

In the equipment that he devised for the troops in battle he included a red cloak, because he believed this garment to have least resemblance to women's clothing and to be most suitable for war, and a brass shield, because it is very soon polished and tarnishes very slowly. He also permitted men who were past their first youth to wear long hair, believing that it would make them look taller, more dignified and more terrifying. [4]

The men so equipped were divided into six regiments of cavalry and infantry. The officers of each citizen regiment comprise one colonel, four captains, eight first lieutenants and sixteen second lieutenants. These regiments at the word of command form sections sometimes (two), sometimes three, and sometimes six abreast. [5]

The prevalent opinion that the Laconian infantry formation is very complicated is the very reverse of the truth. In the Laconian

formation the front rank men are all officers, and each file has all that it requires to make it efficient. [6] The formation is so easy to understand that no one who knows man from man can possibly go wrong. For some have the privilege of leading; and the rest are under orders to follow. Orders to wheel from column into line of battle are given verbally by the second lieutenant acting as a herald, and the line is formed either thin or deep, by wheeling. Nothing whatever in these movements is difficult to understand. [7] To be sure, the secret of carrying on in a battle with any troops at hand when the line gets into confusion is not so easy to grasp, except for soldiers trained under the laws of Lycurgus. [8]

The Lacedaemonians also carry out with perfect ease manoeuvres that instructors in tactics think very difficult. Thus, when they march in column, every section of course follows in the rear of the section in front of it. Suppose that at such a time an enemy in order of battle suddenly makes his appearance in front: the word is passed to the second lieutenant to deploy into line to the left, and so throughout the column until the battle-line stands facing the enemy. Or again, if the enemy appears in the rear while they are in this formation, each file counter-marches, in order that the best men may always be face to face with the enemy. [9] True, the leader is then on the left, but instead of thinking this a disadvantage, they regard it as a positive advantage at times. For should the enemy attempt a flanking movement he would try to encircle them, not on the exposed but on the protected side. If, however, it seems better for any reason that the leader should be on the right wing, the left wing wheels, and the army counter-marches by ranks until the leader is on the right, and the rear of the column on the left. [10] If, on the other hand, an enemy force appears on the right when they are marching in column, all that they have to do is to order each company to wheel to the right so as to front the enemy like a man-of-war, and thus again the company at the rear of the column is on the right. If again an enemy approaches on the left, they do not allow that either, but either push him back or wheel their companies to the left to face him, and thus the rear of the column finds itself on the left.

12. I will now explain the method of encampment approved by Lycurgus.

Seeing that the angles of a square are useless, he introduced the circular form of camp, except where there was a secure hill or wall, or a river afforded protection in the rear. [2] He caused sentries to be posted by day facing inwards along the place where the arms were kept, for the object of these is to keep an eye not on the enemy but on their friends. The enemy is watched by cavalry from positions that command the widest outlook. [3] To meet the case of a hostile approach at night, he assigned the duty of acting as sentries outside the lines to the Sciritae. In these days the duty is shared by foreigners, if any happen to be present in the camp. [4] The rule that patrols invariably carry their spears, has the same purpose, undoubtedly, as the exclusion of slaves from the place of arms. Nor is it surprising that sentries who withdraw for necessary purposes only go so far away from one another and from the arms as not to cause inconvenience. Safety is the first object of this rule also. [5]

The camp is frequently shifted with the double object of annoying their enemies and of helping their friends.

Moreover the law requires all Lacedaemonians to practise gymnastics regularly throughout the campaign; and the result is that they take more pride in themselves and have a more dignified appearance than other men. Neither walk nor race-course may exceed in length the space covered by the regiment, so that no one may get far away from his own arms. [6] After the exercises the senior colonel gives the order by herald to sit down — this is their method of inspection — and next to take breakfast and to relieve the outposts quickly. After this there are amusements and recreations until the evening exercises. [7] These being finished, the herald gives the order to take the evening meal, and, as soon as they have sung to the praise of the gods to whom they have sacrificed with good omens, to rest by the arms.

Let not the length to which I run occasion surprise, for it is almost impossible to find any detail in military matters requiring attention that is overlooked by the Lacedaemonians.

13. I will also give an account of the power and honour that Lycurgus conferred on the King in the field. In the first place, while on military service the King and his staff are maintained by the state. The colonels mess with the King, in order that constant intercourse

may give better opportunities for taking counsel together in case of need. Three of the peers also attend the King's mess. These three take entire charge of the commissariat for the King and his staff, so that these may devote all their time to affairs of war. [2]

But I will go back to the beginning, and explain how the King sets out with an army. First he offers up sacrifice at home to Zeus the Leader and to the gods associated with him. If the sacrifice appears propitious, the Fire-bearer takes fire from the altar and leads the way to the borders of the land. There the King offers sacrifice again to Zeus and Athena. [3] Only when the sacrifice proves acceptable to both these deities does he cross the borders of the land. And the fire from these sacrifices leads the way and is never quenched, and animals for sacrifice of every sort follow. At all times when he offers sacrifice, the King begins the work before dawn of day, wishing to forestall the goodwill of the god. [4] And at the sacrifice are assembled colonels, captains, lieutenants, commandants of foreign contingents, commanders of the baggage train, and, in addition, any general from the states who chooses to be present. [5] There are also present two of the Ephors, who interfere in nothing except by the King's request, but keep an eye on the proceedings, and see that all behave with a decorum suitable to the occasion. When the sacrifices are ended, the King summons all and delivers the orders of the day. And so, could you watch the scene, you would think all other men mere improvisors in soldiering and the Lacedaemonians the only artists in warfare. [6]

When the King leads, provided that no enemy appears, no one precedes him except the Sciritae and the mounted vedettes. But if ever they think there will be fighting, he takes the lead of the first regiment and wheels to the right, until he is between two regiments and two colonels. [7] The troops that are to support these are marshalled by the senior member of the King's staff. The staff consists of all peers who are members of the royal mess, seers, doctors, fluteplayers, commanding officers and any volunteers who happen to be present. Thus nothing that has to be done causes any difficulty, for everything is duly provided for. [8]

The following arrangements made by Lycurgus with a view to the actual fighting are also, in my opinion, very useful. When a goat is

sacrificed, the enemy being near enough to see, custom ordains that all the fluteplayers present are to play and every Lacedaemonian is to wear a wreath. An order is also given to polish arms. It is also the privilege of the young warrior to comb his hair(?) before entering battle, to look cheerful and earn a good report. [9] Moreover, the men shout words of encouragement to the subaltern, for it is impossible for each subaltern to make his voice travel along the whole of his section to the far end. The colonel is responsible for seeing that all is done properly. [10]

When the time for encamping seems to have arrived, the decision rests with the King, who also indicates the proper place. On the other hand the dispatch of embassies whether to friends or enemies is not the King's affair. All who have any business to transact deal in the first instance with the King. [11] Suitors for justice are remitted by the King to the Court of Hellanodicae, applications for money to the treasurers; and if anyone brings booty, he is sent to the auctioneers. With this routine the only duties left to the King on active service are to act as priest in matters of religion and as general in his dealings with the men.

14. Should anyone ask me whether I think that the laws of Lycurgus still remain unchanged at this day, I certainly could not say that with any confidence whatever. [2] For I know that formerly the Lacedaemonians preferred to live together at home with moderate fortunes rather than expose themselves to the corrupting influences of flattery as governors of dependent states. [3] And I know too that in former days they were afraid to be found in possession of gold; whereas nowadays there are some who even boast of their possessions. [4] There were alien acts in former days, and to live abroad was illegal; and I have no doubt that the purpose of these regulations was to keep the citizens from being demoralized by contact with foreigners; and now I have no doubt that the fixed ambition of those who are thought to be first among them is to live to their dying day as governors in a foreign land. [5] There was a time when they would fain be worthy of leadership; but now they strive far more earnestly to exercise rule than to be worthy of it. [6] Therefore in times past the Greeks would come to Lacedaemon and beg her to lead them against reputed wrongdoers; but now many are

calling on one another to prevent a revival of Lacedaemonian supremacy. [7] Yet we need not wonder if these reproaches are levelled at them, since it is manifest that they obey neither their god nor the laws of Lycurgus.

15. I wish also to give an account of the compact made by Lycurgus between King and state. For this is the only government that continues exactly as it was originally established, whereas other constitutions will be found to have undergone and still to be undergoing modifications. [2]

He ordained that the King shall offer all the public sacrifices on behalf of the state, in virtue of his divine descent, and that, whatever may be the destination to which the state sends out an army, he shall be its leader. [3] He also gave him the right to receive certain parts of the beasts sacrificed, and assigned to him enough choice land in many of the outlanders' cities to ensure him a reasonable competence without excessive riches. [4] In order that even the kings should mess in public, he assigned to them a public mess tent; he also honoured them with a double portion at the meal, not that they might eat enough for two, but that they might have the wherewithal to honour anyone whom they chose. [5] He also allowed each King to choose two messmates, who are called Pythii. Further, he granted them to take of every litter of pigs a porker, that a King may never want victims, in case he wishes to seek counsel of the gods. [6]

A lake near the house supplies abundance of water; and how useful that is for many purposes none know so well as those who are without it. Further, all rise from their seats when the King appears; only the Ephors do not rise from their official chairs. [7] And they exchange oaths monthly, the Ephors on behalf of the state, the King for himself. And this is the King's oath: "I will reign according to the established laws of the state." And this the oath of the state: "While you abide by your oath, we will keep the kingship unshaken." [8]

These then are the honours that are bestowed on the King at home during his lifetime; and they do not greatly exceed those of private persons. For it was not the wish of Lycurgus to put into the King's hearts despotic pride, nor to implant in the mind of the citizens envy of their power. [9] As for the honours assigned to the King at his death, the intention of the laws of Lycurgus herein is to show that

they have preferred the Kings of the Lacedaemonians in honour not as mere men, but as demigods.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS



Translated by E. C. Marchant

Traditionally, this short treatise was ascribed to Xenophon, but many historians now agree it was most likely written by another hand, when Xenophon was a child. It is a hostile treatise about the Athenian Constitution, in which the author appears to be an Athenian and regards his city's democracy as undesirable, as it gives the mob an undue voice in the state. The author complains that the rich and the aristocracy of Athens, who should be best qualified to run the state due to their wealth and education, instead act in their own interests, leading to the suppression of the lower classes.



Classical Athens

CONSTITUTION OF THE ATHENIANS

And as for the fact that the Athenians have chosen the kind of constitution that they have, I do not think well of their doing this inasmuch as in making their choice they have chosen to let the worst people be better off than the good. Therefore, on this account I do not think well of their constitution. But since they have decided to have it so, I intend to point out how well they preserve their constitution and accomplish those other things for which the rest of the Greeks criticize them. [2]

First I want to say this: there the poor and the people generally are right to have more than the highborn and wealthy for the reason that it is the people who man the ships and impart strength to the city; the steersmen, the boatswains, the sub-boatswains, the look-out officers, and the shipwrights — these are the ones who impart strength to the city far more than the hoplites, the high-born, and the good men. This being the case, it seems right for everyone to have a share in the magistracies, both allotted and elective, for anyone to be able to speak his mind if he wants to. [3] Then there are those magistracies which bring safety or danger to the people as a whole depending on whether or not they are well managed: of these the people claim no share (they do not think they should have an allotted share in the generalships or cavalry commands). For these people realize that there is more to be gained from their not holding these magistracies but leaving them instead in the hands of the most influential men. However, such magistracies as are salaried and domestically profitable the people are keen to hold. [4]

Then there is a point which some find extraordinary, that they everywhere assign more to the worst persons, to the poor, and to the popular types than to the good men: in this very point they will be found manifestly preserving their democracy. For the poor, the popular, and the base, inasmuch as they are well off and the likes of them are numerous, will increase the democracy; but if the wealthy, good men are well off, the men of the people create a strong opposition to themselves. [5] And everywhere on earth the best element is opposed to democracy. For among the best people there is

minimal wantonness and injustice but a maximum of scrupulous care for what is good, whereas among the people there is a maximum of ignorance, disorder, and wickedness; for poverty draws them rather to disgraceful actions, and because of a lack of money some men are uneducated and ignorant. [6]

Someone might say that they ought not to let everyone speak on equal terms and serve on the council, but rather just the cleverest and finest. Yet their policy is also excellent in this very point of allowing even the worst people to speak. For if the good men were to speak and make policy, it would be splendid for the likes of themselves but not so for the men of the people. But, as things are, any wretch who wants to can stand up and obtain what is good for him and the likes of himself. [7] Someone might say, "What good would such a man propose for himself and the people?" But they know that this man's ignorance, baseness, and favour are more profitable than the good man's virtue, wisdom, and ill will. [8] A city would not be the best on the basis of such a way of life, but the democracy would be best preserved that way. For the people do not want a good government under which they themselves are slaves; they want to be free and to rule. Bad government is of little concern to them. What you consider bad government is the very source of the people's strength and freedom. [9] If it is good government you seek, you will first observe the cleverest men establishing the laws in their own interest. Then the good men will punish the bad; they will make policy for the city and not allow madmen to participate or to speak their minds or to meet in assembly. As a result of these excellent measures the people would swiftly fall into slavery. [10]

Now among the slaves and metics at Athens there is the greatest uncontrolled wantonness; you can't hit them there, and a slave will not stand aside for you. I shall point out why this is their native practice: if it were customary for a slave (or metic or freedman) to be struck by one who is free, you would often hit an Athenian citizen by mistake on the assumption that he was a slave. For the people there are no better dressed than the slaves and metics, nor are they any more handsome. [11] If anyone is also startled by the fact that they let the slaves live luxuriously there and some of them sumptuously, it would be clear that even this they do for a reason. For where there is

a naval power, it is necessary from financial considerations to be slaves to the slaves in order to take a portion of their earnings, and it is then necessary to let them go free. And where there are rich slaves, it is no longer profitable in such a place for my slave to fear you. In Sparta my slave would fear you; but if your slave fears me, there will be the chance that he will give over his money so as not to have to worry anymore. [12] For this reason we have set up equality between slaves and free men, and between metics and citizens. The city needs metics in view of the many different trades and the fleet. Accordingly, then, we have reasonably set up a similar equality also for the metics. [13]

The people have spoiled the athletic and musical activities at Athens because they thought them unfitting (they know they can't do them). In the training of dramatic choruses and in providing for athletic contests and the fitting out of triremes, they know that it is the wealthy who lead the choruses but the people who are led in them, and it is the wealthy who provide for athletic contests, but the people who are presided over in the triremes and in the games. At least the people think themselves worthy of taking money for singing, running, dancing, and sailing in ships, so that they become wealthy and the wealthy poorer. And in the courts they are not so much concerned with justice as with their own advantage. [14]

In regard to the allies: the Athenians sail out and lay information, as they are said to do; they hate the aristocrats inasmuch as they realize that the ruler is necessarily hated by the ruled and that if the rich and aristocratic men in the cities are strong, the rule of the people at Athens will last for a very short time. This is why they disfranchise the aristocrats, take away their money, expel and kill them, whereas they promote the interests of the lower class. The Athenian aristocrats protect their opposite numbers in the allied cities, since they realize that it will be to their advantage always to protect the finer people in the cities. [15] Someone might say that the Athenians' strength consists in the allies' ability to pay tribute-money; but the rabble thinks it more advantageous for each one of the Athenians to possess the resources of the allies and for the allies themselves to possess only enough for survival and to work without being able to plot defection. [16]

Also in another point the Athenian people are thought to act ill-advisedly: they force the allies to sail to Athens for judicial proceedings. But they reason in reply that the Athenian people benefit from this. First, from the deposits at law they receive their dicastic pay through the year. Then, sitting at home without going out in ships, they manage the affairs of the allied cities; in the courts they protect the democrats and ruin their opponents. If the allies were each to hold trials locally, they would, in view of their annoyance with the Athenians, ruin those of their citizens who were the leading friends of the Athenian people. [17] In addition, the people at Athens profit in the following ways when trials involving allies are held in Athens: first, the one per-cent tax in the Peiraeus brings in more for the city; secondly, if anyone has lodgings to rent, he does better, and so does anyone who lets out on hire a team of animals or a slave; further, the heralds of the assembly do better when the allies are in town. [18] In addition, were the allies not to go away for judicial proceedings, they would honour only those of the Athenians who sail out from the city, namely generals, trierarchs, and ambassadors. As it is now, each one of the allies is compelled to flatter the Athenian populace from the realization that judicial action for anyone who comes to Athens is in the hands of none other than the populace (this indeed is the law at Athens); in the courts he is obliged to entreat whoever comes in and to grasp him by the hand. In this way the allies have become instead the slaves of the Athenian people. [19]

Furthermore, as a result of their possessions abroad and the tenure of magistracies which take them abroad, both they and their associates have imperceptibly learned to row; for of necessity a man who is often at sea takes up an oar, as does his slave, and they learn naval terminology. [20] Both through experience of voyages and through practice they become fine steersmen. Some are trained by service as steersmen on an ordinary vessel, others on a freighter, others — after such experience — on triremes. Many are able to row as soon as they board their ships, since they have been practising beforehand throughout their whole lives.

But the Athenian infantry, which has the reputation of being very weak, has been deliberately so constituted: they consider that they are weaker and fewer than their enemies, but they are stronger, even

on land than such of their allies as pay the tribute, and they think their infantry sufficient if they are more powerful than their allies. [2]

Besides, there is the following accidental circumstance which applies to them: subject peoples on land can combine small cities and fight collectively, but subject peoples at sea, by virtue of being islanders, cannot join their cities together into the same unit. For the sea is in the way, and those now in power are thalassocrats. If it is possible for islanders to combine unnoticed on a single island, they will die of starvation. [3] Of the Athenians' subject cities on the mainland, some which are large are ruled because of fear, and some small are ruled because of actual need; for there is no city which does not have to import or export, and these activities will be impossible for a city unless it is subject to the rulers of the sea. [4]

Moreover, the rulers of the sea can do just what rulers of the land sometimes can do, — ravage the territory of the stronger. For wherever there is no enemy (or wherever enemies are few), it is possible to put in along the coast and — if there is an attack, — to go on board one's ship and sail away; one who does this is less badly off than one who comes to help with infantry. [5] Further, the rulers of the sea can sail away from their own land to anywhere at all, whereas a land power can take a journey of only a few days from its own territory. Progress is slow, and going on foot one cannot carry provisions sufficient for a long time. One who goes on foot must pass through friendly country or else fight and win, whereas it is possible for the seafarer to go on shore wherever he has the stronger power...this land, but to sail along the coast until he comes to a friendly region or to those weaker than himself. [6] Further, the strongest land powers suffer badly from visitations of disease on the crops, but sea powers bear them easily. For the whole earth does not ail at the same time, so that from a prosperous land imports reach the rulers of the sea. [7]

If there should be mention also of slighter matters, first, by virtue of their naval power, the Athenians have mingled with various peoples and discovered types of luxury. Whatever the delicacy in Sicily, Italy, Cyprus, Egypt, Lydia, Pontus, the Peloponnese, or anywhere else, — all these have been brought together into one place by virtue of naval power. [8] Further, hearing every kind of dialect,

they have taken something from each; the Greeks rather tend to use their own dialect, way of life, and type of dress, but the Athenians use a mixture from all the Greeks and non-Greeks. [9] The Athenian populace realizes that it is impossible for each of the poor to offer sacrifices, to give lavish feasts, to set up shrines, and to manage a city which will be beautiful and great, and yet the populace has discovered how to have sacrifices, shrines, banquets, and temples. The city sacrifices at public expense many victims, but it is the people who enjoy the feasts and to whom the victims are allotted. [10] Some rich persons have private gymnasias, baths, and dressing-rooms, but the people have built for their own use many wrestling-quarters, dressing-rooms, and public baths. The rabble has more enjoyment of these things than the well-to-do members of the upper class. [11]

Wealth they alone of the Greeks and non-Greeks are capable of possessing. If some city is rich in ship-timber, where will it distribute it without the consent of the rulers of the sea? Again if some city is rich in iron, copper, or flax, where will it distribute without the consent of the rulers of the sea? However, it is from these very things that I have my ships: timber from one place, iron from another, copper from another, flax from another, wax from another. [12] In addition, they will forbid export to wherever any of our enemies are, on pain of being unable to use the sea. And I, without doing anything, have all this from the land because of the sea; yet no other city has even two of these things: the same city does not have timber and flax, but wherever there is flax in abundance, the land is smooth and timberless. There is not even copper and iron from the same city, not any two or three other things in a single city, but there is one product here and another there. [13]

Furthermore, every mainland has either a projecting headland or an offshore island or some strait, so that it is possible for a naval power to put in there and to injure those who dwell on the land. [14]

But there is one thing the Athenians lack. If they were thalassocrats living on an island, it would be possible for them to inflict harm, if they wished, but as long as they ruled the sea, to suffer none, — neither the ravaging of their land nor the taking on of enemies. As it is, of the Athenians the farmers and the wealthy curry favour with the enemy, whereas the people, knowing that nothing of

theirs will be burnt or cut down, live without fear and refuse to fawn upon the enemy. [15] Furthermore, if they lived on an island, they would have been relieved of another fear: the city would never be betrayed by oligarchs nor would the gates be thrown open nor enemies invade. (For how would these things happen to islanders?) Besides no one would rebel against the democracy, if they lived on an island; as it is, if there were civil strife, the rebels would place their hope in bringing in the enemy by land. If they lived on an island, even this would be of no concern to them. [16] However, since from the beginning they happen not to have lived on an island, they now do the following: they place their property on islands while trusting in the naval empire and they allow their land to be ravaged, for they realize that if they concern themselves with this, they will be deprived of other greater goods. [17]

Further, for oligarchic cities it is necessary to keep to alliances and oaths. If they do not abide by agreements or if injustice is done, there are the names of the few who made the agreement. But whatever agreements the populace makes can be repudiated by referring the blame to the one who spoke or took the vote, while the others declare that they were absent or did not approve of the agreement made in the full assembly. If it seems advisable for their decisions not to be effective, they invent myriad excuses for not doing what they do not want to do. And if there are any bad results from the people's plans, they charge that a few persons, working against them, ruined their plans; but if there is a good result, they take the credit for themselves. [18]

They do not permit the people to be ill spoken of in comedy, so that they may not have a bad reputation; but if anyone wants to attack private persons, they bid him do so, knowing perfectly well that the person so treated in comedy does not, for the most part, come from the populace and mass of people but is a person of either wealth, high birth, or influence. Some few poor and plebeian types are indeed abused in comedy but only if they have been meddling in others' affairs and trying to rise above their class, so that the people feel no vexation at seeing such persons abused in comedy. [19]

It is **my** opinion that the people at Athens know which citizens are

good and which bad, but that in spite of this knowledge they cultivate those who are complaisant and useful to themselves, even if bad; and they tend to hate the good. For they do not think that the good are naturally virtuous for the people's benefit, but for their hurt. On the other hand, some persons are not by nature democratic although they are truly on the people's side. [20] I pardon the people themselves for their democracy. One must forgive everyone for looking after his own interests. But whoever is not a man of the people and yet prefers to live in a democratic city rather than in an oligarchic one has readied himself to do wrong and has realized that it is easier for an evil man to escape notice in a democratic city than in an oligarchic.

As for the constitution of the Athenians I do not praise its form; but since they have decided to have a democracy, I think they have preserved the democracy well by the means which I have indicated.

I notice also that objections are raised against the Athenians because it is sometimes not possible for a person, though he sit about for a year, to negotiate with the council or the assembly. This happens at Athens for no other reason than that owing to the quantity of business they are not able to deal with all persons before sending them away. [2] For how could they do this? First of all they have to hold more festivals than any other Greek city (and when these are going on it is even less possible for any of the city's affairs to be transacted), next they have to preside over private and public trials and investigations into the conduct of magistrates to a degree beyond that of all other men, and the council has to consider many issues involving war, revenues, law-making, local problems as they occur, also many issues on behalf of the allies, receipt of tribute, the care of dockyards and shrines. Is there accordingly any cause for surprise if with so much business they are unable to negotiate with all persons? [3] But some say, "If you go to the council or assembly with money, you will transact your business." I should agree with these people that many things are accomplished at Athens for money and still more would be accomplished if still more gave money. This, however, I know well, that the city has not the wherewithal to deal with everyone who asks, not even if you give them any amount of gold and silver. [4] They have also to adjudicate cases when a man

does not repair his ship or builds something on public property, and in addition to settle disputes every year for chorus leaders at the Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaea, Promethia, and Hephaestia.

Four hundred trierarchs are appointed every year, and disputes have to be settled for any of these who wish. Moreover, magistrates have to be approved and their disputes settled, orphans approved and prisoners' guards appointed. And these things happen every year. [5] Now and again they have to deal with cases of desertion and other unexpected misdeeds, whether it be an irregular act of wantonness or an act of impiety.

There are still many items which I altogether pass over. The most important have been mentioned except for the assessments of tribute. These generally occur every four years. [6] Well then, ought one to think that all these cases should not be dealt with? Let someone say what should not be dealt with there. If, on the other hand, one must agree that it is all necessary, the adjudicating has to go on throughout the year, since not even now when they do adjudicate throughout the year can they stop all the wrongdoers because there are so many. [7] All right, yet someone will say that they ought to judge cases, but that fewer people should do the judging. Unless they have only a few courts, there will necessarily be few jurors in each court, so that it will be easier to adapt oneself to a few jurors and to bribe them, and easier to judge much less justly. [8] Further, one must consider that the Athenians have to hold festivals during which the courts are closed. They hold twice as many festivals as others do, but I am counting only those which have equivalents in the state holding the smallest number. Under such circumstances, therefore, I deny that it is possible for affairs at Athens to be otherwise than as they now are, except insofar as it is possible to take away a bit here and add a bit there; a substantial change is impossible without removing some part of the democracy. [9] It is possible to discover many ways to improve the constitution; however, it is not easy to discover a means whereby the democracy may continue to exist but sufficient at the same time to provide a better polity, except — as I have just said — by adding or subtracting a little. [10]

Also in the following point the Athenians seem to me to act ill-advisedly: in cities embroiled in civil strife they take the side of the

lower class. This they do deliberately; for if they preferred the upper class, they would prefer those who are contrary-minded to themselves. In no city is the superior element well disposed to the populace, but in each city it is the worst part which is well disposed to the populace. For like is well disposed to like. Accordingly the Athenians prefer those sympathetic to themselves. [11] Whenever they have undertaken to prefer the upper class, it has not turned out well for them; within a short time the people in Boeotia were enslaved; similarly when they preferred the Milesian upper class, within a short time that class had revolted and cut down the people; similarly when they preferred the Spartans to the Messenians, within a short time the Spartans had overthrown the Messenians and were making war on the Athenians. [12]

Someone might interject that no one has been unjustly disfranchised at Athens. I say that there are some who have been unjustly disfranchised but very few indeed. To attack the democracy at Athens not a few are required. [13] As this is so, there is no need to consider whether any persons have been justly disfranchised, only whether unjustly. Now how would anyone think that many people were unjustly disfranchised at Athens, where the people are the ones who hold the offices? It is from failing to be a just magistrate or failing to say or do what is right that people are disfranchised at Athens. In view of these considerations one must not think that there is any danger at Athens from the disfranchised.

The Greek Texts



Ancient ruins at Scillus, where Xenophon spent his exile years



More ruins at Scillus

LIST OF GREEK TEXTS



In this section of the eBook, readers can view the original Greek texts of Xenophon's works. You may wish to Bookmark this page for future reference.

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[1.1.1] Δαρειίου καὶ Παρυσάτιδος γίνονται παῖδες δύο, πρεσβύτερος μὲν Ἀρταξέρξης, νεώτερος δὲ Κῦρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθένει Δαρεῖος καὶ ὑπώπτει τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, ἐβούλετο τῷ παῖδι ἀμφοτέρω παρεῖναι.

[1.1.2] ὁ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερος παρὼν ἐτύγχανε· Κῦρον δὲ μεταπέμπεται ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἧς αὐτὸν σατράπην ἐποίησε, καὶ στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπέδειξε πάντων ὅσοι ἐς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζονται. ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν Τισσαφέρνην ὡς φίλον, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχων ὀπλίτας ἀνέβη τριακοσίους, ἄρχοντα δὲ αὐτῶν Ξενίαν Παρράσιον.

[1.1.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε Δαρεῖος καὶ κατέστη εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀρταξέρξης, Τισσαφέρνης διαβάλλει τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ πείθεται καὶ συλλαμβάνει Κῦρον ὡς ἀποκτενῶν· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐξαιτησαμένη αὐτὸν ἀποπέμπει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.

[1.1.4] ὁ δ' ὡς ἀπῆλθε κινδυνεύσας καὶ ἀτιμασθεὶς, βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλά, ἣν δύνηται, βασιλεύσει ἀντ' ἐκείνου. Παρύσατις μὲν δὴ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ, φιλοῦσα αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν βασιλεύοντα Ἀρταξέρξη.

[1.1.5] ὅστις δ' ἀφικνεῖτο τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο ὥστε αὐτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους εἶναι ἢ βασιλεῖ. καὶ τῶν παρ' ἐαυτῷ δὲ βαρβάρων ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς πολεμεῖν τε ἱκανοὶ εἴησαν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοιεν αὐτῷ.

[1.1.6] τὴν δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν δύναμιν ἡθροίζεν ὡς μάλιστα ἐδύνατο ἐπικρυπτόμενος, ὅπως ὅτι ἀπαρασκευότατον λάβοι βασιλέα. ὧδε οὖν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν συλλογὴν. ὁπόσας εἶχε φυλακὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε τοῖς φρουράρχοις ἐκάστοις λαμβάνειν ἄνδρας Πελοποννησίους ὅτι πλείστους καὶ βελτίστους, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντος Τισσαφέρνης ταῖς πόλεσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν αἱ Ἰωνικαὶ πόλεις Τισσαφέρνης τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ βασιλέως δεδομένα, τότε δὲ ἀφειστήκεσαν πρὸς Κῦρον πᾶσαι πλην Μιλήτου.

[1.1.7] ἐν Μιλήτῳ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης προαισθόμενος τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βουλευομένους ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ἐπειράτο κατάγειν τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας. καὶ αὕτη αὖ ἄλλη πρόφασις ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦ ἀθροίζειν στράτευμα.

[1.1.8] πρὸς δὲ βασιλέα πέμπων ἡξίου ἀδελφὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ δοθῆναι οἱ ταύτας τὰς πόλεις μᾶλλον ἢ

Τισσαφέρνην ἄρχειν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ συνέπραττεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα· ὥστε βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλὴν οὐκ ἠισθάνετο, Τισσαφέρνει δ' ἐνόμιζε πολεμοῦντα αὐτὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατεύματα δαπανᾶν· ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤχθετο αὐτῶν πολεμούντων. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπέπεμπε τοὺς γιγνομένους δασμοὺς βασιλεῖ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ὧν Τισσαφέρνους ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων. [1.1.9] ἄλλο δὲ στράτευμα αὐτῷ συνελέγετο ἐν Χερρονήσῳ τῇ κατ' ἀντιπέρας Ἀβύδου τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἦν· τούτῳ συγγενόμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἠγάσθη τε αὐτὸν καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ μυρίους δαρεικοὺς. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν τὸ χρυσίον στράτευμα συνέλεξεν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου ὁρμώμενος τοῖς Θραιξὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἑλλησποντον οἰκοῦσι καὶ ὠφέλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὥστε καὶ χρήματα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν τροφὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱ Ἑλλησποντιακαὶ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι. τοῦτο δ' αὖ οὕτω τρεφόμενον ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα. [1.1.10] Ἀριστίππος δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς ξένος ὧν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτῷ, καὶ πιεζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἴκοι ἀντιστασιωτῶν ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ αἰτεῖ αὐτὸν εἰς δισχιλίους ξένους καὶ τριῶν μηνῶν μισθόν, ὡς οὕτως περιγενόμενος ἂν τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος δίδωσιν αὐτῷ εἰς τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἑξ μηνῶν μισθόν, καὶ δεῖται αὐτοῦ μὴ πρόσθεν καταλῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ συμβουλευσῇται. οὕτω δὲ αὖ τὸ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῷ τρεφόμενον στράτευμα. [1.1.11] Πρόξενον δὲ τὸν Βοιωτίον ξένον ὄντα ἐκέλευσε λαβόντα ἄνδρας ὅτι πλείστους παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐς Πισίδας βουλόμενος στρατεύεσθαι, ὡς πράγματα παρεχόντων τῶν Πισιδῶν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρᾳ. Σοφαίνεται δὲ τὸν Στυμφάλιον καὶ Σωκράτην τὸν Ἀχαιόν, ξένους ὄντας καὶ τούτους, ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας λαβόντας ἐλθεῖν ὅτι πλείστους, ὡς πολεμήσων Τισσαφέρνει σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι τοῖς Μιλησίων. καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτως οὗτοι.

[1.2.1] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκει ἤδη πορεύεσθαι αὐτῷ ἄνω, τὴν μὲν πρόφασιν ἐποιεῖτο ὡς Πισίδας βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν παντάπασιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας· καὶ ἀθροίζει ὡς ἐπὶ τούτους τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ παραγγέλλει τῷ τε Κλεάρχῳ λαβόντι ἥκειν ὅσον ἦν αὐτῷ στράτευμα καὶ τῷ Ἀριστίππῳ συναλλαγέντι πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι ἀποπέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὃ εἶχε στράτευμα· καὶ Ξενίᾳ τῷ Ἀρκάδι, ὃς αὐτῷ προειστήκει τοῦ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ξενικοῦ, ἥκειν παραγγέλλει λαβόντα τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν ὅποσοι ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις

φυλάττειν. [1.2.2] ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μίλητον πολιορκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας ἐκέλευσε σὺν αὐτῷ στρατεύεσθαι, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς, εἰ καλῶς καταπράξειεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐστρατεύετο, μὴ πρόσθεν παύσεσθαι πρὶν αὐτοὺς καταγάγοι οἴκαδε. οἱ δὲ ἡδέως ἐπειθοντο· ἐπίστευον γὰρ αὐτῷ· καὶ λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. [1.2.3] Ξενίας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων λαβὼν παρεγένετο εἰς Σάρδεις ὀπλίτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Πρόξενος δὲ παρῆν ἔχων ὀπλίτας μὲν εἰς πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, γυμνήτας δὲ πεντακοσίους, Σοφαίνετος δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους, Σωκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἀχαιὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων ὡς πεντακοσίους, Πασίων δὲ ὁ Μεγαρεὺς τριακοσίους μὲν ὀπλίτας, τριακοσίους δὲ πελταστὰς ἔχων παρεγένετο· ἦν δὲ καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης τῶν ἀμφὶ Μίλητον στρατευομένων. [1.2.4] οὗτοι μὲν εἰς Σάρδεις αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ κατανοήσας ταῦτα, καὶ μείζονα ἡγησάμενος εἶναι ἢ ὥς ἐπὶ Πισίδας τὴν παρασκευὴν, πορεύεται ὥς βασιλέα ἢ ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἰππέας ἔχων ὥς πεντακοσίους. [1.2.5] καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνους τὸν Κύρου στόλον, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο. Κῦρος δὲ ἔχων οὓς εἴρηκα ὥρματο ἀπὸ Σάρδεων· καὶ ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυδίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον ποταμόν. τούτου τὸ εὖρος δύο πλέθρα· γέφυρα δὲ ἐπὶν ἐξευγμένη πλοίοις. [1.2.6] τοῦτον διαβὰς ἐξελαύνει διὰ Φρυγίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ὀκτὼ εἰς Κολοσσάς, πόλιν οἰκουμένην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ ἦκε Μένων ὁ Θετταλὸς ὀπλίτας ἔχων χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς πεντακοσίους, Δόλοπας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Ὀλυνθίους. [1.2.7] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Κελαινάς, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα Κύρῳ βασιλεία ἦν καὶ παράδεισος μέγας ἀγρίων θηρίων πλήρης, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ἐθήρευεν ἀπὸ ἵππου, ὅποτε γυμνάσαι βούλοιοτο ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους. διὰ μέσου δὲ τοῦ παραδείσου ῥεῖ ὁ Μαϊάνδρος ποταμός· αἱ δὲ πηγαὶ αὐτοῦ εἰσιν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς Κελαινῶν πόλεως. [1.2.8] ἔστι δὲ καὶ μεγάλου βασιλέως βασιλεία ἐν Κελαιναῖς ἐρυμνὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Μαρσίου ποταμοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει· ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ οὗτος διὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐμβάλλει εἰς τὸν Μαϊάνδρον· τοῦ δὲ Μαρσίου τὸ εὖρὸς ἐστὶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ποδῶν. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Ἀπόλλων ἐκδεῖραι Μαρσύαν νικήσας ἐρίζοντά οἱ περὶ σοφίας, καὶ τὸ δέρμα κρεμάσαι ἐν τῷ ἄνθρωπῳ ὅθεν αἱ πηγαί· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁ ποταμὸς

καλεῖται Μαρσύας. [1.2.9] ἐνταῦθα Ξέρξης, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡττηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἀπεχώρει, λέγεται οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῦτά τε τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν Κελαινῶν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε Κῦρος ἡμέρας τριάκοντα· καὶ ἦκε Κλέαρχος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυγὰς ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς Θρᾷκας ὀκτακοσίους καὶ τοξότας Κρηῖτας διακοσίους. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Σῶσις παρῆν ὁ Συρακόσιος ἔχων ὀπλίτας τριακοσίους, καὶ Σοφαίνετος Ἀρκάδας ἔχων ὀπλίτας χιλίους. καὶ ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν καὶ ἀριθμὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐποίησεν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ, καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ σύμπαντες ὀπλίται μὲν μύριοι χίλιοι, πελτασταὶ δὲ ἅμφί τοὺς δισχιλίους. [1.2.10] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Πέλτας, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἄθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος. [1.2.11] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δώδεκα εἰς Κεράμων ἀγοράν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, ἐσχάτην πρὸς τῇ Μυσίᾳ χώραι. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς Καύστρου πεδῖον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινε ἡμέρας πέντε· καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ὠφεΐλετο μισθὸς πλεόν ἢ τριῶν μηνῶν, καὶ πολλάκις ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπήιτουν. ὁ δὲ ἐλπίδας λέγων διῆγε καὶ δηλὸς ἦν ἀνιῶμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρὸς τοῦ Κύρου τρόπου ἔχοντα μὴ ἀποδιδόναι. [1.2.12] ἐνταῦθα ἀφικνεῖται Ἐπύαξα ἡ Συεννέσιος γυνὴ τοῦ Κιλίκων βασιλέως παρὰ Κῦρον· καὶ ἐλέγετο Κύρῳ δοῦναι χρήματα πολλά. τῇ δ' οὖν στρατιᾷ τότε ἀπέδωκε Κῦρος μισθὸν τεττάρων μηνῶν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ Κίλισσα φυλακὴν [καὶ φύλακας] περὶ αὐτὴν Κίλικας καὶ Ἀσπενδίου· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ συγγενέσθαι Κῦρον τῇ Κιλίσσῃ. [1.2.13] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐλαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Θύμβριον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἦν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κρήνη ἡ Μίδου καλουμένη τοῦ Φρυγῶν βασιλέως, ἐφ' ἣ ἰσχυρὰ λέγεται Μίδας τὸν Σάτυρον θηρεῦσαι οἴνῳ κεράσας αὐτήν. [1.2.14] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα εἰς Τυριάειον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε ἡμέρας τρεῖς. καὶ λέγεται δεηθῆναι ἡ Κίλισσα Κύρου ἐπιδεῖξαι τὸ στράτευμα αὐτῇ· βουλόμενος οὖν ἐπιδεῖξαι ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. [1.2.15] ἐκέλευσε δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡς νόμος αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην οὕτω ταχθῆναι καὶ στήναι, συντάξαι δ' ἕκαστον τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ἐτάχθησαν οὖν ἐπὶ τεττάρων· εἶχε δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν Μένων καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ

ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοί. [1.2.16] ἐθεώρει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους· οἱ δὲ παρήλανον τεταγμένοι κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, παρελύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ ἢ Κίλισσα ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης. εἶχον δὲ πάντες κράνη χαλκᾶ καὶ χιτῶνας φοινικοῦς καὶ κνημίδας καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐκκεκαλυμμένας. [1.2.17] ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας παρήλασε, στήσας τὸ ἄρμα πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος μέσης, πέμψας Πίγρητα τὸν ἐρμηνέα παρὰ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκέλευσε προβαλέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐπιχωρῆσαι ὅλην τὴν φάλαγγα. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα προεῖπον τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐσάλπιγξε, προβαλόμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπήρισαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θάπτον προϊόντων σὺν κραυγῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου δρόμος ἐγένετο τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς, [1.2.18] τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων φόβος πολὺς, καὶ ἡ τε Κίλισσα ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρμαμάξης καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς καταλιπόντες τὰ ὄνια ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες σὺν γέλῳ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς ἦλθον. ἡ δὲ Κίλισσα ἰδοῦσα τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὴν τάξιν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐθαύμασε. Κῦρος δὲ ἥσθη τὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους φόβον ἰδών. [1.2.19] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν εἰς Ἰκόνιον, τῆς Φρυγίας πόλιν ἐσχάτην. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Λυκαονίας σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα. ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐπέτρεψε διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὥς πολεμίαν οὖσαν. [1.2.20] ἐντεῦθεν Κῦρος τὴν Κίλισσαν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἀποπέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ὁδόν· καὶ συνέπεμψεν αὐτῇ στρατιώτας οὓς Μένων εἶχε καὶ αὐτόν. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξελαύνει διὰ Καππαδοκίας σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε πρὸς Δάναν, πόλιν οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν ᾧ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἄνδρα Πέρσην Μεγαφέρνην, φοινικιστὴν βασιλείον, καὶ ἕτερόν τινα τῶν ὑπάρχων δυνάστην, αἰτιασάμενος ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτῷ. [1.2.21] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειρῶντο εἰσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν· ἡ δὲ εἰσβολὴ ἦν ὁδὸς ἀμαξιτὸς ὀρθία ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀμήχανος εἰσελθεῖν στρατεύματι, εἴ τις ἐκώλυεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ Συνέννεσις εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φυλάττων τὴν εἰσβολήν· διὸ ἔμεινεν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι λελοιπῶς εἴη Συνέννεσις τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπεὶ ἤισθητο ὅτι τὸ Μένωνος στράτευμα ἤδη ἐν Κιλικίᾳ ἦν εἴσω τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ ὅτι τριήρεις ἤκουε περιπλεύσας ἀπ' Ἰωνίας εἰς Κιλικίαν Ταμῶν ἔχοντα τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ αὐτοῦ Κύρου. [1.2.22] Κῦρος δ' οὖν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος, καὶ εἶδε τὰς σκηνάς οὗ οἱ

Κίλικες ἐφύλαττον. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ κατέβαιναν εἰς πεδίον μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐπίρρυτον, καὶ δένδρων παντοδαπῶν σύμπλεον καὶ ἀμπέλων· πολὺ δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ μελίην καὶ κέγχρον καὶ πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς φέρει. ὄρος δ' αὐτὸ περιεῖχεν ὄχυρόν καὶ ὑψηλὸν πάντῃ ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν. [1.2.23] καταβὰς δὲ διὰ τούτου τοῦ πεδίου ἤλασε σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν εἰς Ταρσοῦς, τῆς Κιλικίας πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα, οὗ ἦν τὰ Συνενέσιος βασιλεία τοῦ Κιλικίων βασιλέως· διὰ μέσου δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Κύδνος ὄνομα, εὖρος δύο πλέθρων. [1.2.24] ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες μετὰ Συνενέσιος εἰς χωρίον ὄχυρόν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πλὴν οἱ τὰ καπηλεῖα ἔχοντες· ἔμειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν οἰκοῦντες ἐν Σόλοις καὶ ἐν Ἰσσοῖς. [1.2.25] Ἐπύαξα δὲ ἡ Συνενέσιος γυνὴ προτέρα Κύρου πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς Ταρσοῦς ἀφίκετο· ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῶν ὁρέων τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδίον δύο λόχοι τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος ἀπώλοντο· οἱ μὲν ἔφασαν ἀρπάζοντάς τι κατακοπῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν Κιλικίων, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντας καὶ οὐ δυναμένους εὐρεῖν τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς εἶτα πλανωμένους ἀπολέσθαι· ἦσαν δ' οὖν οὗτοι ἑκατὸν ὀπλίται. [1.2.26] οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπεὶ ἤκον, τὴν τε πόλιν τοὺς Ταρσοῦς διήρπασαν, διὰ τὸν ὄλεθρον τῶν συστρατιωτῶν ὀργιζόμενοι, καὶ τὰ βασιλεία τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ. Κύρος δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσήλασεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μετεπέμπετο τὸν Συνέννεσιν πρὸς ἑαυτόν· ὁ δ' οὔτε πρότερον οὐδενὶ πῶ κρείττονι ἑαυτοῦ εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθεῖν ἔφη οὔτε τότε Κύρῳ ἰέναι ἠθέλε, πρὶν ἢ γυνὴ αὐτὸν ἔπεισε καὶ πίστεις ἔλαβε. [1.2.27] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπεὶ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοισι, Συνέννεσις μὲν ἔδωκε Κύρῳ χρήματα πολλὰ εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, Κύρος δὲ ἐκείνῳ δῶρα ἃ νομίζεται παρὰ βασιλεῖ τίμια, ἵππον χρυσοχάλινον καὶ στρεπτόν χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια καὶ ἀκινάκην χρυσοῦν καὶ στολὴν Περσικὴν, καὶ τὴν χώραν μηκέτι διαρπάζεσθαι· τὰ δὲ ἥρπασμένα ἀνδράποδα, ἣν πού ἐντυγχάνωσιν, ἀπολαμβάνειν.

[1.3.1] ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ὁ Κύρος καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ ἡμέρας εἴκοσιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω· ὑπώπτευν γὰρ ἤδη ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἰέναι· μισθωθῆναι δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔφασαν. πρῶτος δὲ Κλέαρχος τοὺς αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας ἐβιάζετο ἰέναι· οἱ δ' αὐτόν τε ἔβαλλον καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια τὰ ἐκείνου, ἐπεὶ ἄρξαιτο προῖέναι. [1.3.2] Κλέαρχος δὲ τότε μὲν μικρὸν ἐξέφυγε μὴ καταπετρωθῆναι, ὕστερον δ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται βιάσασθαι, συνήγαγεν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν

αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐδάκρυε πολὺν χρόνον ἐστῶς· οἱ δὲ ὀρῶντες ἐθαύμαζον καὶ ἐσιώπων· εἶτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [1.3.3] «ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὅτι χαλεπῶς φέρω τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ξένος Κῦρος ἐγένετο καὶ με φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐτίμησε καὶ μυρίους ἔδωκε δαρεικούς· οὓς ἐγὼ λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοὶ οὐδὲ καθηδυνάθησα, ἀλλ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐδαπάνων. [1.3.4] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας ἐπολέμησα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐτιμωρούμην μεθ' ὑμῶν, ἐκ τῆς Χερρονήσου αὐτοὺς ἐξελαύνων βουλομένους ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Ἑλληνας τὴν γῆν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκάλει, λαβὼν ὑμᾶς ἐπορευόμην, ἵνα εἴ τι δέοιτο ὠφελοίην αὐτὸν ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου. [1.3.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑμεῖς οὐ βούλεσθε συμπορεύεσθαι, ἀνάγκη δὴ μοι ἢ ὑμᾶς προδόντα τῇ Κύρου φιλίᾳ χρῆσθαι ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον ψευσάμενον μεθ' ὑμῶν εἶναι. εἰ μὲν δὴ δίκαια ποιήσω οὐκ οἶδα, αἰρήσομαι δ' οὖν ὑμᾶς καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν δέημι πείσομαι. καὶ οὐποτε ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ Ἑλληνας ἀγαγὼν εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, προδοὺς τοὺς Ἑλληνας τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φιλίαν εἰλόμην, [1.3.6] ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμοὶ οὐ θέλετε πείθεσθαι, ἐγὼ σὺν ὑμῖν ἔψομαι καὶ ὅ τι ἂν δέημι πείσομαι. νομίζω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐμοὶ εἶναι καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ σὺν ὑμῖν μὲν ἂν οἶμαι εἶναι τίμιος ὅπου ἂν ᾧ, ὑμῶν δὲ ἔρημος ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἱκανὸς οἶμαι εἶναι οὐτ' ἂν φίλον ὠφελῆσαι οὐτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἀλέξασθαι. ὡς ἐμοῦ οὖν ἰόντος ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχετε.» [1.3.7] ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οἱ τε αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὅτι οὐ φαίη παρὰ βασιλέα πορεύεσθαι ἐπήνισσαν· παρὰ δὲ Ξενίου καὶ Πασίωνος πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι λαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ Κλεάρχῳ. [1.3.8] Κῦρος δὲ τούτοις ἀπορῶν τε καὶ λυπούμενος μετεπέμπετο τὸν Κλεάρχον· ὁ δὲ ἰέναι μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλε, λάθραι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμπων αὐτῷ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε θαρρεῖν ὡς καταστησομένων τούτων εἰς τὸ δέον. μεταπέμπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευεν αὐτόν· αὐτὸς δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἰέναι. [1.3.9] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν τοὺς θ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν βουλόμενον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. «ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν δὴ Κύρου δῆλον ὅτι οὕτως ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὥσπερ τὰ ἡμέτερα πρὸς ἐκείνον· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐκείνου ἔτι στρατιῶται, ἐπεὶ γε οὐ συνεπόμεθα αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι ἡμῖν μισθοδότης. [1.3.10] ὅτι μέντοι ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζει ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἶδα· ὥστε καὶ μεταπεμπομένου αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐθέλω ἐλθεῖν,

τὸ μὲν μέγιστον αἰσχυνόμενος ὅτι σύνοιδα ἑμαυτῷ πάντα ἐψευσμένος αὐτόν, ἔπειτα καὶ δεδιὼς μὴ λαβὼν με δίκην ἐπιθῇ ὢν νομίζει ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἡδικῆσθαι. [1.3.11] ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ οὐχ ὥρα εἶναι ἡμῖν καθεύδειν οὐδ' ἀμελεῖν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθαι ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐκ τούτων. καὶ ἕως γε μένομεν αὐτοῦ σκεπτέον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα μενοῦμεν, εἴ τε ἤδη δοκεῖ ἀπιέναι, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα ἄπιμεν, καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξομεν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτων οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ιδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέεν. [1.3.12] ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ πολλοῦ μὲν ἄξιος ὧι ἂν φίλος ᾖ, χαλεπώτατος δ' ἐχθρὸς ὧι ἂν πολέμιος ᾖ, ἔχει δὲ δύναμιν καὶ πεζὴν καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ ναυτικὴν ἦν πάντες ὁμοίως ὀρῶμέν τε καὶ ἐπιστάμεθα· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πόρρω δοκοῦμέν μοι αὐτοῦ καθῆσθαι. ὥστε ὥρα λέγειν ὃ τι τις γινώσκει ἄριστον εἶναι.» ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. [1.3.13] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, λέξοντες ἃ ἐγίνωσκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγκέλευστοι, ἐπιδεικνύντες οἷα εἴη ἡ ἀπορία ἄνευ τῆς Κύρου γνώμης καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. [1.3.14] εἷς δὲ δὴ εἶπε προσποιούμενος σπεύδειν ὡς τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐλέσθαι ἄλλους ὡς τάχιστα, εἰ μὴ βούλεται Κλέαρχος ἀπάγειν· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἀγοράζεσθαι (ἢ δ' ἀγορὰ ᾗ ἐν τῷ βαρβαρικῷ στρατεύματι) καὶ συσκευάζεσθαι· ἐλθόντας δὲ Κύρον αἰτεῖν πλοῖα, ὡς ἀποπλέοιεν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ διδῶι ταῦτα, ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν Κύρον ὅστις διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας ἀπάξει. ἐὰν δὲ μηδὲ ἡγεμόνα διδῶι, συντάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην, πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσῃσι μήτε Κύρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες. οὗτος μὲν τοιαῦτα εἶπε· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Κλέαρχος εἶπε τοσοῦτον. [1.3.15] «ὥς μὲν στρατηγήσοντα ἐμὲ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδεὶς ὑμῶν λεγέτω· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐνορῶ δι' ἃ ἐμοὶ τοῦτο οὐ ποιητέον· ὡς δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὃν ἂν ἔλῃσθε πείσομαι ἢ δυνατόν μάλιστα, ἵνα εἰδῇτε ὅτι καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπίσταμαι ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων. [1.3.16] μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη, ἐπιδεικνὺς μὲν τὴν εὐήθειαν τοῦ τὰ πλοῖα αἰτεῖν κελεύοντος, ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου ποιουμένου, ἐπιδεικνὺς δὲ ὡς εὐηθὲς εἴη ἡγεμόνα αἰτεῖν παρὰ τούτου ὧι λυμαινόμεθα τὴν πρᾶξιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἡγεμόνι πιστεύσομεν ὃν ἂν Κύρος διδῶι, τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ ἄκρα ἡμῖν κελεύειν Κύρον προκαταλαβεῖν; [1.3.17] ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁκνοῖν μὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἐμβαίνειν ἃ ἡμῖν δοίη, μὴ ἡμᾶς ταῖς τριήρεσι καταδύσει, φοβοίμην δ' ἂν τῷ ἡγεμόνι ὃν δοίη ἔπεσθαι, μὴ

ἡμᾶς ἀγάγηι ὅθεν οὐκ ἔσται ἐξελθεῖν· βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ἄκοντος ἀπιὼν Κύρου λαθεῖν αὐτὸν ἀπελθών· ὃ οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν. [1.3.18] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φημι ταῦτα μὲν φλυαρίας εἶναι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἄνδρας ἐλθόντας πρὸς Κύρον οἵτινες ἐπιτῆδαιοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἐρωτᾶν ἐκείνῳ τί βούλεται ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι· καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἡ πρᾶξις ἢ παραπλησία οἵαιπερ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήτο τοῖς ξένοις, ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ μὴ κακίους εἶναι τῶν πρόσθεν τούτῳ συναναβάντων· [1.3.19] ἐὰν δὲ μείζων ἢ πρᾶξις τῆς πρόσθεν φαίνεται καὶ ἐπιπονωτέρα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα, ἀξιοῦν ἢ πείσαντα ἡμᾶς ἄγειν ἢ πεισθέντα πρὸς φιλίαν ἀφιέναι· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ ἐπόμενοι ἂν φίλοι αὐτῷ καὶ πρόθυμοι ἐποίμεθα καὶ ἀπιόντες ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἀπίοιμεν· ὃ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα λέγηι ἀπαγγεῖλαι δεῦρο· ἡμᾶς δ' ἀκούσαντας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευέσθαι.» [1.3.20] ἔδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι σὺν Κλεάρχῳ πέμπουσιν οἱ ἡρώτων Κύρον τὰ δόξαντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ἀκούει Ἀβροκόμαν ἐχθρὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ εἶναι, ἀπέχοντα δώδεκα σταθμούς· πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔφη βούλεσθαι ἐλθεῖν· κἂν μὲν ἦ ἐκεῖ, τὴν δίκην ἔφη χρήζειν ἐπιθεῖναι αὐτῷ, «ἦν δὲ φύγη, ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσόμεθα.» [1.3.21] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ αἵρετοὶ ἀγγέλλουσι τοῖς στρατιώταις· τοῖς δὲ ὑποψία μὲν ἦν ὅτι ἄγει πρὸς βασιλέα, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει ἔπεσθαι. προσαιτοῦσι δὲ μισθόν· ὁ δὲ Κύρος ὑπισχνεῖται ἡμιόλιον πᾶσι δώσειν οὗ πρότερον ἔφερον, ἀντὶ δαρεικοῦ τρία ἡμιδαρικὰ τοῦ μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ· ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα ἄγοι οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἤκουσεν οὐδεὶς ἐν τῷ γε φανερωδί.

[1.4.1] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα ἐπὶ τὸν Ψάρον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος τρία πλέθρα. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ τὸν Πύραμον ποταμόν, οὗ ἦν τὸ εὖρος στάδιον. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμούς δύο παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς Ἴσσοῦς, τῆς Κιλικίας ἐσχάτην πόλιν ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ οἰκουμένην, μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα. [1.4.2] ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ Κύρῳ παρήσαν αἱ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου νῆες τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε καὶ ἐπ' αὐταῖς ναύαρχος Πυθαγόρας Λακεδαιμόνιος. ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐταῖς Ταμῶς Αἰγύπτιος ἐξ Ἐφέσου, ἔχων ναῦς ἐτέρας Κύρου πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, αἷς ἐπολιόρκει Μίλητον, ὅτε Τισσαφέρνει φίλη ἦν, καὶ συνεπολέμει Κύρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. [1.4.3] παρῆν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, μετάπεμπτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, ἐπτακοσίους ἔχων ὀπλίτας, ὧν ἐστρατήγει παρὰ Κύρῳ. αἱ δὲ νῆες ὥρμουν παρὰ τὴν Κύρου σκηνήν. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ παρὰ

Ἀβροκόμα μισθοφόροι Ἕλληνες ἀποστάντες ἦλθον παρὰ Κῦρον τετρακόσιοι ὀπλίται καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα. [1.4.4] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε ἐπὶ πύλας τῆς Κιλικίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας. ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τεῖχη, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔσωθεν <τὸ> πρὸ τῆς Κιλικίας Συνένεσις εἶχε καὶ Κιλικίων φυλακή, τὸ δὲ ἔξω τὸ πρὸ τῆς Συρίας βασιλέως ἐλέγετο φυλακή φυλάττειν. διὰ μέσου δὲ ῥεῖ τούτων ποταμὸς Κάρσος ὄνομα, εὖρος πλέθρου. ἅπαν δὲ τὸ μέσον τῶν τειχῶν ἦσαν στάδιοι τρεῖς· καὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἦν βίαι· ἦν γὰρ ἡ πάροδος στενὴ καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα, ὑπερθεῖν δ' ἦσαν πέτραι ἡλίβατοι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐφειστήκεσαν πύλαι. [1.4.5] ταύτης ἕνεκα τῆς παρόδου Κῦρος τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμψατο, ὅπως ὀπλίτας ἀποβιβάσειεν εἰσω καὶ ἔξω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ βιασόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους εἰ φυλάττοιεν ἐπὶ ταῖς Συρίαις πύλαις, ὅπερ ὤιετο ποιήσειν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀβροκόμαν, ἔχοντα πολὺ στρατεύμα. Ἀβροκόμας δὲ οὐ τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Κῦρον ἐν Κιλικίαι ὄντα, ἀναστρέψας ἐκ Φοινίκης παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήλανεν, ἔχων, ὡς ἐλέγετο, τριάκοντα μυριάδας στρατιᾶς. [1.4.6] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ Συρίας σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας πέντε εἰς Μυρίανδον, πόλιν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ· ἐμπόριον δ' ἦν τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὥρμουν αὐτόθι ὀλκάδες πολλάι. ἐνταῦθ' ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· [1.4.7] καὶ Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς [στρατηγὸς] καὶ Πασίων ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐμβάντες εἰς πλοῖον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐνθέμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν, ὡς μὲν τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκουν φιλοτιμηθέντες ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτῶν τοὺς παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἀπελθόντας ὡς ἀπionτας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πάλιν καὶ οὐ πρὸς βασιλέα εἶα Κῦρος τὸν Κλέαρχον ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἀφανεῖς, διήλθε λόγος ὅτι διώκει αὐτοὺς Κῦρος τριήρεσι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἠῤῥοντο ὡς δειλοὺς ὄντας αὐτοὺς ληφθῆναι, οἱ δ' ὄκτιρον εἰ ἀλώσوينτο. [1.4.8] Κῦρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἶπεν· «ἀπολελοίπασιν ἡμᾶς Ξενίας καὶ Πασίων. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπιστάσθων ὅτι οὔτε ἀποδεδράκασιν· οἶδα γὰρ ὅπῃ οἴχονται· οὔτε ἀποπεφεύγασιν· ἔχω γὰρ τριήρεις ὥστε ἐλεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων πλοῖον· ἀλλὰ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἔγωγε αὐτοὺς διώξω, οὐδ' ἐρεῖ οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐγὼ ἕως μὲν ἂν παρῇ τις χρῶμαι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπιέναι βούληται, συλλαβὼν καὶ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιῶ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀποσυσλῶ. ἀλλὰ ἴτωσαν, εἰδότες ὅτι κακίους εἰσὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἢ ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκείνους. καίτοι ἔχω γε αὐτῶν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν Τράλλεσι φρουρούμενα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τούτων στερήσονται, ἀλλ'

ἀπολήγονται τῆς πρόσθεν ἔνεκα περὶ ἐμὲ ἀρετῆς.» [1.4.9] καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, εἴ τις καὶ ἀθυμότερος ἦν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ἀκούοντες τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἥδιον καὶ προθυμότερον συνεπορεύοντο.

μετὰ ταῦτα Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου, πλήρη δ' ἰχθύων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶων, οὐδὲ τὰς περιστεράς. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι ἐν αἷς ἐσκήνουν Παρυσάτιδος ἦσαν εἰς ζώνην δεδομένοι. [1.4.10] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Δάρδατος ποταμοῦ, οὗ τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν τὰ Βελέσους βασιλεία τοῦ Συρίας ἄρξαντος, καὶ παράδεισος πάνυ μέγας καὶ καλός, ἔχων πάντα ὅσα ὄραι φύουσι. Κῦρος δ' αὐτὸν ἐξέκοψε καὶ τὰ βασιλεία κατέκαυσεν. [1.4.11] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, ὄντα τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων σταδίων· καὶ πόλις αὐτόθι ὠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων Θάψακος ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθα ἔμεινεν ἡμέρας πέντε. καὶ Κῦρος μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡ ὁδὸς ἔσοιτο πρὸς βασιλέα μέγαν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· καὶ κελεύει αὐτοὺς λέγειν ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἀναπείθειν ἔπεσθαι. [1.4.12] οἱ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐκκλησίαν ἀπήγγελλον ταῦτα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, καὶ ἔφασαν αὐτοὺς πάλαι ταῦτ' εἰδότας κρύπτειν, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῶι, ὥσπερ τοῖς προτέροις μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβᾶσι παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχην ἰόντων, ἀλλὰ καλοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς Κῦρον. [1.4.13] ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ Κύρῳ ἀπήγγελλον· ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστωι δώσειν πέντε ἀργυρίου μνᾶς, ἐπὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦκωσι, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἐντελῇ μέχρι ἂν καταστήσῃ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς Ἰωνίαν πάλιν. τὸ μὲν δὴ πολὺ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ οὕτως ἐπέισθη. Μένων δὲ πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται, πότερον ἔσονται Κύρῳ ἢ οὐ, συνέλεξε τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. [1.4.14] «ἄνδρες, ἐάν μοι πεισθῇτε, οὔτε κινδυνεύσαντες οὔτε πονήσαντες τῶν ἄλλων πλέον προτιμήσεσθε στρατιωτῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου. τί οὖν κελεύω ποιῆσαι; νῦν δεῖται Κῦρος ἔπεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ βασιλέα· ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ὑμᾶς χρῆναι διαβῆναι τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν πρὶν δῆλον εἶναι ὅ τι οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀποκρινοῦνται Κύρῳ. [1.4.15] ἦν μὲν γὰρ ψηφίσωνται ἔπεσθαι, ὑμεῖς

δόξετε αἵτιοι εἶναι ἄρξαντες τοῦ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ὡς προθυμοτάτοις οὓσιν ὑμῖν χάριν εἴσεται Κῦρος καὶ ἀποδώσει· ἐπίσταται δ' εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος· ἦν δὲ ἀποψηφίσωνται οἱ ἄλλοι, ἅπιμεν μὲν ἅπαντες τοῦμπαλιν, ὑμῖν δὲ ὡς μόνοις πειθομένοις πιστοτάτοις χρήσεται καὶ εἰς φρούρια καὶ εἰς λοχαγίας, καὶ ἄλλου οὔτινος ἂν δέησθε οἶδα ὅτι ὡς φίλοι τεύξεσθε Κύρου.» [1.4.16] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπέιθοντο καὶ διέβησαν πρὶν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκρίνασθαι. Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο διαβεβηκότας, ἦσθη τε καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι πέμψας Γλοῦν εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ· ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει, ἢ μηκέτι με Κῦρον νομίζετε.» [1.4.17] οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται ἐν ἐλπίσι μεγάλαις ὄντες ἠύχοντο αὐτὸν εὐτυχῆσαι, Μένωνι δὲ καὶ δῶρα ἐλέγετο πέμψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας διέβαινε· συνείπετο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτῷ ἅπαν. καὶ τῶν διαβαινόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οὐδεὶς ἐβρέχθη ἀνωτέρω τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [1.4.18] οἱ δὲ Θασακηνοὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐπόποθ' οὗτος ὁ ποταμὸς διαβατὸς γένοιτο πεζῇ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλὰ πλοίοις, ἃ τότε Ἀβροκόμας προῖων κατέκαυσεν, ἵνα μὴ Κῦρος διαβῇ. ἐδόκει δὴ θεῖον εἶναι καὶ σαφῶς ὑποχωρῆσαι τὸν ποταμὸν Κύρῳ ὡς βασιλεύσονται. [1.4.19] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Συρίας σταθμοὺς ἐννέα παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν. ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν κῶμαι πολλαὶ μεσταὶ σίτου καὶ οἴνου. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο.

[1.5.1] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Ἀραβίας τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους πέντε παρασάγγας τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ ἦν μὲν ἡ γῆ πεδίον ἅπαν ὁμαλὲς ὥσπερ θάλαττα, ἀψινθίου δὲ πληρὲς· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐνῆν ὕλης ἢ καλάμου, ἅπαντα ἦσαν εὐώδη ὥσπερ ἀρώματα· [1.5.2] δένδρον δ' οὐδὲν ἐνῆν, θηρία δὲ παντοῖα, πλεῖστοι ὄνοι ἄγριοι, πολλοὶ δὲ στρουθοὶ αἱ μεγάλοι· ἐνῆσαν δὲ καὶ ωτίδες καὶ δορκάδες· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία οἱ ἵππεῖς ἐνίοτε ἐδίωκον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεὶ τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἔστασαν· πολὺ γὰρ τῶν ἵπων ἔτρεχον θάπτον· καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοιεν οἱ ἵπποι, ταῦτόν ἐποίουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διαστάντες οἱ ἵππεῖς θηρῶιεν διαδεχόμενοι. τὰ δὲ κρέα τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ἦν παραπλήσια τοῖς ἐλαφείοις, ἀπαλώτερα δέ. [1.5.3] στρουθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔλαβεν· οἱ δὲ διώξαντες τῶν ἱππέων ταχὺ ἐπάυνοντο· πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέσπα φεύγουσα, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ δρόμῳ, ταῖς δὲ πτέρυξιν αἵρουσα, ὥσπερ ἰστίῳ χρωμένη. τὰς δὲ ωτίδας ἂν τις ταχὺ

ἀνιστῆ ἔστι λαμβάνειν· πέτονται γὰρ βραχὺ ὥσπερ πέρδικες καὶ ταχὺ ἀπαγορεύουσι. [1.5.4] τὰ δὲ κρέα αὐτῶν ἥδιστα ἦν. πορευόμενοι δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Μάσκαν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. ἐνταῦθα ἦν πόλις ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ Κορσωτή· περιερρεῖτο δ' αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ Μάσκα κύκλωι. [1.5.5] ἐνταῦθ' ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρισκαίδεκα παρασάγγας ἐνενήκοντα τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων, καὶ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ Πύλᾳς. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς σταθμοῖς πολλὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀπώλετο ὑπὸ λιμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, ἀλλὰ ψιλὴ ἦν ἅπασα ἡ χώρα· οἱ δὲ ἐνοικοῦντες ὄνους ἀλέτας παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν ὀρύττοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ἦγον καὶ ἐπώλουν καὶ ἀνταγοράζοντες σῖτον ἔζων. [1.5.6] τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ὁ σῖτος ἐπέλιπε, καὶ πρίασθαι οὐκ ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ Λυδία ἀγοραῖ ἐν τῷ Κύρου βαρβαρικῷ, τὴν καπίθην ἀλεύρων ἢ ἀλφίτων τεττάρων σίγλων. ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύναται ἐπτὰ ὀβολοὺς καὶ ἡμιωβέλιον Ἀττικῶν· ἡ δὲ καπίθη δύο χοίνικας Ἀττικὰς ἐχώρει. κρέα οὖν ἐσθίοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διεγίγνοντο. [1.5.7] ἦν δὲ τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν, ὁπότε ἡ πρὸς ὕδωρ βούλοιτο διατελέσαι ἢ πρὸς χιλόν. καὶ δὴ ποτε στενοχωρίας καὶ πηλοῦ φανέντος ταῖς ἀμάξαις δυσπορεύτου ἐπέστη ὁ Κῦρος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρίστοις καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτοις καὶ ἔταξε Γλοῦν καὶ Πίγηρτα λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ συνεκβιβάζειν τὰς ἀμάξας. [1.5.8] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷι σχολαίως ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ ὀργῇ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν Πέρσας τοὺς κρατίστους συνεπισπεῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας. ἔνθα δὴ μέρος τι τῆς εὐταξίας ἦν θεάσασθαι. ῥίψαντες γὰρ τοὺς πορφυροὺς κἀνδύς ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστος ἐστηκώς, ἴεντο ὥσπερ ἂν δράμοι τις ἐπὶ νίκη καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρᾶνοὺς γηλόφου, ἔχοντες τούτους τε τοὺς πολυτελεῖς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰς ποικίλας ἀναξυρίδας, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ στρεπτοὺς περὶ τοῖς τραχήλοις καὶ ψέλια περὶ ταῖς χερσίν· εὐθὺς δὲ σὺν τούτοις εἰσπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸν πηλὸν θᾶπτον ἢ ὥς τις ἂν ὤιετο μετεώρους ἐξεκόμισαν τὰς ἀμάξας. [1.5.9] τὸ δὲ σύμπαν δῆλος ἦν Κῦρος ὡς σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ οὐ διατρίβων ὅπου μὴ ἐπισιτισμοῦ ἕνεκα ἢ τινος ἄλλου ἀναγκαίου ἐκαθέζετο, νομίζων, ὅσῳ θᾶπτον ἔλθοι, τοσοῦτω ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, ὅσῳ δὲ σχολαίτερον, τοσοῦτω πλέον συναγεῖρεσθαι βασιλεῖ στράτευμα. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλέως ἀρχῇ πλήθει μὲν χώρας

καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἰσχυρὰ οὕσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκεσι τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ τῷ διεσπᾶσθαι τὰς δυνάμεις ἀσθενῆς, εἴ τις διὰ ταχέων τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖτο. [1.5.10] πέραν δὲ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τοὺς ἐρήμους σταθμοὺς ἦν πόλις εὐδαίμων καὶ μεγάλη, ὄνομα δὲ Χαρμάνδη· ἐκ ταύτης οἱ στρατιῶται ἠγόραζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, σχεδίαῖς διαβαίνοντες ὧδε. διφθέρας ἃς εἶχον στεγᾶσματα ἐπίμπλασαν χόρτου κούφου, εἴτα συνήγον καὶ συνέσπων, ὥς μὴ ἅπτεσθαι τῆς κάρφης τὸ ὕδωρ· ἐπὶ τούτων διέβαινον καὶ ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, οἶνόν τε ἐκ τῆς βαλάνου πεποιημένον τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φοίνικος καὶ σίτον μελίνης· τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλεῖστον. [1.5.11] ἀμφιλεξάντων δέ τι ἐνταῦθα τῶν τε τοῦ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν τοῦ Κλεάρχου ὁ Κλέαρχος κρίνας ἀδικεῖν τὸν τοῦ Μένωνος πληγὰς ἐνέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα ἔλεγεν· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐχαλέπαινον καὶ ὠργίζοντο ἰσχυρῶς τῷ Κλεάρχῳ. [1.5.12] τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖ κατασκευάμενος τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφιππεύει ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν διὰ τοῦ Μένωνος στρατεύματος σὺν ὀλίγοις τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν· Κῦρος δὲ οὐπω ἦκεν, ἀλλ’ ἔτι προσήλαινε· τῶν δὲ Μένωνος στρατιωτῶν ξύλα σχίζων τις ὥς εἶδε Κλέαρχον διελαύνοντα, ἤισι τῇ ἀξίνῃ· καὶ οὗτος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἤμαρτεν· ἄλλος δὲ λίθῳ καὶ ἄλλος, εἴτα πολλοί, κραυγῆς γενομένης. [1.5.13] ὁ δὲ καταφεύγει εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ εὐθὺς παραγγέλλει εἰς τὰ ὅπλα· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ γόνατα θέντας, αὐτὸς δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι πλείους ἢ τετταράκοντα, τούτων δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι Θρᾷκες, ἤλαιναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μένωνος, ὥστ’ ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληχθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Μένωνα, καὶ τρέχειν ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔστασαν ἀποροῦντες τῷ πράγματι. [1.5.14] ὁ δὲ Πρόξενος (ἔτυχε γὰρ ὕστερος προσιῶν καὶ τάξις αὐτῷ ἐπομένη τῶν ὀπλιτῶν) εὐθὺς οὖν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων ἄγων ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Κλεάρχου μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ’ ἐχαλέπαινε ὅτι αὐτοῦ ὀλίγου δεήσαντος καταλευσθῆναι πράως λέγοι τὸ αὐτοῦ πάθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἐξίστασθαι. [1.5.15] ἐν τούτῳ δ’ ἐπήϊει καὶ Κῦρος καὶ ἐπύθετο τὸ πρᾶγμα· εὐθὺς δ’ ἔλαβε τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν πιστῶν ἦκεν ἐλαύνων εἰς τὸ μέσον, καὶ λέγει τάδε. [1.5.16] Κλέαρχε καὶ Πρόξενε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἴστε ὃ τι ποιεῖτε. εἰ γάρ τινα ἀλλήλοις μάχην συνάψετε, νομίζετε ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐμέ τε

κατακεκόψεσθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς οὐ πολὺ ἔμοῦ ὕστερον· κακῶς γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐχόντων πάντες οὗτοι οὕς ὁρᾶτε βάρβαροι πολεμιώτεροι ἡμῖν ἔσονται τῶν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ὄντων. [1.5.17] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγένετο· καὶ παυσάμενοι ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ χώραν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα.

[1.6.1] ἐντεῦθεν προϊόντων ἐφαίνετο ἵχνια ἵππων καὶ κόπρος· εἰκάζετο δ' εἶναι ὁ στίβος ὡς δισχιλίων ἵππων. οὗτοι προϊόντες ἔκαιον καὶ χιλὸν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο χρήσιμον ἦν. Ὀρόντας δέ, Πέρσης ἀνὴρ, γένει τε προσήκων βασιλεῖ καὶ τὰ πολέμια λεγόμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις Περσῶν ἐπιβουλεύει Κύρῳ καὶ πρόσθεν πολεμήσας, καταλλαγεὶς δέ. [1.6.2] οὗτος Κύρῳ εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτῷ δοίῃ ἱππέας χιλίους, ὅτι τοὺς προκατακαίοντας ἱππέας ἢ κατακαίνοι ἂν ἐνεδρεύσας ἢ ζῶντας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἂν ἔλοι καὶ κωλύσειε τοῦ καίειν ἐπιόντας, καὶ ποιήσειεν ὥστε μήποτε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς ἰδόντας τὸ Κύρου στρατεύμα βασιλεῖ διαγγεῖλαι. τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα ἐδόκει ὠφέλιμα εἶναι, καὶ ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν λαμβάνειν μέρος παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν ἡγεμόνων. [1.6.3] ὁ δ' Ὀρόντας νομίσας ἐτοιμοὺς εἶναι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἱππέας γράφει ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ βασιλέα ὅτι ἤξοι ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς ἂν δύνηται πλείστους· ἀλλὰ φράσαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἱππεῦσιν ἐκέλευεν ὡς φίλιον αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεσθαι. ἐνῆν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ καὶ τῆς πρόσθεν φιλίας ὑπομνήματα καὶ πίστεως. ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν δίδωσι πιστῷ ἀνδρί, ὡς ὤιετο· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Κύρῳ δίδωσιν. [1.6.4] ἀναγνοὺς δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ Κῦρος συλλαμβάνει Ὀρόνταν, καὶ συγκαλεῖ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σκηνὴν Πέρσας τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτά, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγούς ἐκέλευσεν ὀπλίτας ἀγαγεῖν, τούτους δὲ θέσθαι τὰ ὄπλα περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σκηνήν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, ἀγαγόντες ὡς τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας. [1.6.5] Κλέαρχον δὲ καὶ εἶσω παρεκάλεσε σύμβουλον, ὅς γε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδόκει προτιμηθῆναι μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆλθεν, ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς φίλοις τὴν κρίσιν τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὡς ἐγένετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀπόρρητον ἦν. [1.6.6] ἔφη δὲ Κῦρον ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου ὧδε. «παρακάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὅπως σὺν ὑμῖν βουλευόμενος ὃ τι δίκαιόν ἐστι καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο πράξω περὶ Ὀρόντα τουτουί. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ ἔδωκεν ὑπήκοον εἶναι ἐμοί· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταχθεὶς, ὡς ἔφη αὐτός, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ οὗτος ἐπολέμησεν ἐμοί ἔχων τὴν ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν προσπολεμῶν ἐποίησα ὥστε δόξαι τούτῳ τοῦ πρὸς

ἐμὲ πολέμου παύσασθαι, καὶ δεξιὰν ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδωκα, μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, Ὀρόντα, ἔστιν ὃ τι σε ἠδίκησα;» [1.6.7] ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐ. πάλιν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἠρώτα· «οὐκοῦν ὕστερον, ὥς αὐτὸς σὺ ὁμολογεῖς, οὐδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικούμενος ἀποστάς εἰς Μυσοὺς κακῶς ἐποίεις τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν ὃ τι ἐδύνω;» ἔφη Ὀρόντας· «οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότε αὐτὸς ἔγνως τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος βωμὸν μεταμέλειν τέ σοι ἔφησθα καὶ πείσας ἐμὲ πιστὰ πάλιν ἔδωκάς μοι καὶ ἔλαβες παρ' ἐμοῦ;» καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμολόγει Ὀρόντας. [1.6.8] «τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀδικηθεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ νῦν τὸ τρίτον ἐπιβουλεύων μοι φανερὸς γέγονας;» εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀρόντα ὅτι οὐδὲν ἀδικηθεὶς, ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτόν· «ὁμολογεῖς οὖν περὶ ἐμὲ ἄδικος γεγενῆσθαι;» «ἤ γὰρ ἀνάγκη,» ἔφη Ὀρόντας. ἐκ τούτου πάλιν ἠρώτησεν ὁ Κῦρος· «ἔτι οὖν ἂν γένοιο τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμιος, ἐμοὶ δὲ φίλος καὶ πιστός;» ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδ' εἰ γενοίμην, ὦ Κῦρε, σοὶ γ' ἂν ποτε ἔτι δόξαιμι. [1.6.9] πρὸς ταῦτα Κῦρος εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν· «ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα μὲν πεποίηκε, τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγει· ὑμῶν δὲ σὺ πρῶτος, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀπόφηναι γνώμην ὃ τι σοι δοκεῖ.» Κλέαρχος δὲ εἶπε τάδε· «συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι ὥς τάχιστα, ὥς μηκέτι δέῃ τοῦτον φυλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ σχολὴ ἢ ἡμῖν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι, τοὺς ἐθελοντὰς τούτους εὖ ποιεῖν.» [1.6.10] ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ἔφη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσθέσθαι. μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφη, κελεύοντος Κύρου ἔλαβον τῆς ζώνης τὸν Ὀρόνταν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἅπαντες ἀναστάντες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς· εἶτα δ' ἐξήγον αὐτὸν οἷς προσετάχθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν οἷπερ πρόσθεν προσεκύνουν, καὶ τότε προσεκύνησαν, καίπερ εἰδότες ὅτι ἐπὶ θάνατον ἄγοιτο. [1.6.11] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀρταπάτου σκηνὴν εἰσῆχθη, τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν Κύρου σκηπτούχων, μετὰ ταῦτα οὔτε ζῶντα Ὀρόνταν οὔτε τεθνηκότα οὐδεὶς εἶδε πώποτε, οὐδὲ ὅπως ἀπέθανεν οὐδεὶς εἰδὼς ἔλεγεν· εἵκαζον δὲ ἄλλοι ἄλλως· τάφος δὲ οὐδεὶς πώποτε αὐτοῦ ἐφάνη.

[1.7.1] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξελαύνει διὰ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δώδεκα. ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ Κῦρος ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περὶ μέσας νύκτας· ἐδόκει γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔω ἥξειν βασιλέα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι μαχομένον· καὶ ἐκέλευε Κλέαρχον μὲν τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἡγεῖσθαι, Μένωνα δὲ τὸν Θετταλὸν τοῦ εὐωνύμου, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ διέταξε. [1.7.2] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξέτασιν ἅμα τῇ ἐπιούσῃ

ἡμέραι ἦκοντες αὐτόμολοι παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἀπήγγελλον Κύρῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας στρατιᾶς. Κύρος δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεβουλευέτο τε πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην ποιοῖτο καὶ αὐτὸς παρήνει θαρρύνων τοιάδε. [1.7.3] «ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀπορῶν βαρβάρων συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἄγω, ἀλλὰ νομίζων ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους πολλῶν βαρβάρων ὑμᾶς εἶναι, διὰ τοῦτο προσέλαβον. ὅπως οὖν ἔσεσθε ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἧς κέκτησθε καὶ ἧς ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονίζω. εὗ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐλοίμην ἂν ἀντὶ ὧν ἔχω πάντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλαπλασίῳν. [1.7.4] ὅπως δὲ καὶ εἰδῆτε εἰς οἶον ἔρχεσθε ἀγῶνα, ὑμᾶς εἰδὼς διδάξω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος πολὺ καὶ κραυγῇ πολλῇ ἐπιάσιν· ἂν δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάσχησθε, τὰ ἄλλα καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι μοι δοκῶ οἴους ἡμῖν γνώσεσθε τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ὄντας ἀνθρώπους. ὑμῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν ὄντων καὶ εὗ τῶν ἐμῶν γενομένων, ἐγὼ ὑμῶν τὸν μὲν οἴκαδε βουλόμενον ἀπιέναι τοῖς οἴκοι ζηλωτὸν ποιήσω ἀπελθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ οἶμαι ποιήσιν τὰ παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλέσθαι ἀντὶ τῶν οἴκοι.» [1.7.5] ἐνταῦθα Γαυλίτης παρών, φυγὰς Σάμιος, πιστὸς δὲ Κύρῳ, εἶπεν· «καὶ μὴν, ὦ Κύρε, λέγουσί τινες ὅτι πολλὰ ὑπισχνῇ νῦν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιόντος, ἂν δὲ εὗ γένηται τι, οὐ μεμνήσεσθαι σέ φασιν· ἔνιοι δὲ οὐδ' εἰ μεμνήῳ τε καὶ βούλοιο δύνασθαι ἂν ἀποδοῦναι ὅσα ὑπισχνῇ.» [1.7.6] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔλεξεν ὁ Κύρος· «ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀρχὴ πατριᾶ πρὸς μὲν μεσημβρίαν μέχρι οὗ διὰ καῦμα οὐ δύνανται οἰκεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον μέχρι οὗ διὰ χειμῶνα· τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τούτων πάντα σατραπεύουσιν οἱ τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φίλοι. [1.7.7] ἦν δ' ἡμεῖς νικήσωμεν, ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοὺς ἡμετέρους φίλους τούτων ἐγκρατεῖς ποιῆσαι. ὥστε οὐ τοῦτο δέδοικα, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ὅ τι δῶ ἐκάστωι τῶν φίλων, ἂν εὗ γένηται, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἱκανοὺς οἷς δῶ. ὑμῶν δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ στέφανον ἐκάστωι χρυσοῦν δώσω.» [1.7.8] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἦσαν πολὺ προθυμότεροι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξήγγελλον. εἰσῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀξιοῦντες εἰδέναι τί σφίσιν ἔσται, ἐὰν κρατήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐμπιπλὰς ἀπάντων τὴν γνώμην ἀπέπεμπε. [1.7.9] παρεκελεύοντο δὲ αὐτῷ πάντες ὅσοι περ διελέγοντο μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὀπισθεν ἑαυτῶν τάττεσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ᾧδὲ πῶς ἦρετο τὸν Κύρον· «οἶει γάρ σοι μαχεῖσθαι, ὦ Κύρε, τὸν ἀδελφόν;» «νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κύρος, εἴπερ γε Δαρείου καὶ Παρυσάτιδός ἐστι παῖς, ἐμὸς δὲ ἀδελφός, οὐκ ἀμαχεῖ

ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λήψομαι.» [1.7.10] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐν τῇ ἐξοπλισίᾳ ἀριθμὸς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀσπὶς μυρία καὶ τετρακοσία, πελτασταὶ δὲ δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι, τῶν δὲ μετὰ Κύρου βαρβάρων δέκα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσι. [1.7.11] τῶν δὲ πολέμιων ἐλέγοντο εἶναι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα διακόσια. ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἐξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς, ὧν Ἀρταγέρσης ἦρχεν· οὗτοι δ' αὖ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένοι ἦσαν. [1.7.12] τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως στρατεύματος ἦσαν ἄρχοντες καὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες, τριάκοντα μυριάδων ἕκαστος, Ἀβροκόμας, Τισσαφέρνης, Γωβρύας, Ἀρβάκης. τούτων δὲ παρεγένοντο ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐνενήκοντα μυριάδες καὶ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· Ἀβροκόμας δὲ ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης ἡμέραις πέντε, ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐλαύνων. [1.7.13] ταῦτα δὲ ἡγγέλλον πρὸς Κῦρον οἱ αὐτομολήσαντες [ἐκ τῶν πολέμιων] παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως πρὸ τῆς μάχης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ὕστερον ἐλήφθησαν τῶν πολέμιων ταῦτα ἡγγέλλον. [1.7.14] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τρεῖς συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ καὶ τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ καὶ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ· ὦιετο γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μαχεῖσθαι βασιλέα· κατὰ γὰρ μέσον τὸν σταθμὸν τοῦτον τάφρος ἦν ὀρυκτὴ βαθεῖα, τὸ μὲν εὗρος ὀργυιαί πέντε, τὸ δὲ βάθος ὀργυιαί τρεῖς. [1.7.15] παρετέτατο δὲ ἡ τάφρος ἄνω διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐπὶ δώδεκα παρασάγγας μέχρι τοῦ Μηδίας τείχους. [ἐνθα αἱ διώρυχες, ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ ρέουσαι· εἰσὶ δὲ τέτταρες, τὸ μὲν εὗρος πλεθριαῖαι, βαθεῖαι δὲ ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ πλοῖα πλεῖ ἐν αὐταῖς σιταγωγὰ· εἰσβάλλουσι δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὐφράτην, διαλείπουσι δ' ἐκάστη παρασάγγην, γέφυραι, δ' ἔπεισιν.] ἦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πάροδος στενὴ μεταξὺ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς τάφρου ὥς εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ εὗρος· [1.7.16] ταύτην δὲ τὴν τάφρον βασιλεὺς ποιεῖ μέγας ἀντὶ ἐρύματος, ἐπειδὴ πυνθάνεται Κῦρον προσελαύνοντα. ταύτην δὴ τὴν πάροδον Κῦρός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ παρῆλθε καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰσὼ τῆς τάφρου. [1.7.17] ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐμαχέσατο βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ὑποχωρούντων φανερά ἦσαν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἵχνη πολλά. [1.7.18] ἐνταῦθα Κῦρος Σιλανὸν καλέσας τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην μάντιν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους, ὅτι τῇ ἐνδεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἡμέραι πρότερον θύόμενος εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι βασιλεὺς οὐ μαχεῖται δέκα ἡμερῶν, Κῦρος δ' εἶπεν· «οὐκ ἄρα ἔτι μαχεῖται, εἰ ἐν ταύταις οὐ μαχεῖται ταῖς ἡμέραις· ἐὰν δ' ἀληθεύσης, ὑπισχνοῦμαι

σοι δέκα τάλαντα.» τοῦτο τὸ χρυσίον τότε ἀπέδωκεν, ἐπεὶ παρήλθον αἱ δέκα ἡμέραι. [1.7.19] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ οὐκ ἐκώλυε βασιλεὺς τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα διαβαίνειν, ἔδοξε καὶ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπεγνώκῃν τοῦ μάχεσθαι· ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ Κύρος ἐπορεύετο ἡμελημένως μᾶλλον. [1.7.20] τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἄρματος καθήμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ὀλίγους ἐν τάξει ἔχων πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῷ ἀνατεταραγμένον ἐπορεύετο καὶ τῶν ὅπλων τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν ἤγοντο καὶ ὑποζυγίων.

[1.8.1] καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσιν καὶ πλησίον ἦν ὁ σταθμὸς ἔνθα ἔμελλε καταλύειν, ἥνικα Πατηγύας, ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ἀμφὶ Κύρον χρηστός, προφαίνεται ἐλαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶσιν οἷς ἐνετύγχανεν ἐβόα καὶ βαρβαρικῶς καὶ ἑλληνικῶς ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν στρατεύματι πολλῷ προσέρχεται ὥς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένος. [1.8.2] ἔνθα δὴ πολὺς ταραχος ἐγένετο· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἐδόκουν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ πάντες δὲ ἀτάκτοις σφίσιν ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι. [1.8.3] Κύρος τε καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος τὸν θώρακα ἐνεδύετο καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τὰ παλτὰ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἔλαβε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλεν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἕκαστον. [1.8.4] ἔνθα δὴ σὺν πολλῇ σπουδῇ καθίσταντο, Κλέαρχος μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ τοῦ κέρατος ἔχων πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, Πρόξενος δὲ ἐχόμενος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι μετὰ τοῦτον, Μένων δὲ καὶ τὸ στράτευμα τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔσχε τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ. [1.8.5] τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἵππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν πελταστικόν, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ Ἀριαῖός τε ὁ Κύρου ὑπαρχος καὶ τὸ ἄλλο βαρβαρικόν, [1.8.6] Κύρος δὲ καὶ ἵππεῖς τούτου ὅσον ἐξακόσιοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον, ὅπλισμένοι θώραξι μὲν αὐτοὶ καὶ παραμηριδίῳ καὶ κράνεσι πάντες πλὴν Κύρου· Κύρος δὲ ψιλὴν ἔχων τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τὴν μάχην καθίστατο [λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ψιλαῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διακινδυνεύειν]. [1.8.7] οἱ δ' ἵπποι πάντες [οἱ μετὰ Κύρῳ] εἶχον καὶ προμετωπίδια καὶ προστερνίδια· εἶχον δὲ καὶ μαχαίρας οἱ ἵππεῖς Ἑλληνικάς. [1.8.8] καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας καὶ οὐπω καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἥνικα δὲ δεῖλῃ ἐγίγνετο, ἐφάνη κονιορτὸς ὥσπερ νεφέλῃ λευκῇ, χρόνῳ δὲ συχνῷ ὕστερον ὥσπερ μελανία τις ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐπὶ πολὺ. ὅτε δὲ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίγνοντο, τάχα δὴ καὶ χαλκός τις ἦστραπτε καὶ λόγχοι καὶ αἱ τάξεις καταφανεῖς ἐγίγνοντο. [1.8.9] καὶ

ἦσαν ἱππεῖς μὲν λευκοθώρακες ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου τῶν πολεμίων· Τισσαφέρνης ἐλέγετο τούτων ἄρχειν· ἐχόμενοι δὲ γεροφόροι, ἐχόμενοι δὲ ὀπλῖται σὺν ποδήρεσι ξυλίναις ἀσπίσιν. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' οὗτοι ἐλέγοντο εἶναι· ἄλλοι δ' ἱππεῖς, ἄλλοι τοξόται. πάντες δ' οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. [1.8.10] πρὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄρματα διαλείποντα συχνὸν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ δὴ δρεπανηφόρα καλούμενα· εἶχον δὲ τὰ δρέπανα ἐκ τῶν ἀξόνων εἰς πλάγιον ἀποτεταμένα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς δίφροις εἰς γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς διακόπτειν ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν. ἡ δὲ γνώμη ἦν ὥς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλθόντα καὶ διακόψοντα. [1.8.11] ὁ μέντοι Κῦρος εἶπεν ὅτε καλέσας παρεκελεύετο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνέχεσθαι, ἐψεύσθη τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ κραυγῇ ἀλλὰ σιγῇ ὥς ἀνυστὸν καὶ ἡσυχῇ ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ βραδέως προσῆισαν. [1.8.12] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Κῦρος παρελαύνων αὐτὸς σὺν Πίγρητι τῷ ἐρμηνεῖ καὶ ἄλλοις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἐβόα ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ μέσον τὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὅτι ἐκεῖ βασιλεὺς εἶη· κἂν τοῦτ', ἔφη, νικῶμεν, πάνθ' ἡμῖν πεποιήται. [1.8.13] ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος τὸ μέσον στίφος καὶ ἀκούων Κύρου ἕξω ὄντα τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ εὐωνύμου βασιλέα (τοσοῦτον γὰρ πλήθει περιῆν βασιλεὺς ὥστε μέσον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχων τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου ἕξω ἦν) ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀποσπάσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, φοβούμενος μὴ κυκλωθεῖν ἐκατέρωθεν, τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι αὐτῷ μέλει ὅπως καλῶς ἔχοι. [1.8.14] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα ὁμαλῶς προΐει, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μένον συνετάττετο ἐκ τῶν ἔτι προσιόντων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παρελαύνων οὐ πᾶν πρὸς αὐτῷ στρατεύματι κατεθεᾶτο ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέπων εἰς τε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς φίλους. [1.8.15] ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, πελάσας ὥς συναντῆσαι ἤρετο εἴ τι παραγγέλλοι· ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας εἶπε καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευε πᾶσιν ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλὰ. [1.8.16] ταῦτα δὲ λέγων θορύβου ἤκουσε διὰ τῶν τάξεων ἰόντος, καὶ ἤρετο τίς ὁ θόρυβος εἶη. ὁ δὲ [Κλέαρχος] εἶπεν ὅτι σύνθημα παρέρχεται δεύτερον ἤδη. καὶ ὃς ἐθαύμασε τίς παραγγέλλει καὶ ἤρετο ὅ τι εἶη τὸ σύνθημα. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ νίκη. [1.8.17] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας, «ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο ἔστω.» ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν ἀπήλαυνε. καὶ οὐκέτι τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια διειχέτην τὴν φάλαγγα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἡνίκα ἐπαιάνιζόν τε οἱ Ἕλληνες

καὶ ἤρχοντο ἀντίοι ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις. [1.8.18] ὥς δὲ πορευομένων ἐξεκύμαινέ τι τῆς φάλαγγος, τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἤρξατο δρόμῳ θεῖν· καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγαντο πάντες οἷον τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον. λέγουσι δὲ τινες ὥς καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἐδούπησαν φόβον ποιοῦντες τοῖς ἵπποις. [1.8.19] πρὶν δὲ τόξωμα ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἐκκλίνουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φεύγουσι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδίωκον μὲν κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐβίων δὲ ἀλλήλοις μὴ θεῖν δρόμῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι. [1.8.20] τὰ δ' ἄρματα ἐφέροντο τὰ μὲν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κενὰ ἡνιόχων. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ προΐδοιεν, δίσταντο· ἔστι δ' ὅστις καὶ κατελήφθη ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποδρόμῳ ἐκπλαγεῖς· καὶ οὐδὲν μέντοι οὐδὲ τοῦτον παθεῖν ἔφασαν, οὐδ' ἄλλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἔπαθεν οὐδεὶς οὐδέν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοξευθῆναί τις ἐλέγετο. [1.8.21] Κῦρος δ' ὀρῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικῶντας τὸ καθ' αὐτοὺς καὶ διώκοντας, ἡδόμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος ἤδη ὥς βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὥς ἐξήχθη διώκειν, ἀλλὰ συνεσπειραμένην ἔχων τὴν τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ ἐξακοσίων ἱππέων τάξιν ἐπεμελεῖτο ὅ τι ποιήσει βασιλεὺς. καὶ γὰρ ἦιδε αὐτόν ὅτι μέσον ἔχοι τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος. [1.8.22] καὶ πάντες δ' οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντες μέσον ἔχοντες τὸ αὐτῶν ἡγοῦνται, νομίζοντες οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι, ἣν ἦ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν ἐκατέρωθεν, καὶ εἴ τι παραγγεῖλαι χρήζοιεν, ἡμίσει ἂν χρόνῳ αἰσθάνεσθαι τὸ στράτευμα. [1.8.23] καὶ βασιλεὺς δὴ τότε μέσον ἔχων τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς ὅμως ἔξω ἐγένετο τοῦ Κύρου εὐωνύμου κέρατος. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ἐμάχετο ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου οὐδὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τεταγμένοις ἔμπροσθεν, ἐπέκαμπεν ὥς εἰς κύκλωσιν. [1.8.24] ἐνθα δὴ Κῦρος δεῖσας μὴ ὀπισθεν γενόμενος κατακόψῃ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐλαύνει ἀντίος· καὶ ἐμβάλων σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίοις νικᾷ τοὺς πρὸ βασιλέως τεταγμένους καὶ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε τοὺς ἐξακισχιλίους, καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι λέγεται αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χειρὶ Ἀρταγέρσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν. [1.8.25] ὥς δ' ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο, διασπείρονται καὶ οἱ Κύρου ἐξακόσιοι εἰς τὸ διώκειν ὀρμήσαντες, πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἄμφ' αὐτόν κατελείφθησαν, σχεδὸν οἱ ὁμοτράπεζοι καλούμενοι. [1.8.26] σὺν τούτοις δὲ ὦν καθορᾷ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ ἄμφ' ἐκεῖνον στίφος· καὶ εὐθὺς οὐκ ἠνέσχετο, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν «τὸν ἄνδρα ὀρῶ» ἴετο ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ παίει κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τιτρώσκει διὰ τοῦ θώρακος, ὥς φησι Κτησίας ὁ ἱατρός, καὶ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτὸς τὸ τραῦμά φησι. [1.8.27] παίοντα δ' αὐτόν ἀκοντίζει τις παλτῷ ὑπὸ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν

βιαίως· καὶ ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενοι καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ Κῦρος καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑκατέρου, ὅποσοι μὲν τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἀπέθνησκον Κτησίας λέγει· παρ' ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἦν· Κῦρος δὲ αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ὀκτὼ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἔκειντο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. [1.8.28] Ἀρταπάτης δ' ὁ πιστότατος αὐτῷ τῶν σκηπτούχων θεράπων λέγεται, ἐπειδὴ πεπτωκότα εἶδε Κῦρον, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου περιπεσεῖν αὐτῷ. [1.8.29] καὶ οἱ μὲν φασὶ βασιλέα κελεῦσαί τινα ἐπισφάζαι αὐτὸν Κύρῳ, οἱ δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπισφάζασθαι σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην· εἶχε γὰρ χρυσοῦν· καὶ στρεπτὸν δ' ἐφόρει καὶ ψέλια καὶ τᾶλλα ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι Περσῶν· ἐτετίμητο γὰρ ὑπὸ Κύρου δι' εὐνοίαν τε καὶ πιστότητα.

[1.9.1] Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὴρ ὢν Περσῶν τῶν μετὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἀρχαῖον γενομένων βασιλικώτατός τε καὶ ἄρχειν ἀξιώτατος, ὡς παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται τῶν Κύρου δοκούντων ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι. [1.9.2] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν, ὅτ' ἐπαιδεύετο καὶ σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶ, πάντων πάντα κράτιστος ἐνομίζετο. [1.9.3] πάντες γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἀρίστων Περσῶν παῖδες ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις παιδεύονται· ἔνθα πολλὴν μὲν σωφροσύνην καταμάθοι ἂν τις, αἰσχρὸν δ' οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἀκοῦσαι οὔτ' ἰδεῖν ἔστι. [1.9.4] θεῶνται δ' οἱ παῖδες καὶ τιμωμένους ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ ἀκούουσι, καὶ ἄλλους ἀτιμαζομένους· ὥστε εὐθύς παῖδες ὄντες μανθάνουσιν ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. [1.9.5] ἔνθα Κῦρος αἰδημονέστατος μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλιππότατος καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις ἄριστα χρῆσθαι· ἔκρινον δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων, τοξικῆς τε καὶ ἀκοντίσεως, φιλομαθέστατον εἶναι καὶ μελετηρότατον. [1.9.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἔπρεπε, καὶ φιλοθηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὰ θηρία μέντοι φιλοκινδυνότατος. καὶ ἄρκτον ποτὲ ἐπιφερομένην οὐκ ἔτρεσεν, ἀλλὰ συμπεσὼν κατεσπάρσθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔπαθεν, ὧν καὶ τὰς ὠτειλάς εἶχεν, τέλος δὲ κατέκανε· καὶ τὸν πρῶτον μέντοι βοηθήσαντα πολλοῖς μακαριστὸν ἐποίησεν. [1.9.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδῖον ἀθροίζεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπέδειξεν αὐτόν, ὅτι περὶ πλείστου ποιοῖτο, εἴ τῳ σπείσαιτο καὶ εἴ τῳ συνθοῖτο καὶ εἴ τῳ ὑπόσχοιτό τι, μηδὲν ψεύδεσθαι. [1.9.8] καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπίστευον μὲν

αὐτῶι αἱ πόλεις ἐπιτρεπόμεναι, ἐπίστευον δ' οἱ ἄνδρες· καὶ εἴ τις πολέμιος ἐγένετο, σπείσασθαι Κύρου ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς παθεῖν. [1.9.9] τοιγαροῦν ἐπεὶ Τισσαφέρνει ἐπολέμησε, πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις ἐκοῦσαι Κῦρον εἴλοντο ἀντὶ Τισσαφέρνους πλὴν Μιλησίων· οὗτοι δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἤθελε τοὺς φεύγοντας προέσθαι ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν. [1.9.10] καὶ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε προοῖτο, ἐπεὶ ἅπαξ φίλος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, οὐδ' εἴ τι μὲν μείους γένοιτο, ἔτι δὲ κάκιον πράξειαν. [1.9.11] φανερός δ' ἦν καὶ εἴ τις τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν ποιήσειεν αὐτόν, νικᾶν πειρώμενος· καὶ εὐχὴν δέ τινες αὐτοῦ ἐξέφερον ὥς εὖχοιτο τοσοῦτον χρόνον ζῆν ἔστε νικῆν καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντας ἀλεξόμενος. [1.9.12] καὶ γὰρ οὖν πλείστοι δὴ αὐτῶι ἐνὶ γῇ ἀνδρὶ τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπεθύμησαν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα προέσθαι. [1.9.13] οὐ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἂν τις εἴποι, ὥς τοὺς κακούργους καὶ ἀδίκους εἶα καταγελᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἀφειδέστατα πάντων ἐτιμωρεῖτο· πολλάκις δ' ἦν ἰδεῖν παρὰ τὰς στείβομένας ὁδοὺς καὶ ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν στερομένους ἀνθρώπους· ὥστ' ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀρχῇ ἐγένετο καὶ Ἑλλήνι καὶ βαρβάρῳ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι ἀδεῶς πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ τις ἤθελεν, ἔχοντι ὃ τι προχωροῖ. [1.9.14] τοὺς γε μέντοι ἀγαθοὺς εἰς πόλεμον ὠμολόγητο διαφερόντως τιμᾶν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν αὐτῶι πόλεμος πρὸς Πισίδας καὶ Μυσούς· στρατευόμενος οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ταύτας τὰς χώρας, οὓς ἑώρα ἐθέλοντας κινδυνεύειν, τούτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐποίει ἥς κατεστρέφετο χώρας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις ἐτίμα· [1.9.15] ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς εὐδαιμονεστάτους, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δούλους τούτων ἀξιοῦσθαι εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν πολλὴ ἦν ἀφθονία αὐτῶι τῶν ἐθελόντων κινδυνεύειν, ὅπου τις οἶοιτο Κῦρον αἰσθήσεσθαι. [1.9.16] εἷς γε μὴν δικαιοσύνην εἴ τις φανερός γένοιτο ἐπιδείκνυσθαι βουλόμενος, περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο τούτους πλουσιωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου φιλοκερδούντων. [1.9.17] καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ δικαίως αὐτῶι διεχειρίζετο καὶ στρατεύματι ἀληθινῶι ἐχρήσατο. καὶ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, οἱ χρημάτων ἕνεκα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔπλευσαν, ἔγνωσαν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι Κύρῳ καλῶς πειθαρχεῖν ἢ τὸ κατὰ μῆνα κέρδος. [1.9.18] ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις γέ τι αὐτῶι προστάξαντι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσειεν, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀχάριστον εἶασε τὴν προθυμίαν. τοιγαροῦν δὴ κράτιστοι ὑπνέται παντὸς ἔργου Κύρῳ ἐλέχθησαν γενέσθαι. [1.9.19] εἰ δέ τινα ὀρήναι δεινὸν ὄντα οἰκονόμον ἐκ τοῦ

δικαίου καὶ κατασκευάζοντά τε ἥς ἄρχοι χώρας καὶ προσόδους ποιοῦντα, οὐδένα ἂν πώποτε ἀφείλετο, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πλείω προσεδίδου· ὥστε καὶ ἡδέως ἐπόνουν καὶ θαρραλέως ἐκτῶντο καὶ ὁ ἐπέπατο αὐτὰς ἡκιστα Κῦρον ἔκρυπτεν· οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν τοῖς φανερώς πλουτοῦσιν ἐφαίνετο, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος χρῆσθαι τοῖς τῶν ἀποκρυπτομένων χρήμασι. [1.9.20] φίλους γε μὴν, ὅσους ποιήσαιο καὶ εὖνους γνοίῃ ὄντας καὶ ἱκανοὺς κρίνειε συνεργοὺς εἶναι ὃ τι τυγχάνει βουλόμενος κατεργάζεσθαι, ὁμολογεῖται πρὸς πάντων κράτιστος δὴ γενέσθαι θεραπεύειν. [1.9.21] καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς ἔνεκα φίλων ὤιετο δεῖσθαι, ὥς συνεργοὺς ἔχοι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπειράτο συνεργὸς τοῖς φίλοις κράτιστος εἶναι τούτου ὅτου αἰσθάνοιτο ἕκαστον ἐπιθυμοῦντα. [1.9.22] δῶρα δὲ πλεῖστα μὲν οἶμαι εἶς γε ἀνὴρ ἐλάμβανε διὰ πολλὰ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντων δὴ μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις διεδίδου, πρὸς τοὺς τρόπους ἐκάστου σκοπῶν καὶ ὅτου μάλιστα ὀρήγῃ ἕκαστον δεόμενον. [1.9.23] καὶ ὅσα τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ πέμποι τις ἢ ὥς εἰς πόλεμον ἢ ὥς εἰς καλλωπισμόν, καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο τούτοις πᾶσι κοσμηθῆναι, φίλους δὲ καλῶς κεκοσμημένους μέγιστον κόσμον ἀνδρὶ νομίζοι. [1.9.24] καὶ τὸ μὲν τὰ μεγάλα νικᾶν τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ δυνατότερος ἦν· τὸ δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ περιεῖναι τῶν φίλων καὶ τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔμοιγε μᾶλλον δοκεῖ ἀγαστὰ εἶναι. [1.9.25] Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις ὁπότε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίωνι οἴνῳ ἐπιτύχοι· «τούτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.» [1.9.26] πολλάκις δὲ χῆνας ἡμιβρώτους ἔπεμπε καὶ ἄρτων ἡμίσεα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἐπιλέγειν κελεύων τὸν φέροντα· «τούτοις ἦσθη Κῦρος· βούλεται οὖν καὶ σὲ τούτων γεύσασθαι.» [1.9.27] ὅπου δὲ χιλὸς σπάνιος πάνυ εἴη, αὐτὸς δὲ δύναιτο παρασκευάσασθαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἔχειν ὑπηρέτας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, διαπέμπων ἐκέλευε τοὺς φίλους τοῖς τὰ ἑαυτῶν σώματα ἄγουσιν ἵπποις ἐμβάλλειν τοῦτον τὸν χιλόν, ὥς μὴ πεινῶντες τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἄγωσιν. [1.9.28] εἰ δὲ δὴ ποτε πορεύοιτο καὶ πλεῖστοι μέλλοιεν ὄψεσθαι, προσκαλῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐσπουδαιολογεῖτο, ὥς δηλοῖη οὕς τιμαῖ. ὥστε ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἐξ ὧν ἀκούω, οὐδένα κρίνω ὑπὸ πλείονων πεφιλῆσθαι οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων. [1.9.29] τεκμήριον δὲ τούτου καὶ τόδε. παρὰ μὲν Κύρου δούλου ὄντος οὐδεὶς ἀπήιει πρὸς βασιλέα, πλὴν Ὀρόντας

ἐπεχείρησε· καὶ οὗτος δὴ ὃν ὤιετο πιστόν οἱ εἶναι ταχὺ αὐτὸν ἦρε Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις λέως πολλοὶ πρὸς Κύρον ἀπῆλθον, ἐπειδὴ πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ οὗτοι μέντοι οἱ μάλιστα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀγαπώμενοι, νομίζοντες παρὰ Κύρῳ ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ ἀξιωτέρας ἂν τιμῆς τυγχάνειν ἢ παρὰ βασιλεῖ. [1.9.30] μέγα δὲ τεκμήριον καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ κρίνειν ὀρθῶς ἐδύνατο τοὺς πιστοὺς καὶ εὖνους καὶ βεβαίους. [1.9.31] ἀποθνήσκοντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν φίλοι καὶ συντράπεζοι ἀπέθανον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ Κύρου πλὴν Ἀριαίου· οὗτος δὲ τεταγμένος ἐτύγγανεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων· ὥς δ’ ἤισθετο Κύρον πεπτωκότα, ἔφυγεν ἔχων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οὗ ἡγεῖτο.

[1.10.1] ἐνταῦθα δὴ Κύρου ἀποτέμενεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ. βασιλεὺς δὲ [καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ] διώκων εἰσπίπτει εἰς τὸ Κύρειον στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν μετὰ Ἀριαίου οὐκέτι ἴστανται, ἀλλὰ φεύγουσι διὰ τοῦ αὐτῶν στρατοπέδου εἰς τὸν σταθμὸν ἔνθεν ὠρμῶντο· τέτταρες δ’ ἐλέγοντο παρασάγγαι εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ. [1.10.2] βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαρπάζουσι καὶ τὴν Φωκαΐδα τὴν Κύρου παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι λαμβάνει. [1.10.3] ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλεῖα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἔτυχον ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ ἀντιταχθέντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρπαζόντων ἀπέκτειναν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον· οὐ μὴν ἔφυγόν γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔσωσαν καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅποσα ἐντὸς αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο, πάντα ἔσωσαν. [1.10.4] ἐνταῦθα διέσχον ἀλλήλων βασιλεὺς τε καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὥς τριάκοντα στάδια, οἱ μὲν διώκοντες τοὺς καθ’ αὐτοὺς ὥς πάντας νικῶντες, οἱ δ’ ἀρπάζοντες ὥς ἤδη πάντες νικῶντες. [1.10.5] ἐπεὶ δ’ ἤισθοντο οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ὅτι βασιλεὺς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶη, βασιλεὺς δ’ αὖ ἤκουσε Τισσαφέρνης ὅτι οἱ Ἕλληνες νικῶνεν τὸ καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οἰχόνται διώκοντες, ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἀθροίζει τε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ συντάττεται, ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλευέτο Πρόξενον καλέσας (πλησιαίτατος γὰρ ἦν), εἰ πέμποιεν τινὰς ἢ πάντες ἴοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀρήξοντες. [1.10.6] ἐν τούτῳ καὶ βασιλεὺς δῆλος ἦν προσιῶν πάλιν, ὥς ἐδόκει, ὀπισθεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες στραφέντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς ταύτην προσιόντος καὶ δεξόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταύτη μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἥ δὲ

παρήλθεν ἔξω τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ταύτη καὶ ἀπῆγεν, ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [1.10.7] ὁ γὰρ Τισσαφέρνης ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συνόδῳ οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἀλλὰ διήλασε παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν κατὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πελταστάς· διελαύνων δὲ κατέκανε μὲν οὐδένα, διαστάντες δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπαιον καὶ ἠκόντιζον αὐτούς· Ἐπισθένης δὲ Ἀμφιπολίτης ἦρχε τῶν πελταστῶν καὶ ἐλέγετο φρόνιμος γενέσθαι. [1.10.8] ὁ δ' οὖν Τισσαφέρνης ὡς μείον ἔχων ἀπηλλάγη, πάλιν μὲν οὐκ ἀναστρέφει, εἰς δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικόμενος τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκεῖ συντυγχάνει βασιλεῖ, καὶ ὁμοῦ δὴ πάλιν συνταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο. [1.10.9] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρας, ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ προσάγοιεν πρὸς τὸ κέρας καὶ περιπτύξαντες ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτοὺς κατακόψειαν· καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας καὶ ποιήσασθαι ὅπισθεν τὸν ποταμόν. [1.10.10] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, καὶ δὴ βασιλεὺς παραμεινῶμενος εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ σχῆμα κατέστησεν ἀντίαν τὴν φάλαγγα ὥσπερ τὸ πρῶτον μαχοῦμενος συνήει. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐγγὺς τε ὄντας καὶ παρατεταγμένους, αὐθις παιανίσαντες ἐπῆσαν πολὺ ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. [1.10.11] οἱ δ' αὖ βάρβαροι οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλὰ ἐκ πλέονος ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν ἔφευγον· [1.10.12] οἱ δ' ἐπεδίωκον μέχρι κόμης τινός· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς κόμης γήλοφος ἦν, ἐφ' οὗ ἀνεστράφησαν οἱ ἀμφὶ βασιλέα, πεζοὶ μὲν οὐκέτι, τῶν δὲ ἰπέων ὁ λόφος ἐνεπλήσθη, ὥστε τὸ ποιοῦμενον μὴ γινώσκειν. καὶ τὸ βασιλείον σημεῖον ὁρᾶν ἔφασαν αἰετόν τινα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ πέλτῃ ἐπὶ ξύλῳ ἀνατεταμένον. [1.10.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἐχώρουν οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουσι δὴ καὶ τὸν λόφον οἱ ἰππεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἔτι ἀθρόοι ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄλλοθεν· ἐψιλοῦτο δ' ὁ λόφος τῶν ἰπέων· τέλος δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀπεχώρησαν. [1.10.14] ὁ οὖν Κλέαρχος οὐκ ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτὸν στήσας τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει Λύκιον τὸν Συρακόσιον καὶ ἄλλον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον καὶ κελεύει κατιδόντας τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόφου τί ἐστὶν ἀπαγγεῖλαι. [1.10.15] καὶ ὁ Λύκιος ἤλασέ τε καὶ ἰδὼν ἀπαγγέλλει ὅτι φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος. [1.10.16] σχεδὸν δ' ὅτε ταῦτα ἦν καὶ ἥλιος ἐδύετο. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἔστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα ἀνεπαύοντο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ Κῦρος φαίνοιτο οὐδ' ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδεὶς παρήει· οὐ γὰρ ἤιδεσαν αὐτὸν τεθνηκότα, ἀλλ' εἵκαζον ἢ διώκοντα οἴχεσθαι ἢ καταληψόμενόν τι προεληλακέναι· [1.10.17] καὶ

αὐτοὶ ἐβουλευόντο εἰ αὐτοῦ μέιναντες τὰ σκευοφόρα ἐνταῦθα ἄγοιντο ἢ ἀπίοιεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἀμφὶ δορπηστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς. [1.10.18] ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. καταλαμβάνουσι δὲ τῶν τε ἄλλων χρημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα διηρπασμένα καὶ εἴ τι σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἦν, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας μεστὸς ἀλεύρων καὶ οἴνου, ἃς παρεσκευάσατο Κῦρος, ἵνα εἴ ποτε σφόδρα τὸ στράτευμα λάβοι ἔνδεια, διαδιδοίῃ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν (ἦσαν δ' αὗται τετρακόσiai, ὥς ἐλέγοντο, ἄμαξαι), καὶ ταύτας τότε οἱ σὺν βασιλεῖ διήρπασαν. [1.10.19] ὥστε ἄδειπνοι ἦσαν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι· πρὶν γὰρ δὴ καταλῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἄριστον βασιλεὺς ἐφάνη. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν νύκτα οὕτω διεγένοντο.

Βιβλίον β'

[2.1.1] [ὥς μὲν οὖν ἡθροίσθη Κύρῳ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅτε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἀρταξέρξην ἐστρατεύετο, καὶ ὅσα ἐν τῇ ἀνόδῳ ἐπράχθη καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο καὶ ὥς Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλθόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκοιμήθησαν οἰόμενοι τὰ πάντα νικᾶν καὶ Κῦρον ζῆν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.]

[2.1.2] Ἄμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι Κῦρος οὔτε ἄλλον πέμπει σηματοῦντα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν οὔτε αὐτὸς φαίνοιτο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς συσκευασαμένοις ἅ εἶχον καὶ ἐξοπλισαμένοις προΐεναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἕως Κύρῳ συμμείξειαν.

[2.1.3] ἤδη δὲ ἐν ὁρμῇ ὄντων ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι ἦλθε Προκλῆς ὁ Τευθρανίας ἄρχων, γεγονὼς ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λάκωνος, καὶ Γλοῦς ὁ Ταμῷ. οὗτοι ἔλεγον ὅτι Κῦρος μὲν τέθνηκεν, Ἀριαῖος δὲ πεφευγὼς ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ εἶη μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ὅθεν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ὠρμῶντο, καὶ λέγει ὅτι ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν περιμένοιν αὐτούς, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἥκειν, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀπιέναι φαίη ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας, ὅθενπερ ἦλθε. [2.1.4] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες πυνθανόμενοι βαρέως ἔφερον. Κλέαρχος δὲ τάδε εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' ὦφελε μὲν Κῦρος ζῆν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τετελεύτηκεν,

ἀπαγγέλλετε Ἀριαίῳ ὅτι ἡμεῖς νικῶμέν τε βασιλέα καί, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἡμῖν μάχεται, καί, εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς ἦλθετε, ἐπορευόμεθα ἂν ἐπὶ βασιλέα. ἐπαγγελλόμεθα δὲ Ἀριαίῳ, ἐὰν ἐνθάδε ἔλθῃ, εἰς τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλείῳ καθιεῖν αὐτόν· τῶν γὰρ μάχην νικόντων καὶ τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἐστὶ.» [2.1.5] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀποστέλλει τοὺς ἀγγέλους καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον τὸν Λάκωνα καὶ Μένωνα τὸν Θετταλόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς Μένων ἐβούλετο· ἦν γὰρ φίλος καὶ ξένος Ἀριαίου. [2.1.6] οἱ μὲν ὦιχοντο, Κλέαρχος δὲ περιέμενε· τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον, ὅπως ἐδύνατο, ἐκ τῶν ὑποζυγίων κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους· ξύλοις δὲ ἐχρῶντο μικρὸν προϊόντες ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τοῖς τε οἰστοῖς πολλοῖς οὖσιν, οὓς ἠνάγκαζον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς αὐτομολοῦντας παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ τοῖς γέρροις καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι ταῖς ξυλίναις ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πέλται καὶ ἅμαζαι ἦσαν φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι· οἷς πᾶσι χρώμενοι κρέα ἔψοντες ἦσθιον ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. [2.1.7] καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν περὶ πλήθουσιν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἔρχονται παρὰ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνης κήρυκες οἱ

μὲν ἄλλοι βάρβαροι, ἦν δ' αὐτῶν Φαλῖνος εἷς Ἑλλήν, ὃς ἐτύγγανε παρὰ Τισσαφέρνει ὦν καὶ ἐντίμως ἔχων· καὶ γὰρ προσεποιεῖτο ἐπιστήμων εἶναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τάξεις τε καὶ ὀπλομαχίαν. [2.1.8] οὗτοι δὲ προσελθόντες καὶ καλέσαντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχοντας λέγουσιν ὅτι βασιλεὺς κελεύει τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ἐπεὶ νικῶν τυγχάνει καὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτονε, παραδόντας τὰ ὄπλα ἰόντας ἐπὶ βασιλέως θύρας εὐρίσκεσθαι ἂν τι δύνωνται ἀγαθόν. [2.1.9] ταῦτα μὲν εἶπον οἱ βασιλέως κήρυκες· οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες βαρέως μὲν ἤκουσαν, ὅμως δὲ Κλέαρχος τοσοῦτον εἶπεν, ὅτι οὐ τῶν νικῶντων εἶη τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι· ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, τοῦτοις ἀποκρίνασθε ὃ τι κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον ἔχετε· ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτίκα ἦξω. ἐκάλεσε γὰρ τις αὐτὸν τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, ὅπως ἴδοι τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξηρημμένα· ἔτυχε γὰρ θυόμενος. [2.1.10] ἔνθα δὴ ἀπεκρίνατο Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ἀρκάς, πρεσβύτατος ὢν, ὅτι πρόσθεν ἂν ἀποθάνοιεν ἢ τὰ ὄπλα παραδοίησαν· Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος, «ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὧ Φαλῖνε, θαυμάζω πότερα ὡς κρατῶν βασιλεὺς αἰτεῖ τὰ ὄπλα ἢ ὡς διὰ φιλίαν δῶρα. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατῶν, τί δεῖ αὐτὸν αἰτεῖν καὶ οὐ λαβεῖν ἐλθόντα; εἰ δὲ πείσας βούλεται λαβεῖν, λεγέτω τί ἔσται τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν αὐτῷ ταῦτα χαρίσωνται.» [2.1.11] πρὸς ταῦτα Φαλῖνος εἶπε· «βασιλεὺς νικᾶν ἡγεῖται, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε. τίς γὰρ αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὅστις τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖται; νομίζει δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι, ἔχων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ χώρῃ καὶ ποταμῶν ἐντὸς ἀδιαβάτων καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἐφ' ὑμᾶς δυνάμενος ἀγαγεῖν, ὅσον οὐδ' εἰ παρέχοι ὑμῖν δύναισθε ἂν ἀποκτεῖναι.» [2.1.12] μετὰ τοῦτον Θεόπομπος Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν· «ὧ Φαλῖνε, νῦν, ὡς σὺ ὀράῃς, ἡμῖν οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἄλλο εἰ μὴ ὄπλα καὶ ἀρετὴ. ὄπλα μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες οἴομεθα ἂν καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι, παραδόντες δ' ἂν ταῦτα καὶ τῶν σωμάτων στερηθῆναι. μὴ οὖν οἴου τὰ μόνα ἀγαθὰ ἡμῖν ὄντα ὑμῖν παραδώσειν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν μαχοῦμεθα.» [2.1.13] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φαλῖνος ἐγέλασε καὶ εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ φιλοσόφῳ μὲν ἔοικας, ὧ νεανίσκε, καὶ λέγεις οὐκ ἀχάριστα· ἴσθι μέντοι ἀνόητος ὢν, εἰ οἶε τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρετὴν περιγενέσθαι ἂν τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως.» [2.1.14] ἄλλους δὲ τινες ἔφασαν λέγειν ὑπομαλακίζομένους, ὡς καὶ Κύρῳ πιστοὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ βασιλεῖ ἂν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι γένοιτο, εἰ βούλοιο φίλος γενέσθαι· καὶ εἴτε ἄλλο τι θέλοι χρῆσθαι εἴτ' ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατεύειν, συγκαταστρέψαι τ' ἂν αὐτῷ. [2.1.15] ἐν τούτῳ Κλέαρχος ἦκε, καὶ ἠρώτησεν εἰ ἤδη

ἀποκεκριμένοι εἶεν. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· «οὔτοι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἄλλος ἄλλα λέγει· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν εἰπὲ τί λέγεις.» [2.1.16] ὁ δ' εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ σε, ὦ Φαλῖνε, ἄσμενος ἐόρακα, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες· σὺ τε γὰρ Ἑλλην ἐῖ καὶ ἡμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσους σὺ ὀρᾷς· ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ ὄντες πράγμασι συμβουλευόμεθά σοι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ ὧν λέγεις. [2.1.17] σὺ οὖν πρὸς θεῶν συμβούλευσον ἡμῖν ὅ τι σοι δοκεῖ κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι, καὶ ὃ σοι τιμὴν οἴσει εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον [ἀνα]λεγόμενον, ὅτι Φαλῖνός ποτε πεμφθεὶς παρὰ βασιλέως κελεύσων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι συμβουλευομένοις συνεβούλευσεν αὐτοῖς τάδε. οἴσθα δὲ ὅτι ἀνάγκη λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἃ ἂν συμβουλευέσῃς.» [2.1.18] ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ὑπήγετο βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν παρὰ βασιλέως πρεσβεύοντα συμβουλευῆσαι μὴ παραδοῦναι τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως εὐέλπιδες μᾶλλον εἶεν οἱ Ἕλληνες. Φαλῖνος δὲ ὑποστρέψας παρὰ τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· [2.1.19] «ἐγώ, εἰ μὲν τῶν μυρίων ἐλπίδων μία τις ὑμῖν ἐστὶ σωθῆναι πολεμοῦντας βασιλεῖ, συμβουλεύω μὴ παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα· εἰ δέ τοι μηδεμία σωτηρίας ἐστὶν ἐλπίς ἄκοντος βασιλέως, συμβουλεύω σῆζεσθαι ὑμῖν ὅπῃ δυνατόν.» [2.1.20] Κλέαρχος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ σὺ λέγεις· παρ' ἡμῶν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε τάδε, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οἴομεθα, εἰ μὲν δέοι βασιλεῖ φίλους εἶναι, πλείονος ἂν ἄξιοι εἶναι φίλοι ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ παραδόντες ἄλλωι, εἰ δὲ δέοι πολεμεῖν, ἄμεινον ἂν πολεμεῖν ἔχοντες τὰ ὅπλα ἢ ἄλλωι παραδόντες.» [2.1.21] ὁ δὲ Φαλῖνος εἶπε· «ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀπαγγελοῦμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ὑμῖν εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε βασιλεύς, ὅτι μένουσι μὲν ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ σπονδαὶ εἴησαν, προῖοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἀπιοῦσι πόλεμος. εἶπατε οὖν καὶ περὶ τούτου πότερα μενεῖτε καὶ σπονδαὶ εἰσιν ἢ ὡς πολέμου ὄντος παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπαγγελῶ.» [2.1.22] Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεξεν· «ἀπάγγελλε τοῖνυν καὶ περὶ τούτου ὅτι καὶ ἡμῖν ταῦτά δοκεῖ ἄπερ καὶ βασιλεῖ.» «τί οὖν ταῦτά ἐστιν;» ἔφη ὁ Φαλῖνος. ἀπεκρίνατο Κλέαρχος· «ἦν μὲν μένωμεν, σπονδαί, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος.» [2.1.23] ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἠρώτησε· «σπονδὰς ἢ πόλεμον ἀπαγγελῶ;» Κλέαρχος δὲ ταῦτά πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· «σπονδαὶ μὲν μένουσιν, ἀπιοῦσι δὲ καὶ προῖοῦσι πόλεμος.» ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσει οὐ διεσήμνηε.

[2.2.1] Φαλῖνος μὲν δὴ ὦχετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ἀριαίου ἦκον Προκλῆς καὶ Χειρίσοφος· Μένων δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔμενε παρὰ Ἀριαίωι· οὔτοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι πολλοὺς φαίη Ἀριαῖος εἶναι Πέρσας ἑαυτοῦ βελτίους, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι αὐτοῦ βασιλεύοντος· «ἀλλ'

εἰ βούλεσθε συναπιέναι, ἥκειν ἤδη κελεύει τῆς νυκτός. εἰ δὲ μή, αὖριον πρῶι ἀπιέναι φησίν.» [2.2.2] ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' οὕτω χρή ποιεῖν· ἐὰν μὲν ἤκωμεν, ὥσπερ λέγετε· εἰ δὲ μή, πράττετε ὅποιον ἂν τι ὑμῖν οἴσηθε μάλιστα συμφέρειν. ὅ τι δὲ ποιήσοι οὐδὲ τούτοις εἶπε. [2.2.3] μετὰ ταῦτα ἡδὴ ἡλίου δύνοντος συγκαλέσας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. «ἐμοί, ὧ ἄνδρες, θυομένωι ἰέναι ἐπὶ βασιλέα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα οὐκ ἐγίγνετο· ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ νῦν πυνθάνομαι, ἐν μέσσωι ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέως ὁ Τίγρης ποταμός ἐστι ναυσίπορος, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμεθα ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν. οὐ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ γε μένειν οἶόν τε· τὰ γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ ἔστιν ἔχειν· ἰέναι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Κύρου φίλους πάνυ καλὰ ἡμῖν τὰ ἱερά ἦν. [2.2.4] ὧδε οὖν χρή ποιεῖν· ἀπιόντας δειπνεῖν ὅ τι τις ἔχει· ἐπειδὰν δὲ σημήνηι τῷι κέρατι ὥς ἀναπαύεσθαι, συσκευάζεσθε· ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὸ δεύτερον, ἀνατίθεσθε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷι τρίτῳ ἔπεσθε τῷι ἡγουμένῳ, τὰ μὲν ὑποζύγια ἔχοντες πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἔξω.» [2.2.5] ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀπῆλθον καὶ ἐποιοῦν οὕτω. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ μὲν ἤρχεν, οἱ δὲ ἐπείθοντο, οὐχ ἐλόμενοι, ἀλλὰ ὀρῶντες ὅτι μόνος ἐφρόνει οἷα δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἄπειροι ἦσαν.

[2.2.6] [ἀριθμὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν ἦλθον ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας μέχρι τῆς μάχης σταθμοὶ τρεῖς καὶ ἐνενήκοντα, παρασάγγαι πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντακόσιοι, στάδιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης ἐλέγοντο εἶναι εἰς Βαβυλῶνα στάδιοι ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.]

[2.2.7] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ σκότος ἐγένετο Μιλτοκύθης μὲν ὁ Θρᾷξ ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα καὶ τῶν πεζῶν Θρᾷκῶν ὥς τριακοσίους ἠῆτομόλησε πρὸς βασιλέα. [2.2.8] Κλέαρχος δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεῖτο κατὰ τὰ παρηγγελμένα, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς τὸν πρῶτον σταθμὸν παρ' Ἀριαῖον καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου στρατιὰν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας· καὶ ἐν τάξει θέμενοι τὰ ὄπλα συνῆλθον οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρ' Ἀριαῖον· καὶ ὤμοσαν οἷ τε Ἑλλήνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷι οἱ κράτιστοι μήτε προδώσειν ἀλλήλους σύμμαχοί τε ἔσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι προσώμοσαν καὶ ἡγήσεσθαι ἀδόλως. [2.2.9] ταῦτα δ' ὤμοσαν, σφάζαντες ταῦρον καὶ κάπρον καὶ κριὸν εἰς ἀσπίδα, οἱ μὲν Ἑλλήνες βάπτοντες ξίφος, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι λόγχην. [2.2.10] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἐγένετο, εἶπεν ὁ Κλέαρχος· «ἄγε δὴ, ὦ Ἀριαῖε, ἐπεὶπερ ὁ αὐτὸς ὑμῖν

στόλος ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν, εἰπὲ τίνα γνώμην ἔχεις περὶ τῆς πορείας, πότερον ἄπιμεν ἢνπερ ἤλθομεν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐννενοηκέναι δοκεῖς ὁδὸν κρείττω.» [2.2.11] ὁ δ' εἶπεν· «ἦν μὲν ἤλθομεν ἀπίοντες παντελῶς ἂν ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἀπολοίμεθα· ὑπάρχει γὰρ νῦν ἡμῖν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. ἑπτακαίδεκα γὰρ σταθμῶν τῶν ἐγγυτάτω οὐδὲ δεῦρο ἰόντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν εἴχομεν λαμβάνειν· ἔνθα δέ τι ἦν, ἡμεῖς διαπορευόμενοι κατεδαπανήσαμεν. νῦν δ' ἐπινοοῦμεν πορεύεσθαι μακροτέραν μὲν, τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν. [2.2.12] πορευτέον δ' ἡμῖν τοὺς πρώτους σταθμοὺς ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα μακροτάτους, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον ἀποσπᾶσωμεν τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος· ἦν γὰρ ἅπαξ δύο ἢ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπόσχωμεν, οὐκέτι μὴ δύνηται βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν. ὀλίγωι μὲν γὰρ στρατεύματι οὐ τολμήσει ἐφέπεσθαι· πολὺν δ' ἔχων δ' ἔχων στόλον οὐ δυνήσεται ταχέως πορεύεσθαι· ἴσως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπανιεῖ. ταύτην, ἔφη, τὴν γνώμην ἔχω ἔγωγε.»

[2.2.13] ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ στρατηγία οὐδὲν ἄλλο δυναμένη ἢ ἀποδρᾶναι ἢ ἀποφυγεῖν· ἡ δὲ τύχη ἐστρατήγησε κάλλιον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἐπορεύοντο ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν ἥλιον, λογιζόμενοι ἥξειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ δύνοντι εἰς κόμας τῆς Βαβυλωνίας χώρας· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν. [2.2.14] ἔτι δὲ ἀμφὶ δείλην ἔδοξαν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν ἱππείας· καὶ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων οἳ μὴ ἔτυχον ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν ὄντες εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἔθεον, καὶ Ἀριαῖος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἐφ' ἀμάξης πορευόμενος διότι ἐτέτρωτο) καταβὰς ἐθωρακίζετο καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. [2.2.15] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἤκον λέγοντες οἱ προπεμφθέντες σκοποὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑποζύγια νέμοιντο. καὶ εὐθὺς ἔγνωσαν πάντες ὅτι ἐγγὺς που ἐστρατοπεδεύετο βασιλεὺς· καὶ γὰρ καπνὸς ἐφαίνετο ἐν κόμαις οὐ πρόσω. [2.2.16] Κλέαρχος δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγεν· ἦιδει γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρηκότας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἀσίτους ὄντας· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ὁπὲ ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἀπέκλινε, φυλαττόμενος μὴ δοκοίη φεύγειν, ἀλλ' εὐθύωρον ἄγων ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δυομένῳ εἰς τὰς ἐγγυτάτω κόμας τοὺς πρώτους ἄγων κατεσκήνωσεν, ἐξ ᾧν διήρπαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ξύλα. [2.2.17] οἳ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι ὁμῶς τρόπῳ τινὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, οἳ δὲ ὕστεροι σκοταῖοι προσιόντες ὡς ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστοι ηὐλίζοντο, καὶ κραυγὴν πολλὴν ἐποίουν καλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀκούειν· ὥστε οἳ μὲν ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἔφυγον ἐκ τῶν σκηνωμάτων. [2.2.18] διῆλον

δὲ τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποζύγιον ἔτ' οὐδὲν ἐφάνη οὔτε στρατόπεδον οὔτε καπνὸς οὐδαμοῦ πλησίον. ἐξεπλάγη δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῇ ἐφόδῳ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ἐδήλωσε δὲ τοῦτο οἷς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπραττε. [2.2.19] προΐούσης μέντοι τῆς νυκτὸς ταύτης καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ θόρυβος καὶ δοῦπος ἦν οἷον εἰκὸς φόβου ἐμπεσόντος γενέσθαι. [2.2.20] Κλέαρχος δὲ Τολμίδην Ἥλεϊον, ὃν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων παρ' ἐαυτῷ κήρυκα ἄριστον τῶν τότε, ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε σιγὴν κηρύξαντα ὅτι προαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὃς ἂν τὸν ἀφέντα τὸν ὄνον εἰς τὰ ὄπλα μνηύσῃ, ὅτι λήψεται μισθὸν τάλαντον. [2.2.21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκηρύχθη, ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται ὅτι κενὸς ὁ φόβος εἶη καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σῶιοι. ἅμα δὲ ὀρθρῶι παρήγγειλεν ὁ Κλέαρχος εἰς τάξιν τὰ ὄπλα τίθεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἥπερ εἶχον ὅτε ἦν ἡ μάχη.

[2.3.1] ὁ δὲ δὴ ἔγραψα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἐξεπλάγη τῇ ἐφόδῳ, τῷδε δῆλον ἦν. τῇ μὲν γὰρ πρόσθεν ἡμέραι πέμπων τὰ ὄπλα παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευε, τότε δὲ ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνατέλλοντι κήρυκας ἔπεμψε περὶ σπονδῶν. [2.3.2] οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς προφύλακας, ἐζήτουν τοὺς ἄρχοντας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ προφύλακες, Κλέαρχος τυχὼν τότε τὰς τάξεις ἐπισκοπῶν εἶπε τοῖς προφύλαξι κελεῦειν τοὺς κήρυκας περιμένειν ἄχρι ἂν σχολάσῃ. [2.3.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς καλῶς ἔχειν ὁρᾶσθαι πάντῃ φάλαγγα πυκνήν, ἐκ τῶν ὀπλῶν δὲ μηδένα καταφανῆ εἶναι, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ αὐτὸς τε προῆλθε τοὺς τε εὐοπλοτάτους ἔχων καὶ εὐειδεστάτους τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς ταῦτά ἔφρασεν. [2.3.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν πρὸς τοῖς ἀγγέλοις, ἀνθρώπα [πρῶτα] τί βούλονται. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι περὶ σπονδῶν ἦκοιεν ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται τά τε παρὰ βασιλέως τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ. [2.3.5] ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· «ἀπαγγέλλετε τοίνυν αὐτῷ ὅτι μάχης δεῖ πρῶτον· ἄριστον γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδ' ὁ τολμήσων περὶ σπονδῶν λέγειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ πορίσας ἄριστον.» [2.3.6] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἄγγελοι ἀπήλαινον, καὶ ἦκον ταχύ· ὧι καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι ἐγγὺς που βασιλεὺς ἦν ἢ ἄλλος τις ὧι ἐπετέτακτο ταῦτα πράττειν· ἔλεγον δὲ ὅτι εἰκότα δοκοῖεν λέγειν βασιλεῖ, καὶ ἦκοιεν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες οἱ αὐτούς, ἐὰν σπονδαὶ γένωνται, ἄξουσιν ἔνθεν ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [2.3.7] ὁ δὲ ἡρώτα εἰ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι σπένδοιτο τοῖς ἰοῦσι καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσονται σπονδαί. οἱ δέ, «ἅπασιν, ἔφασαν, μέχρι ἂν βασιλεῖ τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν διαγγελθῇ.» [2.3.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον,

μεταστησάμενος αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐβουλεύετο· καὶ ἐδόκει ταχὺ τὰς σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ λαβεῖν. [2.3.9] ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπε· «δοκεῖ μὲν κάμοι ταῦτα· οὐ μέντοι ταχὺ γε ἀπαγγελῶ, ἀλλὰ διατρίψω ἔστ' ἂν ὀκνήσωσιν οἱ ἄγγελοι μὴ ἀποδόξῃ ἡμῖν τὰς σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι· οἶμαί γε μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις στρατιώταις τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον παρέσεσθαι.» ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι σπένδοιτο, καὶ εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε πρὸς τὰπιτήδεια. [2.3.10] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡγοῦντο, Κλέαρχος μέντοι ἐπορεύετο τὰς μὲν σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἔχων ἐν τάξει, καὶ αὐτὸς ὠπισθοφυλάκει. καὶ ἐνετύγχανον τάφροις καὶ αὐλῶσιν ὕδατος πλήρεσιν, ὥς μὴ δύνασθαι διαβαίνειν ἄνευ γεφυρῶν· ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο διαβάσεις ἐκ τῶν φοινίκων οἱ ἦσαν ἐκπεπτωκότες, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξέκοπτον. [2.3.11] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἦν Κλέαρχον καταμαθεῖν ὥς ἐπεστάτει, ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ βακτηρίαν· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ δοκοίῃ τῶν πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένων βλακεύειν, ἐκλεγόμενος τὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἔπαισεν ἄν, καὶ ἅμα αὐτὸς προσελάμβανεν εἰς τὸν πηλὸν ἐμβαίνων· ὥστε πᾶσιν αἰσχύνῃν εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάζειν. [2.3.12] καὶ ἐτάχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸ οἱ <εἰς> τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονότες· ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον ἐώρων σπουδάζοντα, προσελάμβανον καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. [2.3.13] πολλὸν δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ Κλέαρχος ἔσπευδεν, ὑποπτεύων μὴ αἰεὶ οὕτω πλήρεις εἶναι τὰς τάφρους ὕδατος (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὥρα οἷα τὸ πεδῖον ἄρδειν), ἀλλ' ἵνα ἤδη πολλὰ προφαίνοιτο τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δεινὰ εἰς τὴν πορείαν, τούτου ἕνεκα βασιλέα ὑπώπτευν ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφεικέναι. [2.3.14] πορευόμενοι δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἀπέδειξαν οἱ ἡγεμόνες λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολὺς καὶ οἶνος φοινίκων καὶ ὄξος ἐψητὸν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν. [2.3.15] αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ βάλανοι τῶν φοινίκων οἷας μὲν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀπέκειντο, αἱ δὲ τοῖς δεσπόταις ἀποκείμεναι ἦσαν ἀπόλεκτοι, θαυμάσαι τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους, ἡ δὲ ὄψις ἡλέκτρον οὐδὲν διέφερεν· τὰς δὲ τινες ξηραίνοντες τραγήματα ἀπετίθεσαν. καὶ ἦν καὶ παρὰ πότον ἡδὺ μὲν, κεφαλαλγὲς δέ. [2.3.16] ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φοίνικος πρῶτον ἔφαγον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ἐθαύμασαν τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς. ἦν δὲ σφόδρα καὶ τοῦτο κεφαλαλγὲς. ὁ δὲ φοῖνιξ ὅθεν ἐξαίρεθῇ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος ὅλος ηὐαίνετο. [2.3.17] ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· καὶ παρὰ μεγάλου βασιλέως ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς

καὶ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι τρεῖς· δοῦλοι δὲ πολλοὶ εἶποντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήντησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοί, ἔλεγε πρῶτος Τισσαφέρνης δι' ἑρμηνέως τοιάδε. [2.3.18] «ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, γείτων οἰκῶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὑμᾶς εἶδον εἰς πολλὰ καὶ ἀμήχανα πεπτωκότας, εὖρημα ἐποιησάμην εἴ πως δυνάμην παρὰ βασιλέως αἰτήσασθαι δοῦναι ἐμοὶ ἀποσῶσαι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀχαρίστως μοι ἔχειν οὔτε πρὸς ὑμῶν οὔτε πρὸς τῆς πάσης Ἑλλάδος. [2.3.19] ταῦτα δὲ γνοὺς ἡτιούμην βασιλέα, λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι δικαίως ἂν μοι χαρίζοιτο, ὅτι αὐτῷ Κῦρόν τε ἐπιστρατεύοντα πρῶτος ἡγγεῖλα καὶ βοήθειαν ἔχων ἅμα τῇ ἀγγελίᾳ ἀφικόμην, καὶ μόνος τῶν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τεταγμένων οὐκ ἔφυγον, ἀλλὰ διήλασα καὶ συνέμειξα βασιλεῖ ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ ἔνθα βασιλεὺς ἀφίκετο, ἐπεὶ Κῦρον ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τοὺς ξὺν Κύρῳ βαρβάρους ἐδίωξε σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς παροῦσι νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ, οἵπερ αὐτῷ εἰσι πιστότατοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὑπέσχετό μοι βουλευέσθαι. [2.3.20] ἐρέσθαι δέ με ὑμᾶς ἐκέλευεν ἐλθόντα τίνος ἔνεκεν ἐστρατεύσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ συμβουλευώ ὑμῖν μετρίως ἀποκρίνασθαι, ἵνα μοι εὐπρακτότερον ᾦ ἢ ἂν τι δύνωμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ διαπράξασθαι.»

[2.3.21] πρὸς ταῦτα μεταστάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, Κλέαρχος δ' ἔλεγεν· «ἡμεῖς οὔτε συνήλθομεν ὥς βασιλεῖ πολεμήσοντες οὔτε ἐπορευόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλέα, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς προφάσεις Κῦρος ἡύρισκεν, ὥς καὶ σὺ εὖ οἶσθα, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τε ἀπαρασκεύους λάβοι καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνθάδε ἀγάγοι. [2.3.22] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἤδη αὐτὸν ἐωρῶμεν ἐν δεινῷ ὄντα, ἡσυχύνημεν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους προδοῦναι αὐτόν, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ παρέχοντες ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εὖ ποιεῖν. [2.3.23] ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρος τέθηκεν, οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἀντιποιοῦμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐτ' ἔστιν ὅτου ἔνεκα βουλοίμεθα ἂν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι ἂν ἐθέλοιμεν, πορευοίμεθα δ' ἂν οἴκαδε, εἴ τις ἡμᾶς μὴ λυποίῃ· ἀδικοῦντα μέντοι πειρασόμεθα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμύνασθαι· ἐὰν μέντοι τις ἡμᾶς καὶ εὖ ποιῶν ὑπάρχηι, καὶ τούτου εἰς γε δύναμιν οὐχ ἡττησόμεθα εὖ ποιοῦντες.» [2.3.24] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, «ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἀπαγγελῶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν πάλιν τὰ παρ' ἐκείνου· μέχρι δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἤκω αἱ σπονδαὶ μενόντων· ἀγορὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς παρέξομεν.» [2.3.25] καὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ὑστεραίαν οὐχ ἦκεν· ὥσθ' οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐφρόντιζον· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἦκων ἔλεγεν ὅτι διαπεπραγμένος

ἤκοι παρὰ βασιλέως δοθῆναι αὐτῷ σήιζειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καίπερ πάνυ πολλῶν ἀντιλεγόντων ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη βασιλεῖ ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν στρατευσαμένους. [2.3.26] τέλος δὲ εἶπε· «καὶ νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν πιστὰ λαβεῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ μὴν φιλίαν παρέξειν ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν καὶ ἀδύλως ἀπάξειν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγορὰν παρέχοντας· ὅπου δ' ἂν μὴ ἦι πρίασθαι, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐάσομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [2.3.27] ὑμᾶς δὲ αὖ ἡμῖν δεήσει ὁμόσαι ἢ μὴν πορεύσεσθαι ὥς διὰ φιλίας ἀσινῶς σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ λαμβάνοντας ὁπόταν μὴ ἀγορὰν παρέχωμεν, ἐὰν δὲ παρέχωμεν ἀγορὰν, ὠνούμενους ἔξειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.» [2.3.28] ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ὤμοσαν καὶ δεξιὰς ἔδοσαν Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ τῆς βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. [2.3.29] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης εἶπε· «νῦν μὲν δὴ ἄπειμι ὥς βασιλέα· ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαπράξωμαι ἃ δέομαι, ἦξω συσκευασάμενος ὥς ἀπάξων ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπιὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἀρχήν.»

[2.4.1] μετὰ ταῦτα περιέμενον Τισσαφέρνην οἱ τε Ἕλληνες καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐστρατοπεδευμένοι ἡμέρας πλείους ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς Ἀριαῖον καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκαῖοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ἐκείνῳ Περσῶν τινες, <οἱ> παρεθάρρυνόν τε καὶ δεξιὰς ἐνίοις παρὰ βασιλέως ἔφερον μὴ μνησικακήσειν βασιλέα αὐτοῖς τῆς σὺν Κύρῳ ἐπιστρατείας μηδὲ ἄλλου μηδενὸς τῶν παροιχομένων. [2.4.2] τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐνδηλοὶ ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀριαῖον ἦττον προσέχοντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν νοῦν· ὥστε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἤρεσκον, ἀλλὰ προσιόντες τῷ Κλέαρχῳ ἔλεγον καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς· [2.4.3] «τί μένομεν; ἢ οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι ἂν περὶ παντὸς ποιήσαιο, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι φόβος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλέα μέγαν στρατεύειν; καὶ νῦν μὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπάγεται μένειν διὰ τὸ διεσπάρθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα· ἐπὰν δὲ πάλιν ἀλισθῇ αὐτῷ ἡ στρατιά, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται ἡμῖν. [2.4.4] ἴσως δέ που ἢ ἀποσκάπτει τι ἢ ἀποτείχίζει, ὥς ἄπορος εἶη ἡ ὁδός. οὐ γάρ ποτε ἐκὼν γε βουλήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπαγγεῖλαι ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσοῖδε ὄντες ἐνικῶμεν τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγελάσαντες ἀπῆλθομεν.» [2.4.5] Κλέαρχος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τοῖς ταῦτα λέγουσιν· «ἐγὼ ἐνθυμοῦμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα· ἐννοῶ δ' ὅτι εἰ νῦν ἄπιμεν, δόξομεν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ ἀπιέναι καὶ παρὰ τὰς σπονδὰς

ποιεῖν. ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν ἀγορὰν οὐδεὶς παρέξει ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ὅθεν ἐπισιτιούμεθα· αὐθις δὲ ὁ ἡγησόμενος οὐδεὶς ἔσται· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα ποιοούντων ἡμῶν εὐθὺς Ἀριαῖος ἀφεστήξει· ὥστε φίλος ἡμῖν οὐδεὶς λελείπεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρόσθεν ὄντες πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται. [2.4.6] ποταμὸς δ' εἰ μὲν τις καὶ ἄλλος ἄρα ἡμῖν ἐστι διαβατέος οὐκ οἶδα· τὸν δ' οὖν Εὐφράτην ἴσμεν ὅτι ἀδύνατον διαβῆναι κωλυόντων πολεμίων. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἂν μάχεσθαι γε δέηι, ἵππεῖς εἰσιν ἡμῖν ξύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἵππεῖς εἰσιν οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ πλείστου ἄξιοι· ὥστε νικῶντες μὲν τίνα ἂν ἀποκτείναιμεν; ἡττωμένων δὲ οὐδένα οἶόν τε σωθῆναι. [2.4.7] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν βασιλέα, ᾧ οὕτω πολλὰ ἐστι τὰ σύμμαχα, εἴπερ προθυμεῖται ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι δεῖ αὐτὸν ὁμόσαι καὶ δεξιὰν δοῦναι καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιορκῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πιστὰ ἄπιστα ποιῆσαι "Ελλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις.» τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἔλεγεν. [2.4.8] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκε Τισσαφέρνης ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὥς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν καὶ Ὀρόντας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν· ἦγε δὲ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλέως ἐπὶ γάμῳ. [2.4.9] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη Τισσαφέρνους ἡγουμένου καὶ ἀγορὰν παρέχοντος ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπορεύετο δὲ καὶ Ἀριαῖος τὸ Κύρου βαρβαρικὸν ἔχων στράτευμα ἅμα Τισσαφέρνει καὶ Ὀρόνται καὶ ξυνεστρατοπεδεύετο σὺν ἐκείνοις. [2.4.10] οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ὑφορῶντες τούτους αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων παρασάγγην καὶ πλεον· ἐφυλάττοντο δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ὥσπερ πολεμίους ἀλλήλους, καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτο ὑποψίαν παρεῖχεν. [2.4.11] ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ξυλιζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ χόρτον καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ξυλλέγοντες πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἐχθραν παρεῖχε. [2.4.12] διελθόντες δὲ τρεῖς σταθμοὺς ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας καλούμενον τεῖχος, καὶ παρήλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὠικοδομημένον πλίνθοις ὅπαῖς ἐν ἀσφάλτῳ κειμέναις, εὖρος εἴκοσι ποδῶν, ὕψος δὲ ἑκατόν· μῆκος δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι εἴκοσι παρασάγγαι· ἀπέχει δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐ πολὺ. [2.4.13] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας ὀκτώ· καὶ διέβησαν διώρυχας δύο, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ γεφύρας, τὴν δὲ ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις ἐπτά· αὗται δ' ἦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ· κατετέμνητο δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ τάφροι ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, αἱ μὲν πρῶται μεγάλαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐλάττους· τέλος δὲ καὶ μικροὶ ὀχετοί, ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπὶ τὰς μελίνας· καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν· πρὸς ᾧ πόλις ἦν μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος ἥ ὄνομα Σιττάκη, ἀπέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ σταδίου

πεντεκαίδεκα. [2.4.14] οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες παρ' αὐτὴν ἐσκήνησαν ἐγγὺς παραδείσου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ καὶ δασέος παντοίων δένδρων, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι διαβεβηκότες τὸν Τίγρητα· οὐ μέντοι καταφανεῖς ἦσαν. [2.4.15] μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἔτυχον ἐν περιπάτῳ ὄντες πρὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν Πρόξενος καὶ Ξενοφῶν· καὶ προσελθὼν ἄνθρωπός τις ἠρώτησε τοὺς προφύλακας ποῦ ἂν ἴδοι Πρόξενον ἢ Κλέαρχον· Μένωνα δὲ οὐκ ἐζήτει, καὶ ταῦτα παρ' Ἀριαίου ὃν τοῦ Μένωνος ξένου. [2.4.16] ἐπεὶ δὲ Πρόξενος εἶπεν «ὅτι αὐτός εἰμι ὃν ζητεῖς», εἶπεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος τάδε. «ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριαῖος καὶ Ἀρτάοζος, πιστοὶ ὄντες Κύρῳ καὶ ὑμῖν εὖνοι, καὶ κελεύουσι φυλάττεσθαι μὴ ὑμῖν ἐπιθῶνται τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ βάρβαροι· ἔστι δὲ στράτευμα πολὺ ἐν τῷ πλησίον παραδείσῳ. [2.4.17] καὶ παρὰ τὴν γέφυραν τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ πέμψαι κελεύουσι φυλακὴν, ὥς διανοεῖται αὐτὴν λῦσαι Τισσαφέρνης τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐὰν δύνῃται, ὥς μὴ διαβῇτε ἄλλ' ἐν μέσῳ ἀποληφθῇτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς διώρυχος.» [2.4.18] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Κλέαρχον καὶ φράζουσιν ἃ λέγει. ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη σφόδρα καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο. [2.4.19] νεανίσκος δὲ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐννοήσας εἶπεν ὥς οὐκ ἀκόλουθα εἶη τό τε ἐπιθήσεσθαι καὶ λύσειν τὴν γέφυραν. δῆλον γάρ ὅτι ἐπιτιθεμένους ἢ νικᾶν δεήσει ἢ ἡττᾶσθαι. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νικῶσι, τί δεῖ λύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν γέφυραν; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν πολλαὶ γέφυραι ὧσιν ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅποι φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν. [2.4.20] ἐὰν δὲ ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν, λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας οὐχ ἔξουσιν ἐκεῖνοι ὅποι φύγῳσιν· οὐδὲ μὴν βοηθῆσαι πολλῶν ὄντων πέραν οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς δυνήσεται λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρας. [2.4.21] ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κλέαρχος ταῦτα ἤρετο τὸν ἄγγελον πόση τις εἴη χώρα ἢ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Τίγρητος καὶ τῆς διώρυχος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι πολλὴ καὶ κῶμαι ἔνεισι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι. [2.4.22] τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑποπέμψειαν, ὁκνοῦντες μὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες διελόντες τὴν γέφυραν μείναιεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐρύματα ἔχοντες ἔνθεν μὲν τὸν Τίγρητα, ἔνθεν δὲ τὴν διώρυχα· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἔχοιεν ἐκ τῆς ἐν μέσῳ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς οὕσης καὶ τῶν ἐργασομένων ἐνόντων· εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἀποστροφὴ γένοιτο εἴ τις βούλοιο βασιλέα κακῶς ποιεῖν. [2.4.23] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνεπαύοντο· ἐπὶ μέντοι τὴν γέφυραν ὅμως φυλακὴν ἐπεμψαν· καὶ οὔτε ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶθεν οὔτε πρὸς τὴν γέφυραν οὐδεὶς ἦλθε τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς οἱ φυλάττοντες ἀπήγγελλον. [2.4.24] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔως ἐγένετο, διέβαινον τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευγμένην πλοίοις τριάκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ ὥς οἷόν τε μάλιστα

πεφυλαγμένως· ἐξήγγελλον γάρ τινες τῶν παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Ἑλλήνων ὡς διαβαινόντων μέλλοιεν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ψευδῆ ἦν· διαβαινόντων μέντοι ὁ Γλοῦς [αὐτῶν] ἐπεφάνη μετ' ἄλλων σκοπῶν εἰ διαβαίνοιεν τὸν ποταμόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶδεν, ὥιχετο ἀπελαύνων. [2.4.25] ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Φύσκον ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος πλέθρου· ἐπὶ δὲ γέφυρα. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ὠκεῖτο πόλις μεγάλη ὄνομα Ὡπις· πρὸς ἣν ἀπῆντησε τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὁ Κύρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφὸς ἀπὸ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἄγων ὡς βοηθήσων βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἐπιστήσας τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα παρερχομένους τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐθεώρει. [2.4.26] ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἡγεῖτο μὲν εἰς δύο, ἐπορεύετο δὲ ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἐφιστάμενος· ὅσον δὲ [ἂν] χρόνον τὸ ἡγούμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπιστήσειε, τοσοῦτον ἦν ἀνάγκη χρόνον δι' ὅλου τοῦ στρατεύματος γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπίστασιν· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαί πάμπλου εἶναι, καὶ τὸν Πέρσῃν ἐκπεπληγῆθαι θεωροῦντα. [2.4.27] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Μηδίας σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους ἕξ παρασάγγας τριάκοντα εἰς τὰς Παρυσάτιδος κόμας τῆς Κύρου καὶ βασιλέως μητρός. ταύτας Τισσαφέρνης Κύρῳ ἐπεγγελῶν διαρπάσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε πλὴν ἀνδραπόδων. ἐνῆν δὲ σῖτος πολλὺς καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα. [2.4.28] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ σταθμῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ πόλις ὠκεῖτο μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων ὄνομα Καιναί, ἕξ ἧς οἱ βάρβαροι διηγόν ἐπὶ σχεδιαῖς διφθερίναις ἄρτους, τυρούς, οἶνον.

[2.5.1] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμόν, τὸ εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν δὲ ταύταις ὑποψαί μὲν ἦσαν, φανερά δὲ οὐδεμία ἐφαίνετο ἐπιβουλή. [2.5.2] ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ συγγενέσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ εἴ πως δύναιτο παῦσαι τὰς ὑποψίας πρὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. καὶ ἔπεμψεν τινα ἐροῦντα ὅτι συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ χρήζει. [2.5.3] ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως ἐκέλευεν ἥκειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ξυνῆλθον, λέγει ὁ Κλέαρχος τάδε. «ἐγώ, ὃ Τισσαφέρνη, οἶδα μὲν ἡμῖν ὅρκους γεγεννημένους καὶ δεξιὰς δεδομένας μὴ ἀδικήσῃν ἀλλήλους· φυλαττόμενον δὲ σέ τε ὁρῶ ὡς πολεμίους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρῶντες ταῦτα ἀντιφυλαττόμεθα. [2.5.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι οὔτε σέ αἰσθῆσθαι πειρώμενον ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν ἐγώ τε σαφῶς οἶδα ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε οὐδὲ ἐπινοοῦμεν τοιοῦτον

οὐδέν, ἔδοξέ μοι εἰς λόγους σοι ἔλθειν, ὅπως εἰ δυνάμεθα ἐξέλκομεν ἀλλήλων τὴν ἀπιστίαν. [2.5.5] καὶ γὰρ οἶδα ἀνθρώπους ἤδη τοὺς μὲν ἐκ διαβολῆς τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ὑποψίας οἱ φοβηθέντες ἀλλήλους φθάσαι βουλόμενοι πρὶν παθεῖν ἐποίησαν ἀνήκεστα κακὰ τοὺς οὐτε μέλλοντας οὐτ' αὖ βουλομένους τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. [2.5.6] τὰς οὖν τοιαύτας ἀγνωμοσύνας νομίζων συνουσίαις μάλιστα παύεσθαι ἤκω καὶ διδάσκειν σε βούλομαι ὥς σὺ ἡμῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπιστεῖς. [2.5.7] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ καὶ μέγιστον οἱ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ὅρκοι κωλύουσι πολέμιους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις· ὅστις δὲ τούτων σύνοιδεν αὐτῷ παρημεληκῶς, τοῦτον ἐγὼ οὐποτ' ἂν εὐδαιμονίσαιμι. τὸν γὰρ θεῶν πόλεμον οὐκ οἶδα οὐτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἂν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι οὐτ' εἰς ποῖον ἂν σκότος ἀποδραΐη οὐθ' ὅπως ἂν εἰς ἐχυρὸν χωρίον ἀποσταίῃ. πάντῃ γὰρ πάντα τοῖς θεοῖς ὑποχα καὶ πάντων ἴσον οἱ θεοὶ κρατοῦσι. [2.5.8] περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν θεῶν τε καὶ τῶν ὀρκῶν οὕτω γινώσκω, παρ' οὓς ἡμεῖς τὴν φιλίαν συνθέμενοι κατεθέμεθα· τῶν δ' ἀνθρωπίνων σὲ ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ παρόντι νομίζω μέγιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν ἀγαθόν. [2.5.9] σὺν μὲν γὰρ σοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ὁδὸς εὐπορος, πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς διαβατός, τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων οὐκ ἀπορία· ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ πᾶσα μὲν διὰ σκότους ἢ ὁδός· οὐδέν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἐπιστάμεθα· πᾶς δὲ ποταμὸς δύσπορος, πᾶς δὲ ὄχλος φοβερός, φοβερώτατον δ' ἐρημία· μεστὴ γὰρ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐστίν. [2.5.10] εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ μανέντες σε κατακτείναιμεν, ἄλλο τι ἂν ἢ τὸν εὐεργέτην κατακτείναντες πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγιστον ἐφεδρον ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; ὅσων δὲ δὴ καὶ οἶων ἂν ἐλπίδων ἐμαυτὸν στερήσαιμι, εἰ σέ τι κακὸν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα λέξω. [2.5.11] ἐγὼ γὰρ Κῦρον ἐπεθύμησά μοι φίλον γενέσθαι, νομίζων τῶν τότε ἱκανώτατον εἶναι εὖ ποιεῖν ὃν βούλοιο· σὲ δὲ νῦν ὁρῶ τὴν τε Κύρου δύναμιν καὶ χώραν ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ [χώραν] σήιζοντα, τὴν δὲ βασιλέως δύναμιν, ἣ Κῦρος πολέμια ἐχρῆτο, σοὶ ταύτην ξύμμαχον οὔσαν. [2.5.12] τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαίνεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ὧν ἔχω ἐλπίδας καὶ σὲ βουλήσεσθαι φίλον ἡμῖν εἶναι. [2.5.13] οἶδα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν Μυσοὺς λυπηροὺς ὄντας, οὓς νομίζω ἂν σὺν τῇ παρούσῃ δυνάμει ταπεινοὺς ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν· οἶδα δὲ καὶ Πισίδας· ἀκούω δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι, ἃ οἶμαι ἂν παῦσαι ἐνοχλοῦντα ἀεὶ τῇ ὑμετέρῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ. Αἰγυπτίους δέ, οἷς μάλιστα ὑμᾶς γινώσκω τεθυμωμένους, οὐχ ὁρῶ ποῖαι δυνάμει συμμάχῳ χρησάμενοι μᾶλλον ἂν κολάσαισθε τῆς νῦν

σὺν ἐμοὶ οὕσης. [2.5.14] ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς πέριξ οἰκοῦσι σὺ εἰ μὲν βούλοιο φίλος ὥς μέγιστος ἂν εἴης, εἰ δέ τίς σε λυποίη, ὥς δεσπότης <ἂν> ἀναστρέφοιο ἔχων ἡμᾶς ὑπηρέτας, οἱ σοι οὐκ ἂν μισθοῦ ἔνεκα ὑπηρετοῖμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς χάριτος ἦν σωθέντες ὑπὸ σοῦ σοὶ ἂν ἔχοιμεν δικαίως. [2.5.15] ἐμοὶ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα ἐνθυμουμένῳ οὕτω δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι τὸ σὲ ἡμῖν ἀπιστεῖν ὥστε καὶ ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα τίς οὕτως ἐστὶ δεινὸς λέγειν ὥστε σε πεῖσαι λέγων ὥς ἡμεῖς σοι ἐπιβουλεύομεν.» Κλέαρχος μὲν οὖν τοσαῦτα εἶπε· Τισσαφέρνης δὲ ὧδε ἀπημείφθη. [2.5.16] «ἀλλ' ἥδομαι μὲν, ὦ Κλέαρχε, ἀκούων σου φρονίμους λόγους· ταῦτα γὰρ γινώσκων εἴ τι ἐμοὶ κακὸν βουλευοῖς, ἅμα ἂν μοι δοκεῖς καὶ σαυτῷ κακόνους εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἂν μάθης ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς δικαίως οὔτε βασιλεῖ οὔτ' ἐμοὶ ἀπιστοίητε, ἀντάκουσον. [2.5.17] εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐβουλόμεθα ἀπολέσαι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦμεν ἱππέων πλήθους ἀπορεῖν ἢ πεζῶν ἢ ὀπλίσεως ἐν ἧ ὑμᾶς μὲν βλάπτειν ἱκανοὶ εἴημεν ἂν, ἀντιπάσχειν δὲ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος; [2.5.18] ἀλλὰ χωρίων ἐπιτηδεῖων ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀπορεῖν ἂν σοι δοκοῦμεν; οὐ τοσαῦτα μὲν πεδία ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διαπορεύεσθε, τοσαῦτα δὲ ὄρη ὁρᾶτε ὑμῖν ὄντα πορευτέα, ἃ ἡμῖν ἔξεστι προκαταλαβοῦσιν ἅπορα ὑμῖν παρέχειν, τοσοῦτοι δ' εἰσὶ ποταμοὶ ἐφ' ὧν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὁπόσοις ἂν ὑμῶν βουλώμεθα μάχεσθαι; εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῶν οὐς οὐδ' ἂν παντάπασι διαβαίητε, εἰ μὴ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς διαπορεύοιμεν. [2.5.19] εἰ δ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἡττήμεθα, ἀλλὰ τό γέ τοι πῦρ κρεῖττον τοῦ καρποῦ ἐστίν· ὃν ἡμεῖς δυνάμεθ' ἂν κατακαύσαντες λιμὸν ὑμῖν ἀντιτάξαι, ὧ ὑμεῖς οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ ἀγαθοὶ εἴητε μάχεσθαι ἂν δύνασθε. [2.5.20] πῶς ἂν οὖν ἔχοντες τοσοῦτους πόρους πρὸς τὸ ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, καὶ τούτων μηδένα ἡμῖν ἐπικίνδυνον, ἔπειτα ἐκ τούτων πάντων τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἐξελοίμεθα ὃς μόνος μὲν πρὸς θεῶν ἀσεβής, μόνος δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων αἰσχρός; [2.5.21] παντάπασι δὲ ἀπόρων ἐστὶ καὶ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐχομένων, καὶ τούτων πονηρῶν, οἵτινες ἐθέλουσι δι' ἐπιορκίας τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ ἀπιστίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πράττειν τι. οὐχ οὕτως ἡμεῖς, ὦ Κλέαρχε, οὔτε ἀλόγιστοι οὔτε ἡλίθιοι ἐσμεν. [2.5.22] ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ὑμᾶς ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἤλθομεν; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ὁ ἐμὸς ἔρως τούτου αἴτιος τὸ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐμὲ πιστὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὧ Κῦρος ἀνέβη ξενικῷ διὰ μισθοδοσίας πιστεῦων τούτῳ ἐμὲ καταβῆναι δι' εὐεργεσίαν ἰσχυρόν. [2.5.23] ὅσα δ' ἐμοὶ χρήσιμοι ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὰ μὲν καὶ σὺ εἶπας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἐγὼ οἶδα· τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ

τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.» [2.5.24] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔδοξε τῷ Κλεάρχῳ ἀληθῆ λέγειν· καὶ εἶπεν· «οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἵτινες τοιούτων ἡμῖν εἰς φιλίαν ὑπαρχόντων πειρῶνται διαβάλλοντες ποιῆσαι πολεμίους ἡμᾶς ἄξιοί εἰσι τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν;» [2.5.25] «καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, εἰ βούλεσθέ μοι οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐλθεῖν, ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς σὺ ἐμοὶ ἐπιβουλεύεις καὶ τῇ σὺν ἐμοὶ στρατιᾷ.» [2.5.26] «ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας, καὶ σοὶ αὖ δηλώσω ὅθεν ἐγὼ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούω.» [2.5.27] ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν λόγων ὁ Τισσαφέρνης φιλοφρονούμενος τότε μὲν μένειν τε αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε καὶ σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κλέαρχος ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον δηλὸς τ' ἦν πάνῃ φιλικῶς οἰόμενος διακεῖσθαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ ἃ ἔλεγεν ἐκεῖνος ἀπήγγελλεν, ἔφη τε χρῆναι ἰέναι παρὰ Τισσαφέρνην οὓς ἐκέλευεν, καὶ οἱ ἂν ἐλεγχθῶσι διαβάλλοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὡς προδότας αὐτοὺς καὶ κακόνους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὄντας τιμωρηθῆναι. [2.5.28] ὑπώπτευε δὲ εἶναι τὸν διαβάλλοντα Μένωνα, εἰδὼς αὐτὸν καὶ συγγεγεννημένον Τισσαφέρνει μετ' Ἀριαίου καὶ στασιάζοντα αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα, ὅπως τὸ στράτευμα ἅπαν πρὸς αὐτὸν λαβὼν φίλος ἦι Τισσαφέρνει. [2.5.29] ἐβούλετο δὲ καὶ Κλέαρχος ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔχειν τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς παραλυποῦντας ἐκποδὼν εἶναι. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀντέλεγόν τινες αὐτῷ μὴ ἰέναι πάντας τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατηγοὺς μηδὲ πιστεῦειν Τισσαφέρνει. [2.5.30] ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος ἰσχυρῶς κατέτεινεν, ἔστε διεπράξατο πέντε μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἰέναι, εἴκοσι δὲ λοχαγοὺς· συνηκολούθησαν δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ὡς διακόσιοι. [2.5.31] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ταῖς Τισσαφέρνους, οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ παρεκλήθησαν εἴσω, Πρόξενος Βοιώτιος, Μένων Θεταλός, Ἀγίας Ἀρκάς, Κλέαρχος Λάκων, Σωκράτης Ἀχαιοί· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔμενον. [2.5.32] οὐ πολλῶι δὲ ὕστερον ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου οἱ τ' ἔνδον ξυνελαμβάνοντο καὶ οἱ ἔξω κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς ἰππέων διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ἐλαύνοντες ὥτινι ἐντυγχάνοιεν Ἑλληνι ἢ δούλῳ ἢ ἐλευθέρῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον. [2.5.33] οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες τὴν τε ἰππασίαν ἐθαύμαζον ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ὀρῶντες καὶ ὅ τι ἐποίουν ἡμφεγνόνουν, πρὶν Νίκαρχος Ἀρκὰς ἦκε φεύγων τετρωμένος εἰς τὴν γαστέρα καὶ τὰ ἔντερα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων, καὶ εἶπε πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα. [2.5.34] ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ Ἑλληνες

ἔθειον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ νομίζοντες αὐτίκα ἤξειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [2.5.35] οἱ δὲ πάντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον, Ἀριαῖος δὲ καὶ Ἀρτάοζος καὶ Μιθραδάτης, οἱ ἦσαν Κύρῳ πιστότατοι· ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑρμηνεὺς ἔφη καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνους ἀδελφὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄραν καὶ γινώσκειν· ξυνηκολούθουν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι Περσῶν τεθωρακισμένοι εἰς τριακοσίους. [2.5.36] οὗτοι ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευον εἰ τις εἶη τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἢ λοχαγός, ἵνα ἀπαγγείλωσι τὰ παρὰ βασιλέως. [2.5.37] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλθον φυλαττόμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγοὶ μὲν Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Σοφαίνετος Στυμφάλιος, ξὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὅπως μάθοι τὰ περὶ Πρόξενου· Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἐτύγχανεν ἀπὼν ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ ξὺν ἄλλοις ἐπισιτιζομένοις. [2.5.38] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔστησαν εἰς ἐπήκοον, εἶπεν Ἀριαῖος τάδε. Κλέαρχος μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ ἐπιorkῶν τε ἐφάνη καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς λύων, ἔχει τὴν δίκην καὶ τέθηκε, Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων, ὅτι κατήγγειλαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ βασιλεὺς τὰ ὄπλα ἀπαιτεῖ· αὐτοῦ γὰρ εἶναί φησιν, ἐπεὶπερ Κύρου ἦσαν τοῦ ἐκείνου δούλου. [2.5.39] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγε δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος· «ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώπων Ἀριαῖε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὅσοι ἦτε Κύρου φίλοι, οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους, οἵτινες ὁμόσαντες ἡμῖν τοὺς αὐτοὺς φίλους καὶ ἐχθροὺς νομιεῖν, προδόντες ἡμᾶς σὺν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ πανουργοτάτῳ τοὺς τε ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς οἷς ὤμνυτε ἀπολωλέκατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἡμᾶς προδεδωκότες ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔρχεσθε;» [2.5.40] ὁ δὲ Ἀριαῖος εἶπε· «Κλέαρχος γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐπιβουλεύων φανερὸς ἐγένετο Τισσαφέρνει τε καὶ Ὀρόνται, καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ξὺν τούτοις.» ἐπὶ τούτοις Ξενοφῶν τάδε εἶπε. [2.5.41] »Κλέαρχος μὲν τοίνυν εἰ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἔλυνε τὰς σπονδὰς, τὴν δίκην ἔχει· δίκαιον γὰρ ἀπόλλυσθαι τοὺς ἐπιorkοῦντας· Πρόξενος δὲ καὶ Μένων ἐπεὶπερ εἰσὶν ὑμέτεροι μὲν εὐεργέται, ἡμέτεροι δὲ στρατηγοί, πέμψατε αὐτοὺς δεῦρο· δηλον γὰρ ὅτι φίλοι γε ὄντες ἀμφοτέροις πειράσσονται καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύσαι.» [2.5.42] πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ βάρβαροι πολὺν χρόνον διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις ἀπῆλθον οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενοι.

[2.6.1] οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατηγοὶ οὕτω ληφθέντες ἀνῆχθησαν ὥς βασιλέα καὶ ἀποτιμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐτελεύτησαν, εἷς μὲν αὐτῶν Κλέαρχος ὁμολογουμένως ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐμπείρως αὐτοῦ ἐχόντων

δόξας γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ καὶ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος ἐσχάτως. [2.6.2] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔως μὲν πόλεμος ἦν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παρέμενεν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, πείσας τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν ὥς οἱ Θρᾱικες ἀδικοῦσι τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ διαπραζάμενος ὥς ἐδύνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐφόρων ἐξέπλει ὥς πολεμήσων τοῖς ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου καὶ Περίνθου Θραιζίν. [2.6.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταγρόντες πως οἱ ἔφοροι ἤδη ἔξω ὄντος ἀποστρέφειν αὐτὸν ἐπειρῶντο ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι πείθεται, ἀλλ' ὤιχετο πλέων εἰς Ἑλλάσποντον. [2.6.4] ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τελεῶν ὥς ἀπειθῶν. ἤδη δὲ φυγὰς ὦν ἔρχεται πρὸς Κῦρον, καὶ ὁποίοις μὲν λόγοις ἔπεισε Κῦρον ἄλλῃ γέγραπται, δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ Κῦρος μυρίους δαρεικοὺς· [2.6.5] ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οὐκ ἐπὶ ραιθυμίᾳ ἐτράπετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων συλλέξας στράτευμα ἐπολέμει τοῖς Θραιζί, καὶ μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τούτους καὶ πολεμῶν διεγένετο μέχρι Κῦρος ἐδεήθη τοῦ στρατεύματος· τότε δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὥς ζῦν ἐκείνῳ αὐτὸν πολεμήσων. [2.6.6] ταῦτα οὖν φιλοπολέμου μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα εἶναι, ὅστις ἐξὸν μὲν εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἄνευ αἰσχύνης καὶ βλάβης αἰρεῖται πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ ραιθυμεῖν βούλεται πονεῖν ὥστε πολεμεῖν, ἐξὸν δὲ χρήματα ἔχειν ἀκινδύνως αἰρεῖται πολεμῶν μείονα ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ὥσπερ εἰς παιδικὰ ἢ εἰς ἄλλην τινὰ ἡδονὴν ἤθελε δαπανᾶν εἰς πόλεμον. [2.6.7] οὕτω μὲν φιλοπόλεμος ἦν· πολεμικὸς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι φιλοκίνδυνός τε ἦν καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἄγων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος, ὥς οἱ παρόντες πανταχοῦ πάντες ὡμολόγουν. [2.6.8] καὶ ἀρχικὸς δ' ἐλέγετο εἶναι ὥς δυνατόν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τρόπου οἶον κάκεῖνος εἶχεν. ἱκανὸς μὲν γὰρ ὥς τις καὶ ἄλλος φροντίζειν ἦν ὅπως ἔχοι ἢ στρατιὰ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ παρασκευάζειν ταῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἐμποῦησαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ὥς πειστέον εἴη Κλεάρχῳ. [2.6.9] τοῦτο δ' ἐποίει ἐκ τοῦ χαλεπὸς εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς ἦν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχὺς, ἐκόλαζέ τε ἰσχυρῶς, καὶ ὀργῇ ἐνίοτε, ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ μεταμέλειν ἔσθ' ὅτε. [2.6.10] καὶ γνώμη δ' ἐκόλαζεν· ἀκολάστου γὰρ στρατεύματος οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο ὄφελος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ὥς δέοι τὸν στρατιώτην φοβεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸν ἄρχοντα ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ μέλλοι ἢ φυλακὰς φυλάξιν ἢ φίλων ἀφ᾽έξεσθαι ἢ ἀπροφασίστως ἰέναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. [2.6.11] ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἤθελον αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν σφόδρα καὶ οὐκ ἄλλον ἡγοῦντο οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὸ στυγνὸν τότε φαιδρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν

τοῖς ἄλλοις προσώποις ἔφασαν φαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐρρωμένον πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὥστε σωτήριον, οὐκέτι χαλεπὸν ἐφαίνετο· [2.6.12] ὅτε δ' ἔξω τοῦ δεινοῦ γένοιτο καὶ ἐξείῃ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄρξομένους ἀπιέναι, πολλοὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέλειπον· τὸ γὰρ ἐπίχαρι οὐκ εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ χαλεπὸς ἦν καὶ ὠμός· ὥστε διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ὥσπερ παῖδες πρὸς διδάσκαλον. [2.6.13] καὶ γὰρ οὖν φιλίας μὲν καὶ εὐνοίας ἐπομένους οὐδέποτε εἶχεν· οἵτινες δὲ ἢ ὑπὸ πόλεως τεταγμένοι ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ κατεχόμενοι παρεῖσαν αὐτῷ, σφόδρα πειθόμενοις ἐχρήτο. [2.6.14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄρξαιτο νικᾶν ξὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη μεγάλα ἦν τὰ χρησίμους ποιοῦντα εἶναι τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ στρατιώτας· τὸ τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους θαρραλέως ἔχειν παρῆν καὶ τὸ τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου τιμωρίαν φοβεῖσθαι εὐτάκτους ἐποίει. [2.6.15] τοιοῦτος μὲν δὴ ἄρχων ἦν· ἄρχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ ἄλλων οὐ μάλα ἐθέλειν ἐλέγετο. ἦν δὲ ὅτε ἐτελεύτα ἀμφὶ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη. [2.6.16] Πρόξενος δὲ ὁ Βοιωτίας εὐθὺς μὲν μειράκιον ὧν ἐπεθύμει γενέσθαι ἀνὴρ τὰ μεγάλα πράττειν ἱκανός· καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔδωκε Γοργίας ἀργύριον τῷ Λεοντίνῳ. [2.6.17] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένετο ἐκείνῳ, ἱκανὸς νομίσας ἤδη εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ φίλος ὧν τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι εὐεργετῶν, ἦλθεν εἰς ταύτας τὰς σὺν Κύρῳ πράξεις· καὶ ὤιετο κτήσεσθαι ἐκ τούτων ὄνομα μέγα καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ. [2.6.18] τοσούτων δ' ἐπιθυμῶν σφόδρα ἐνδηλον αὖ καὶ τοῦτο εἶχεν, ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν θέλοι κτᾶσθαι μετὰ ἀδικίας, ἀλλὰ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ καλῷ ὤιετο δεῖν τούτων τυγχάνειν, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων μή. [2.6.19] ἄρχειν δὲ καλῶν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθῶν δυνατὸς ἦν· οὐ μέντοι οὐτ' αἰδῶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἑαυτοῦ οὔτε φόβον ἱκανὸς ἐμποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡισχύνετο μᾶλλον τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἐκείνον· καὶ φοβούμενος μᾶλλον ἦν φανερόν τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἢ οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ ἀπιστεῖν ἐκείνῳ. [2.6.20] ὤιετο δὲ ἀρκεῖν πρὸς τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι καὶ δοκεῖν τὸν μὲν καλῶς ποιοῦντα ἐπαινεῖν, τὸν δὲ ἀδικοῦντα μὴ ἐπαινεῖν. τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν συνόντων εὖνοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἄδικοι ἐπεβούλευον ὥς εὐμεταχειρίστωι ὄντι. ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθνησκεν ἦν ἐτῶν ὡς τριάκοντα. [2.6.21] Μένων δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς δῆλος ἦν ἐπιθυμῶν μὲν πλουτεῖν ἰσχυρῶς, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ ἄρχειν, ὅπως πλείω λαμβάνοι, ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ τιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα πλείω κερδαίνει· φίλος τε ἐβούλετο εἶναι τοῖς μέγιστα δυναμένοις, ἵνα ἀδικῶν μὴ διδοίῃ δίκην. [2.6.22] ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ

κατεργάζεσθαι ὧν ἐπιθυμοίη συντομωτάτην ὥιето ὁδὸν εἶναι διὰ τοῦ ἐπιορκεῖν τε καὶ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, τὸ δ' ἄπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθές τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ ἡλιθίῳ εἶναι. [2.6.23] στέργων δὲ φανερός μὲν ἦν οὐδένα, ὅτῳ δὲ φαίη φίλος εἶναι, τούτῳ ἔνδηλος ἐγίνετο ἐπιβουλεύων. καὶ πολεμίου μὲν οὐδενὸς κατεγέλα, τῶν δὲ συνόντων πάντων ὡς καταγελῶν ἀεὶ διελέγετο. [2.6.24] καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κτήμασιν οὐκ ἐπεβούλευε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ὥιето εἶναι τὰ τῶν φυλαττομένων λαμβάνειν· τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων μόνος ὥιето εἰδέναι ῥαῖστον ὃν ἀφύλακτα λαμβάνειν. [2.6.25] καὶ ὅσους μὲν αἰσθάνοιτο ἐπιόρκους καὶ ἀδίκους ὡς εὖ ὥπλισμένους ἐφοβεῖτο, τοῖς δὲ ὁσίοις καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦσιν ὡς ἀνάνδροις ἐπειρᾶτο χρῆσθαι. [2.6.26] ὥσπερ δὲ τις ἀγάλλεται ἐπὶ θεοσεβείᾳ καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, οὕτῳ Μένων ἡγάλλετο τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν δύνασθαι, τῷ πλάσασθαι ψεύδη, τῷ φίλους διαγεῖν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πανοῦργον τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν ἀεὶ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. καὶ παρ' οἷς μὲν ἐπεχειρεῖ πρωτεύειν φιλίαι, διαβάλλων τοὺς πρώτους τοῦτο ὥιето δεῖν κτήσασθαι. [2.6.27] τὸ δὲ πειθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συναδικεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐμνηχανᾶτο. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι ἡξίου ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι πλεῖστα δύναιτο καὶ ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀδικεῖν. εὐεργεσίαν δὲ κατέλεγεν, ὅποτε τις αὐτοῦ ἀφίσταιτο, ὅτι χρώμενος αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν αὐτόν. [2.6.28] καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀφανῆ ἔξεστι περὶ αὐτοῦ ψεύδεσθαι, ἃ δὲ πάντες ἴσασι τάδ' ἐστί. παρὰ Ἀριστίππου μὲν ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν στρατηγεῖν διεπράξατο τῶν ξένων, Ἀριαίῳ δὲ βαρβάρῳ ὄντι, ὅτι μεираκίοις καλοῖς ἦδετο, οἰκειότατος [ἔτι ὥραϊος ὢν] ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δὲ παιδικὰ εἶχε Θαρύπαν ἀγένειος ὢν γενειῶντα. [2.6.29] ἀποθνησκόντων δὲ τῶν συστρατῆγων ὅτι ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ξὺν Κύρῳ, ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς οὐκ ἀπέθανε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων θάνατον στρατηγῶν τιμωρηθεὶς ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀπέθανεν, οὐχ ὥσπερ Κλέαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἀποτμηθέντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, ὥσπερ τάχιστος θάνατος δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ζῶν αἰκισθεὶς ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς πονηρὸς λέγεται τῆς τελευτῆς τυχεῖν. [2.6.30] Ἀγίας δὲ ὁ Ἀρκὰς καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ τούτῳ ἀπεθανέτην. τούτων δὲ οὐθ' ὡς ἐν πολέμῳ κακῶν οὐδεὶς κατεγέλα οὐτ' εἰς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἐμέμφετο. ἦσθην δὲ ἄμφω ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς.

Βιβλίον γ'

[3.1.1] [ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Κύρου ἀναβάσει οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τισσαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.]

[3.1.2] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνεπόμενοι ἀπωλώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐννοοῦμενοι ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντῃ πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέξιν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προυδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνον δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἵππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες, ὥστε εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδένα ἂν κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθεῖ. [3.1.3] ταῦτ' ἐννοοῦμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανον ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου πατρίδων, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παίδων, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο. [3.1.4] ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὢν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν ξένος ὢν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον αὐτὸν Κύρῳ ποιήσειν, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρεῖττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. [3.1.5] ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἶη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλευεῖ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. [3.1.6] ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Απόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπιοεῖ καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθεῖη. καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Απόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. [3.1.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν

μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἡτιῶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡρώτα πότερον λῶιον εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθεῖη. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἦρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. [3.1.8] ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κῦρον μέλλοντας ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν, καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. [3.1.9] προθυμουμένου δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπροθυμεῖτο μεῖναι αὐτόν, εἶπε δὲ ὅτι ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξει, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψει αὐτόν. ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πισίδας. [3.1.10] ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεὶς – οὐχ ὑπὸ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ἡίδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἤδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἴη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἷς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν. [3.1.11] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἔλυπεῖτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσα. [3.1.12] περίφοβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ τῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναίτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἵργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν. [3.1.13] ὁποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. γίγνεται γὰρ τάδε. εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἦξιν. εἰ δὲ γεννησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; [3.1.14] ὅπως δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδεὶς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα ὥσπερ ἐξὸν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμείνω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίῳις. [3.1.15] ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν· «ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες

λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ οἶμαι οὐδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἴοις ἐσμέν. [3.1.16] οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἐαυτῶν παρασκευάσασθαι, ἡμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. [3.1.17] καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὅς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν· ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδεὶς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; [3.1.18] ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παράσχοι τοῦ στρατεῦσαι ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἀλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳι γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. [3.1.19] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν οὐποτε ἐπαυόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτίρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἷαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ· [3.1.20] τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁπότε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τούτων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ὅτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα ἡδεῖν ἔτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δὲ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνουμένους ὅρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς· ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος ἐνίστε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. [3.1.21] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκείνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελύσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἅθλα ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ᾧσιν, ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς, ἔσονται. [3.1.22] οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλὰ ὁρῶντες ἀγαθὰ στερρῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναί μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις. [3.1.23] ἔτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἰκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλλῃ καὶ πόνους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν νίκην ἡμῖν διδῶσιν. [3.1.24] ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτ' ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν· φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. [3.1.25] καὶ γὰρ

δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετ' ἐμὲ ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρύκειν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ τὰ κακά.»

[3.1.26] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ ἀρχηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον πάντες, πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγει ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο, καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν τὰς ἀπορίας. ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [3.1.27] «ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σύγῃ οὐδὲ ὀρῶν γινώσκεις οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. ἐν ταῦτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθα τοῦτοις ὅτε βασιλεύς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. [3.1.28] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξοπλισάμενοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; [3.1.29] ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκεῖνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὕβριζόμενοι οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται, καὶ μάλ' οἶμαι ἐρῶντες τούτου; ἂ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆις, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας; [3.1.30] ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μήτε προσίεσθαι εἰς ταὐτὸ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκευὴ ἀναθέντας ὥς τοιοῦτῳ χρῆσθαι. οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληνας ὧν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.» [3.1.31] ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον ὥσπερ Λυδὸν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὅσα τετυπημένον.» [3.1.32] καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶιος εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν, ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστράτηγον, ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶιος εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν. [3.1.33] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. [3.1.34] ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος πρεσβύτατος ὧν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε. «ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὀρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σὺ, ὦ

Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.» [3.1.35] ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν. «ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. ἡμῖν δέ γε οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὥς μήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. [3.1.36] εὖ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὗτοι πάντες πρὸς ὑμᾶς βλέπουσι, κἂν μὲν ὑμᾶς ὀρώσιν ἀθύμους, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται, ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσσονται μιμεῖσθαι. [3.1.37] ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δέη. [3.1.38] καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὠφελῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθεῖητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὥς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο ὥς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδαμοῦ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σῆζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. [3.1.39] ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσησθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἣν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρρύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάνυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. [3.1.40] νῦν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὥς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. [3.1.41] ἣν δὲ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὥς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. [3.1.42] ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δὴ ὅτι οὔτε πλήθός ἐστιν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα, ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἀντίοι οὐ δέχονται. [3.1.43] ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσchrῶς ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασι πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται,

τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πως εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους καὶ ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. [3.1.44] ἃ καὶ ὑμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας (ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμεν) αὐτοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν.» [3.1.45] ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος· «ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὃ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίγνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναῖον εἶναι, νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις καὶ βουλοίμην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. [3.1.46] καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἤκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας. παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κῆρυξ.» [3.1.47] καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. ἐκ τούτου ἠιρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Κλεάνωρ Ἀρκάς, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλήσιος Ἀχαιός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

[3.2.1] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνῆλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτος μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [3.2.2] «ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς· [3.2.3] ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τελέθειν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως, ἦν μὲν δυνάμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σσιζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μηδέποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἶομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.» [3.2.4] ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. «ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιτοκίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν, ὁρᾶτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἴη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιάς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία ξένιον ἠιδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. [3.2.5] Ἀριαῖος δέ, ὃν ἡμεῖς

ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ
προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κῦρον
τεθνηκότα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος νῦν
πρὸς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους
κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. [3.2.6] ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτείσαιντο·
ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα ὀρῶντας μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων,
ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς
θεοῖς πάσχειν.» [3.2.7] ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ
πόλεμον ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί,
τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρόπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς
ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς
τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε. [3.2.8] «τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων
ἐπιπορκίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ
ὑμεῖς οἶμαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι,
ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὀρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς,
οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μὲντοι
διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι
αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὸς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἰέναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς
πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας.» [3.2.9] τοῦτο δὲ
λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πᾶρνυνται τις· ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες
μῇ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· «δοκεῖ μοι,
ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὖξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν
πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα, συνεπεύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναμιν. καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη,
ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.» καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ἐκ τούτου ἠῤῥξαντο
καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε.
[3.2.10] «ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἶεν
σωτηρίας. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν
ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιπορκήκασι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς παρὰ τοὺς
ὄρκους λελύκασιν. οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις
ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ
τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς
ᾧσι σῆζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. [3.2.11] ἔπειτα δὲ ἀναμνήσω γὰρ
ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὥς
ἀγαθοῖς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι σῆζονταί τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ
πάνυ δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοί. ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν

αὐτοῖς παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ ὥς ἀφανιούντων τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστῆναι αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. [3.2.12] καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὁπόσους κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῳ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσίας θύειν, καὶ ἔτι νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. [3.2.13] ἔπειτα ὅτε Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὧν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρόπαια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρωπον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. [3.2.14] τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ ὥς ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὐ πολλαὶ ἡμέραι ἀφ' οὗ ἂν τιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικάτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. [3.2.15] καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ' ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστι, πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνονας καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. [3.2.16] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θαρραλεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἄμετρον ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολήματε σὺν τῷ πατρίῳ φρονήματι ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες [μὴ] δέχεσθαι ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τούτους φοβεῖσθαι; [3.2.17] μὴδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν ὅτι οἱ Κύριοι πρόσθεν σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν. ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἔφυγον γοῦν πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. τοὺς δ' ἐθέλοντας φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττομένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. [3.2.18] εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἱππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἱππεῖς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοι εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηγθεὶς οὔτε λακτισθεὶς ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὅ τι ἂν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίνηται. [3.2.19] οὐκοῦν τῶν ἱππέων πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμανται φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ γῆς βεβηκότες πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παίσομεν, ἢν τις προσίη, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα. ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς [ἡμᾶς]· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. [3.2.20] εἰ

δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας θαρρεῖτε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπιβουλεύων ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας λαβόντες ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύωμεν, οἱ εἰσονται ὅτι, ἢν τι περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀμαρτήσονται. [3.2.21] τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἢς οὗτοι παρεῖχον μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μηδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν ἢνπερ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται.

[3.2.22] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν γινώσκετε ὅτι κρεῖττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγεῖσθε ἐξαπατηθῆναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. πάντες γὰρ ποταμοί, ἢν καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ᾧσι, προσιοῦσι πρὸς τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες. [3.2.23] εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διήσουσιν ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς ἡμῖν φανεῖται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ Μυσοῦς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, ὅτι βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν βασιλέως χώραι πολλάς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν, ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πισίδας ὡσαύτως, Λυκάονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. [3.2.24] καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὥς αὐτοῦ οἰκήσοντας. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὀμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν, καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλιντο ἀπιέναι. καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποiei, εἰ ἐώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν κατασκευαζομένους. [3.2.25] ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεῦναι, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μέγαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὀμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. [3.2.26] δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν [οἴκοι] σκληρῶς ἐκεῖ πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὀρᾶν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τάγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστὶ. [3.2.27] τοῦτο δὴ δεῖ λέγειν, ὅπως ἂν πορευοίμεθ' αὖτε ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ εἰ μάχεσθαι δεοί ὥς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας ἅς

ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεύγη ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπῃ ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηνὰς συγκατακαῦσαι. αὐται γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὔτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. [3.2.28] ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περιττὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκεν ἢ σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ᾧσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. [3.2.29] λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ, λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναρχίαι ἂν καὶ ἀταξίαι ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. [3.2.30] δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν· [3.2.31] ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, [ἦν] ψηφίσασθαι τὸν ἀεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν· οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλεῖστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μυρίους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους τοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶι εἶναι. [3.2.32] ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέσονται. ὅτῳ οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.» [3.2.33] μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς λέγει Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἃ δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.» [3.2.34] ἀνέτειναν πάντες. ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· «ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδοκεῖ μοι. δῆλον ὅτι πορευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἀκούω δὲ κόμας εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλέον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας· [3.2.35] οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμεν εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν, ἦν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡμῖν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. [3.2.36] ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέστερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ εἴη. εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖ τίνας

χρή ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν καὶ τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν βουλευέσθαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρήμεθα ἂν εὐθὺς τοῖς τεταγμένοις. [3.2.37] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τις βέλτιον ὁρᾷ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγοῖτο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίος ἐστὶ τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπιμελοίσθην· ὀπισθοφυλακοῖμεν δ' ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτατοι ἐγὼ καὶ Τιμασίῳν τὸ νῦν εἶναι. [3.2.38] τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως βουλευσόμεθα ὃ τι ἂν ἀεὶ κράτιστον δοκῇ εἶναι. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλο ὁρᾷ βέλτιον, λεξάτω.» ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἶπεν· «ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. ἔδοξε ταῦτα. [3.2.39] «νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπiónτας ποιεῖν δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα. καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπιθυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ καίνειν, τῶν δὲ ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ· καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν σήιζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμβάνειν.»

[3.3.1] τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τῶν δὲ περιττῶν ὅτου μὲν δέοιτό τις μετεδίδωσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθραδάτης σὺν ἱππεῦσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε. [3.3.2] «ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμὶ σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. εἰ οὖν ὀρήτην ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. λέξατε οὖν πρὸς με τί ἐν νῶι ἔχετε ὡς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ὑμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιεῖσθαι.» [3.3.3] βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· «ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἑᾶι ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσινέστατα· ἦν δέ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύῃ, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα.» [3.3.4] ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθραδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκοντος σωθῆναι. ἐνθα δὲ ἐγγινώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολουθήκει πίστεως ἕνεκα. [3.3.5] καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει

τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν· διέφθειρον γὰρ προσιόντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα, καὶ ὤιχετο ἀπὼν νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι. [3.3.6] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβάντες τὸν Ζαπάταν ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες. οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθραδάτης, ἱππίας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους. [3.3.7] καὶ προσήκει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὢν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἱ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἴσω τῶν ὅπλων κατεκέκλειντο, οἱ δὲ ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἠκόντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. [3.3.8] ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολέμιων. [3.3.9] οὔτε γὰρ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν· [3.3.10] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἱππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, ὅπόσον δὲ διώξειαν οἱ Ἑλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. [3.3.11] ὥστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διῆλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας. ἔνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ἠτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολέμιους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδύνατο βλάπτειν. [3.3.12] ἀκούσας δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῶντο καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δὲ οὐ δυναμένους. [3.3.13] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε· κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολέμιους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ παγκαλέπως. [3.3.14] τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον, ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλῶσαι δὲ ὢν δεόμεθα. [3.3.15] νῦν γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι

τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὅσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλαμβάνοι ἐκ τόξου ρύματος. [3.3.16] ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλοιμεν τούτους εἶργειν ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίου, ὃν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. [3.3.17] ἐκεῖναι γὰρ διὰ τὸ χειροπληθεσί τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσις ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. [3.3.18] ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψόμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δῶμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινὰ ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. [3.3.19] ὁρῶ δὲ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Κλεάρχου καταλελειμμένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. ἂν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. [3.3.20] ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ σπολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν, καὶ ἵπαρχος ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

[3.4.1] μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρωιαίτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ ἔδει αὐτοὺς διαβῆναι ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπιθοῖντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμοι. [3.4.2] διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν φαίνεται Μιθραδάτης, ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσοῦτους γὰρ ἦιτησε Τισσαφέρην, καὶ ἔλαβεν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. [3.4.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἑλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπεῖχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτὼ σταδίους, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθραδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. παρήγγελο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν

ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν εἰρητο θαρροῦσι διώκειν ὡς ἐφευομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. [3.4.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθραδάτης κατειλήφει, καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνοῦντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἰρητο καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. [3.4.5] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάροις τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωοὶ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἠκίσαντο, ὡς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολέμοις εἶη ὁρᾶν. [3.4.6] καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. [3.4.7] ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισα· ὠκοῦν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι. τοῦ δὲ τείχους αὐτῆς ἦν τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὠικοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμεαῖς· κρητὶς δ' ὑπὴν λιθίνη τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. [3.4.8] ταύτην βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ὅτε παρὰ Μήδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλῃ προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε μέχρι ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. [3.4.9] παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφευγότες. [3.4.10] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ἐξ πρὸς τεῖχος ἔρημον μέγα πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ὠκοῦν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρητὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεντήκοντα. [3.4.11] ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπωικοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἡ περίοδος ἐξ παρασάγγαι. ἐνταῦθα λέγεται Μήδεια γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν ὅτε ἀπώλλυσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. [3.4.12] ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίαι· Ζεὺς δὲ βροντῇ κατέπληξε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. [3.4.13] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέτταρας. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρνης ἐπεφάνη, οὗς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἤλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος καὶ οὗς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους καὶ οὗς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ, ὥστε τὸ

στράτευμα πάμπολυ ἐφάνη. [3.4.14] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων ὀπισθεν καταστήσας, τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν, σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. [3.4.15] ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ [Σκύθαι] τοξοὶ ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρός (οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ προυθυμεῖτο ράϊδιον ἦν), καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ <αἱ> ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. [3.4.16] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ τε Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν τοξοτῶν. [3.4.17] μεγάλη δὲ καὶ τόξα τὰ Περσικά ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς Κρησί, καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν. ἠύρισκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος, ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας. [3.4.18] καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι μεῖον ἔχοντες τῇ ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος. [3.4.19] ἔνθα δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν πλαίσιον ἰσόπλευρον ὅτι πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἦν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου ἢ ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας οὔσης ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκάζοντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους, ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι [ἀνάγκη] ἀτάκτους ὄντας. [3.4.20] ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχι τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπᾶσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἄθυμειν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας πολεμίων ἐπομένων. καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. [3.4.21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποίησαν ἐξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχους. οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτοι τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι [οἱ λοχαγοί], ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι, τότε δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. [3.4.22] ὁπότε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἂν

ἐξεπίπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενότερον εἶη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους, εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῷ, εἰ δὲ πᾶν πλατύ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἔκπλεων εἶναι τὸ μέσον. [3.4.23] εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον· καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φύλαγος, ἐπιπαρήρισαν οὗτοι. τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας. [3.4.24] ἥνικα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο, εἶδον βασιλείον τι καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλάς, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν ἡ κώμη. καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς λόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν πολέμιων ὄντων ἱππέων· [3.4.25] ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γήλοφον <καὶ> κατέβαινον, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ εἰς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων, [3.4.26] καὶ πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῶν καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἴσω τῶν ὄπλων· ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἄχρηστοι ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. [3.4.27] ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν, σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνοῦνται ὀπλίται ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. [3.4.28] πάλιν δὲ ὁπότε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ταῦτά ἔπασχον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτά ἐγίνετο, ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. [3.4.29] ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολέμιων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμιοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθεῖσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμιοι. [3.4.30] οὕτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι, οἱ μὲν <ἐν> τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας· καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὀκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι. [3.4.31] ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλάς. ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. [3.4.32] τετάρτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει, ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ἀπόμαχοι, <οἱ τε> τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ

ὅπλα δεξάμενοι. [3.4.33] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ χώρας ὀρμῶντας ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευομένους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. [3.4.34] ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἡδὴ δείλη, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιθῶνται αὐτοῖς. [3.4.35] πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. οἱ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ τοῦ μὴ φεῦγειν ἔνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν, ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος γίγηται, δεῖ ἐπισάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλινῶσαι, δεῖ καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ καὶ θορύβου ὄντος. τούτου ἔνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων. [3.4.36] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίγνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι συσκευάζεσθαι ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀψὲ ἐγίγνετο, ἀπῆισαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [3.4.37] ἐπειδὴ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπιόντας ἡδὴ ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζευζάντες καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους. καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὕστεραίαι οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμοι οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἧ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παριέναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. [3.4.38] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα Χειρίσοφος προκατεिल्μημένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. [3.4.39] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἤγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἡρώτα «τί καλεῖς;» ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῶν «ἔξεστιν ὁρᾶν· κατεῖληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. [3.4.40] ἀλλὰ τί οὐκ ἤγες τοὺς πελταστὰς;» ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῶι ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. «ἀλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλευέσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελῶι ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου.» [3.4.41] ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος οὔσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ

λέγει· «κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀλλὰ, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρατεύματι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήζεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. [3.4.42] «ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι.» εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι, κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. [3.4.43] καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς, ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον πλαισίου. συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου. [3.4.44] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθὺς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. [3.4.45] καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος διακελευομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελευομένων. [3.4.46] Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο· «ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, νῦν ὀλίγον πονήσαντες ἀμαχεῖ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα.» [3.4.47] Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυνώνιος εἶπεν· «οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμέν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων.» [3.4.48] καὶ ὡς ἀκούσας ταῦτα κατατηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο· ἐτύγγανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἱππικόν· ὥστ' ἐπιέζετο. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν παριέναι μόλις ἐπόμενος. [3.4.49] οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λαιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδα, ἔστε ἠνάγκασαν λαβόντα τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβατα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ. καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

[3.5.1] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὤιχοντο. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. [3.5.2] ἠνίκα δ' ἦν δεῖλη

ἐξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. [3.5.3] ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρνης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἠθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καίοιεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὀπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. [3.5.4] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπῆισαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελαύνων τὰς τάξεις ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔλεγεν· [3.5.5] «ὄρατε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφιέντας τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι· ἃ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὥς ἀλλοτρίαν. ἀλλ' ἐάν που καταλείπωσί γε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. [3.5.6] ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς καίοντας ὥς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας.» ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· «οὐκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θᾶπτον παύσονται.» [3.5.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆισαν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. ἔνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερύψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος βάθος ὥς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. [3.5.8] ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν ἐμοὶ ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε.» [3.5.9] ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο, «ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δ' ὀρῶ πρόβατα καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥαϊδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. [3.5.10] δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρῆσθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· τούτοις ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὁρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δήσας ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω· [3.5.11] ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δὴ ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι. ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἡ ὕλη καὶ ἡ γῆ σχήσει.» [3.5.12] ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἔργον ἀδύνατον· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἱππεῖς, οἱ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. [3.5.13] ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ὑπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν [ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξῆισαν· ὥστε οἱ

πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζειν ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ τί ἐν νῶι ἔχουσιν. [3.5.14] ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πάλιν συνῆλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐάλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἶη. [3.5.15] οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἶη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἑὼ ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν λέγεται βασιλεύς, ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγοι. [3.5.16] τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι, καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδέν' ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν. ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπεύσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμυγνύναι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἑαυτούς. [3.5.17] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβαλεῖν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἥξειν, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἦρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. [3.5.18] ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως ἡνίκα καὶ δοκοίη τῆς ὥρας τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ὀρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖν· καὶ παρήγγειλαν, ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσαιεν, συσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύεσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἡνίκ' ἂν τις παραγγέλλῃ.

Βιβλίον δ΄

[4.1.1] [ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες Ἑλλήνες ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὅσα παραβάντος τὰς σπονδὰς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους ἐπολεμήθη πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπακολουθοῦντος τοῦ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. [4.1.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἔνθα ὁ μὲν Τίγρης ποταμὸς παντάπασιν ἄπορος ἦν διὰ τὸ βάθος καὶ μέγεθος, πάροδος δὲ οὐκ ἦν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη ἀπότομα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκρέματο, ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς διὰ τῶν ὁρέων πορευτέον εἶναι. [4.1.3] ἤκουον γὰρ τῶν ἀλίσκομένων ὅτι εἰ διέλθοιεν τὰ Καρδούχεια ὄρη, ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ, ἦν μὲν βούλωνται, διαβήσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ βούλωνται, περιίασι. καὶ τοῦ Εὐφράτου δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ἐλέγετο οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Τίγρητος εἶναι, καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον. [4.1.4] τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἐμβολὴν ὧδε ποιοῦνται, ἅμα μὲν λαθεῖν πειρώμενοι, ἅμα δὲ φθάσαι πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους καταλαβεῖν τὰ ἄκρα.]

[4.1.5] Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ τὴν τελευταίαν φυλακὴν καὶ ἐλείπετο τῆς νυκτὸς ὅσον σκοταίους διελθεῖν τὸ πεδίον, τηνικαῦτα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως πορευόμενοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. [4.1.6] ἔνθα δὴ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἡγεῖτο τοῦ στρατεύματος λαβὼν τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας πάντας, Ξενοφῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξιν ὀπλίταις εἵπετο οὐδένα ἔχων γυμνήτα· οὐδεὶς γὰρ κίνδυνος ἐδόκει εἶναι μή τις ἄνω πορευομένων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπίσποιτο. [4.1.7] καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβαίνει Χειρίσοφος πρὶν τινὰς αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολέμιων· ἔπειτα δ' ὕφηγετο· ἐφείπετο δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπερβάλλον τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὰς κώμας τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἄγκεσί τε καὶ μυχοῖς τῶν ὁρέων. [4.1.8] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν Καρδοῦχοι ἐκλιπόντες τὰς οἰκίας ἔχοντες καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἦν λαμβάνειν, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ χαλκώμασι παμπόλλοις κατεσκευασμένοι αἱ οἰκίαι, ὧν οὐδὲν ἔφερον οἱ Ἑλλήνες, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐδίωκον, ὑποφειδόμενοι, εἴ πως ἐθελήσειαν οἱ Καρδοῦχοι διέναι αὐτοὺς ὥς διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ περ βασιλεῖ πολέμιοι ἦσαν· [4.1.9] τὰ μέντοι ἐπιτήδεια ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυχάνοι ἐλάμβανεν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν. οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι οὔτε καλούντων ὑπῆκουον οὔτε

ἄλλο φιλικὸν οὐδὲν ἐποίουν. [4.1.10] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέβαινον εἰς τὰς κώμας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἤδη σκοταῖοι (διὰ γὰρ τὸ στενὴν εἶναι τὴν ὁδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἢ ἀνάβασις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο καὶ κατάβασις), τότε δὴ συλλεγέντες τινὲς τῶν Καρδούχων τοῖς τελευταίοις ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας καὶ λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασι κατέτρωσαν, ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπέπεσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν. [4.1.11] εἰ μέντοι τότε πλείους συνελέγησαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ἂν διαφθαρῆναι πολὺ τοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα οὕτως ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἠυλίσθησαν· οἱ δὲ Καρδούχοι πυρὰ πολλὰ ἔκαιον κύκλῳ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων καὶ συνεώρων ἀλλήλους. [4.1.12] ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ συνελθοῦσι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔδοξε τῶν τε ὑποζυγίων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ δυνατώτατα ἔχοντας πορεύεσθαι, καταλιπόντας τᾶλλα, καὶ ὅσα ἦν νεωστὶ αἰχμάλωτα ἀνδράποδα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα ἀφεῖναι. [4.1.13] σχολαίαν γὰρ ἐποίουν τὴν πορείαν πολλὰ ὄντα τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὄντες ἀπόμαχοι ἦσαν, διπλάσιά τε ἐπιτήδεια ἔδει πορίζεσθαι καὶ φέρεσθαι πολλῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων. δόξαν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκήρυξαν οὕτω ποιεῖν. [4.1.14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀριστήσαντες ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποστήσαντες ἐν τῷ στενωῖ οἱ στρατηγοί, εἴ τι εὐρίσκοιεν τῶν εἰρημένων μὴ ἀφειμένον, ἀφηροῦντο, οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο, πλὴν εἴ τις ἔκλεψεν, οἷον ἢ παιδὸς ἐπιθυμήσας ἢ γυναικὸς τῶν εὐπρεπῶν. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἐπορεύθησαν, τὰ μὲν τι μαχόμενοι τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναπαυόμενοι. [4.1.15] εἰς δὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν γίνεταί χεიმὼν πολὺς, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἦν πορεύεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. καὶ ἡγεῖτο μὲν Χειρίσοφος, ὠπισθοφυλάκει δὲ Ξενοφῶν. [4.1.16] καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπετίθεντο, καὶ στενῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων ἐγγὺς προσιόντες ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· ὥστε ἠναγκάζοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπιδιώκοντες καὶ πάλιν ἀναχάζοντες σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι· καὶ θαμινὰ παρήγγελλεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὑπομένειν, ὅτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἰσχυρῶς ἐπικέοιντο. [4.1.17] ἐνταῦθα ὁ Χειρίσοφος ἄλλοτε μὲν ὅτε παρεγγυῶτο ὑπέμενε, τότε δὲ οὐχ ὑπέμενε, ἀλλ' ἦγε ταχέως καὶ παρηγγύα ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πρᾶγμά τι εἶη· σχολὴ δ' οὐκ ἦν ἰδεῖν παρελθόντι τὸ αἴτιον τῆς σπουδῆς· ὥστε ἡ πορεία ὁμοία φυγῇ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ὠπισθοφύλαξι. [4.1.18] καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκει ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Λακωνικὸς Λεώνυμος τοξευθεὶς διὰ τῆς ἀσπίδος καὶ τῆς σπολάδος εἰς τὰς πλευράς, καὶ Βασίας Ἀρκὰς διαμπερὲς τὴν

κεφαλὴν. [4.1.19] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ σταθμόν, εὐθὺς ὥσπερ εἶχεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον ἡτιῶτο αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐχ ὑπέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάζοντο φεύγοντες ἅμα μάχεσθαι. «καὶ νῦν δύο καλῶ τε καὶ ἀγαθῶ ἄνδρε τέθνατον καὶ οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι οὔτε θάψαι ἐδυνάμεθα.» [4.1.20] ἀποκρίνεται ὁ Χειρίσοφος· «βλέψον, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ὄρη καὶ ἰδὲ ὡς ἄβατα πάντα ἐστί· μία δ' αὕτη ὁδὸς ἦν ὁραῖς ὀρθία, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾶν ἔξεστί σοι ὄχλον τοσοῦτον, οἱ κατελιφότες φυλάττουσι τὴν ἔκβασιν. [4.1.21] ταῦτ' ἐγὼ ἔσπευδον καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε οὐχ ὑπέμενον, εἴ πως δυνάμην φθάσαι πρὶν κατελιφθαι τὴν ὑπερβολήν· οἱ δ' ἡγεμόνες οὓς ἔχομεν οὐ φασιν εἶναι ἄλλην ὁδόν.» [4.1.22] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· «ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἔχω δύο ἄνδρας. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν πράγματα παρεῖχον, ἐνηδρεύσαμεν, ὅπερ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι ἐποίησε, καὶ ἀπεκτείναμέν τινες αὐτῶν, καὶ ζῶντας προυθυμήθημεν λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα ὅπως ἡγεμόσιν εἰδόσι τὴν χώραν χρησαίμεθα.» [4.1.23] καὶ εὐθὺς ἀγαγόντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἤλεγχον διαλαβόντες εἴ τινα εἶδεῖν ἄλλην ὁδὸν ἢ τὴν φανεράν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἕτερος οὐκ ἔφη μάλα πολλῶν φόβων προσαγομένων· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ὠφέλιμον ἔλεγεν, ὁρῶντος τοῦ ἐτέρου κατεσφάγη. [4.1.24] ὁ δὲ λοιπὸς ἔλεξεν ὅτι οὗτος μὲν οὐ φαίη διὰ ταῦτα εἰδέναι, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐτύγχανε θυγάτηρ ἐκεῖ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἐκδεδομένη· αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσεσθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. [4.1.25] ἐρωτώμενος δ' εἰ εἴη τι ἐν αὐτῇ δυσπάριτον χωρίον, ἔφη εἶναι ἄκρον ὃ εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο, ἀδύνατον ἔσεσθαι παρελθεῖν. [4.1.26] ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐδόκει συγκαλέσαντας λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν λέγειν τε τὰ παρόντα καὶ ἐρωτᾶν εἴ τις αὐτῶν ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐθέλοι ἂν γενέσθαι καὶ ὑποστὰς ἐθελοντὴς πορεύεσθαι. [4.1.27] ὑφίσταται τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς [Ἀρκὰς] καὶ Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος [Ἀρκὰς], ἀντιστασιάζων δὲ αὐτοῖς Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος [Ἀρκὰς καὶ οὗτος] ἔφη ἐθέλειν πορεύεσθαι προσλαβὼν ἐθελοντὰς ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι ἔψονται πολλοὶ τῶν νέων ἐμοῦ ἡγουμένου. [4.1.28] ἐκ τούτου ἐρωτῶσιν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν γυμνήτων ταξιάρχων ἐθέλοι συμπορεύεσθαι. ὑφίσταται Ἀριστεάς Χίος, ὃς πολλαχοῦ πολλοῦ ἄξιος τῇ στρατιᾷ εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο.

[4.2.1] καὶ ἦν μὲν δεῖλη, οἱ δ' ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἐμφαγόντας πορεύεσθαι. καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συντίθενται τὴν μὲν νύκτα, ἦν λάβωσι τὸ ἄκρον, τὸ χωρίον

φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνω ὄντας ἵεναι ἐπὶ τοὺς κατέχοντας τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ συμβοηθήσιν ἐκβαίνοντες ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα. [4.2.2] ταῦτα συνθέμενοι οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο πλῆθος ὡς δισχίλιοι· καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὴν φανεράν ἔκβασιν, ὅπως ταύτῃ τῇ ὁδῷ οἱ πολέμιοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ ὡς μάλιστα λάθοιεν οἱ περιόντες. [4.2.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἦν ἔδει διαβάντας πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον ἐκβαίνειν, τηνικαῦτα ἐκύλινδον οἱ βάρβαροι ὀλοιτρόχους ἀμαξιαίους καὶ μείζους καὶ ἐλάττους, οἱ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὰς πέτρας παίοντες διεσφενδονῶντο· καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲ πελάσαι οἶόν τ' ἦν τῇ εἰσόδῳ. [4.2.4] ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λοχαγῶν, εἰ μὴ ταύτῃ δύναιτο, ἄλλῃ ἐπειρῶντο· καὶ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν μέχρι σκότος ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὦιοντο ἀφανεῖς εἶναι ἀπίοντες, τότε ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον· ἐτύγγανον δὲ καὶ ἀνάριστοι ὄντες αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφυλακήσαντες. οἱ μέντοι πολέμιοι οὐδὲν ἐπαύσαντο δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς κυλίνδοντες τοὺς λίθους· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἦν τῷ ψόφῳ. [4.2.5] οἱ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν ἡγεμόνα κύκλῳ περιόντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς φύλακας ἀμφὶ πῦρ καθημένους· καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακαίνοντες τοὺς δὲ καταδιώξαντες αὐτοὶ ἐνταῦθ' ἔμενον ὡς τὸ ἄκρον κατέχοντες. [4.2.6] οἱ δ' οὐ κατεῖχον, ἀλλὰ μαστὸς ἦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρ' ὃν ἦν ἡ στενὴ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἐφ' ἣ ἑκάθηντο οἱ φύλακες. ἔφοδος μέντοι αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἦν οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ φανεραῖ ὁδῷ ἑκάθηντο. [4.2.7] καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐνταῦθα διήγαγον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν, ἐπορεύοντο σιγῇ συντεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ ὁμίχλη ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἔλαθον ἐγγὺς προσελθόντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον ἀλλήλους, ἥ τε σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἀλαλάζαντες ἵεντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ λιπόντες τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγοντες ὀλίγοι ἀπέθνησκον· εὐζωνοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. [4.2.8] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀκούσαντες τῆς σάλπιγγος εὐθὺς ἵεντο ἄνω κατὰ τὴν φανεράν ὁδόν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατὰ ἀτριβεῖς ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἧ ἔτυχον ἕκαστοι ὄντες, καὶ ἀναβάντες ὡς ἐδύναντο ἀνίμων ἀλλήλους τοῖς δόρασι. [4.2.9] καὶ οὗτοι πρῶτοι συνέμειξαν τοῖς προκαταλαβοῦσι τὸ χωρίον. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔχων τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἐπορεύετο ἥπερ οἱ τὸν ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντες· εὐδοωτάτῃ γὰρ ἦν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις· τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ὀπισθεν τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἔταξε. [4.2.10] πορευόμενοι δ' ἐντυγχάνουσι λόφῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ κατελιμμένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς ἡ

ἀποκόψαι ἣν ἀνάγκη ἢ διεξεῦχθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ἂν ἐπορεύθησαν ἥτις οἱ ἄλλοι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια οὐκ ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ταύτη ἐκβῆναι. [4.2.11] ἔνθα δὲ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις προσβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν λόφον ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις, οὐ κύκλῳ ἀλλὰ καταλιπόντες ἄφοδον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἰ βούλονται φεῦγειν. [4.2.12] καὶ τέως μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐβαλλον, ἐγγὺς δ' οὐ προσίεντο, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ λείπουνσι τὸ χωρίον. καὶ τοῦτόν τε παρεληλύθεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἕτερον ὀρώσιν ἔμπροσθεν λόφον κατεχόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὖθις ἐδόκει πορεύεσθαι. [4.2.13] ἐννοήσας δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν μή, εἰ ἔρημον καταλίποι τὸν ἡλωκότα λόφον, [καὶ] πάλιν λαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιθοῖντο τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις παριοῦσιν (ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἦν τὰ ὑποζύγια ἅτε διὰ στενῆς τῆς ὁδοῦ πορευόμενα), καταλείπει ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου λοχαγοὺς Κηφισόδωρον Κηφισοφῶντος Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀμφικράτην Ἀμφιδήμου Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Ἀρχαγόραν Ἀργεῖον φυγάδα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον λόφον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ καὶ τοῦτον αἰροῦσιν. [4.2.14] ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς τρίτος μαστὸς λοιπὸς ἦν πολὺ ὀρθιώτατος ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ καταληφθείσης φυλακῆς τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν. [4.2.15] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, λείπουνσι οἱ βάρβαροι ἀμαχητὶ τὸν μαστόν, ὥστε θαυμαστὸν πᾶσι γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπώπτευνον δείσαντας αὐτοὺς μὴ κυκλωθέντες πολιορκοῖντο ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δ' ἄρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου καθορῶντες τὰ ὀπισθεν γιγνόμενα πάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἐχώρουν. [4.2.16] καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν σὺν τοῖς νεωτάτοις ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ὑπάγειν, ὅπως οἱ τελευταῖοι λόγοι προσμείξειαν, καὶ προελθόντας κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα εἶπε. [4.2.17] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἦλθεν Ἀρχαγόρας ὁ Ἀργεῖος πεφευγὼς καὶ λέγει ὡς ἀπεκόπησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου καὶ ὅτι τεθῆσι Κηφισόδωρος καὶ Ἀμφικράτης καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι μὴ ἀλόμενοι κατὰ τῆς πέτρας πρὸς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἀφίκοντο. [4.2.18] ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενοι οἱ βάρβαροι ἦκον ἐπ' ἀντίπορον λόφον τῷ μαστῷ· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν διελέγετο αὐτοῖς δι' ἐρμηνέως περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆιτει. [4.2.19] οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἀποδώσειν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ καίειν τὰς οἰκίας. συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα παρήιει, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο, πάντες οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τόπου συνερρύησαν· ἐνταῦθα ἴσταντο οἱ πολέμιοι. [4.2.20] καὶ ἐπεὶ ἦρξαντο καταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τοῦ μαστοῦ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔνθα τὰ

ὅπλα ἔκειντο, ἴεντο δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι πολλῶι πλήθει καὶ θορύβῳ· καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μαστοῦ ἀφ' οὗ Ξενοφῶν κατέβαιναν, ἐκυλίνδουν πέτρους· καὶ ἐνὸς μὲν κατέαζαν τὸ σκέλος, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ὁ ὑπασπιστὴς ἔχων τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀπέλειπεν· [4.2.21] Εὐρύλοχος δὲ Λουσιεύς [Ἀρκὰς] προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ ὀπλίτης, καὶ πρὸ ἀμφοῖν προβεβλημένος ἀπεχώρει, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τοὺς συντεταγμένους ἀπῆλθον. [4.2.22] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πᾶν ὁμοῦ ἐγένετο τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλαῖς καὶ καλαῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖσις δασιλέσι· καὶ γὰρ οἶνος πολὺς ἦν, ὥστε ἐν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς εἶχον. [4.2.23] Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ Χειρίσοφος διεπράζαντο ὥστε λαβόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπέδοσαν τὸν ἡγεμόνα· καὶ πάντα ἐποίησαν τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ὥσπερ νομίζεται ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς. [4.2.24] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄνευ ἡγεμόνος ἐπορεύοντο· μαχόμενοι δ' οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὅπῃ εἴη στενὸν χωρίον προκαταλαμβάνοντες ἐκώλυνον τὰς παρόδους. [4.2.25] ὁπότε μὲν οὖν τοὺς πρώτους κωλύοιεν, Ξενοφῶν ὀπισθεν ἐκβαίνων πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνωτέρῳ πειρώμενος γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων, [4.2.26] ὁπότε δὲ τοῖς ὀπισθεν ἐπιθοῖντο, Χειρίσοφος ἐκβαίνων καὶ πειρώμενος ἀνωτέρῳ γίνεσθαι τῶν κωλυνόντων ἔλκε τὴν ἀπόφραξιν τῆς παρόδου τοῖς ὀπισθεν· καὶ αἰεὶ οὕτως ἐβοήθουν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἀλλήλων ἐπεμέλοντο. [4.2.27] ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁπότε αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀναβᾶσι πολλὰ πράγματα παρεῖχον οἱ βάρβαροι πάλιν καταβαίνουσιν· ἐλαφροὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὥστε καὶ ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες ἀποφεύγειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ εἶχον ἄλλο ἢ τόξα καὶ σφενδόνας. [4.2.28] ἄριστοι δὲ καὶ τοξόται ἦσαν· εἶχον δὲ τόξα ἐγγὺς τριπύγῃ, τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα πλέον ἢ διπύγῃ· εἵλκον δὲ τὰς νευρὰς ὁπότε τοξεύοιεν πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες. τὰ δὲ τοξεύματα ἐχώρει διὰ τῶν ἀσπίδων καὶ διὰ τῶν θωράκων. ἐχρῶντο δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ λάβοιεν, ἀκοντίοις ἐναγκυλῶντες. ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χωρίοις οἱ Κρήτες χρησιμώτατοι ἐγένοντο. ἦρχε δὲ αὐτῶν Στρατοκλῆς Κρής.

[4.3.1] ταύτην δ' αὖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἠϋλίσθησαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πεδίου παρὰ τὸν Κεντρίτην ποταμόν, εὖρος ὡς δίπλεθρον, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Καρδούχων χώραν. καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνταῦθα ἀνέπνευσαν ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες πεδίον· ἀπέχεε δὲ τῶν ὁρέων ὁ ποταμὸς ἕξ ἢ ἐπτὰ στάδια τῶν Καρδούχων. [4.3.2] τότε μὲν οὖν ἠϋλίσθησαν μάλα ἡδέως καὶ τάπιτήδεια ἔχοντες καὶ πολλὰ τῶν

παρελθούτων πόνων μνημονεύοντες. ἐπὶ γὰρ ἡμέρας ὅσας περ ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῶν Καρδούχων πάσας μαχόμενοι διετέλεσαν, καὶ ἔπαθον κακὰ ὅσα οὐδὲ τὰ σύμπαντα ὑπὸ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους. ὥς οὖν ἀπηλλαγμένοι τούτων ἡδέως ἐκοιμήθησαν. [4.3.3] ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὁρῶσιν ἱππέας που πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔξωπλισμένους ὥς κωλύσοντας διαβαίνειν, πεζοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις παρατεταγμένους ἄνω τῶν ἱππέων ὥς κωλύσοντας εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐκβαίνειν. [4.3.4] ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Ὀρόντα καὶ Ἀρτούχα Ἀρμένιοι καὶ Μάρδοι καὶ Χαλδαῖοι μισθοφόροι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ ἄλκιμοι εἶναι· ὅπλα δ' εἶχον γέρρα μακρὰ καὶ λόγχας. [4.3.5] αἱ δὲ ὄχθαι αὗται ἐφ' ὧν παρατεταγμένοι οὗτοι ἦσαν τρία ἢ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπεῖχον· ὁδὸς δὲ μία ὁρωμένη ἦν ἄγουσα ἄνω ὥσπερ χειροποίητος· ταύτῃ ἐπειρῶντο διαβαίνειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. [4.3.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρωμένοις τό τε ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τῶν μαστῶν ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τραχὺς ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς μεγάλοις λίθοις καὶ ὀλισθηροῖς, καὶ οὗτ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὅπλα ἦν ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἥρπασεν ὁ ποταμός· ἐπὶ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς τὰ ὅπλα εἰ τις φέροι, γυμνοὶ ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὰ τοξεύματα καὶ τᾶλλα βέλη, ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. [4.3.7] ἔνθα δὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν πρόσθεν νύκτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐώρων τοὺς Καρδούχους πολλοὺς συνειλεγμένους ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλὴ ἀθυμία ἦν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ὁρῶσι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν δυσπορίαν, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοὺς διαβαίνειν κωλύσοντας, ὁρῶσι δὲ τοῖς διαβαίνουσιν ἐπικεισομένους τοὺς Καρδούχους ὀπισθεν. [4.3.8] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἔμειναν ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ὄντες. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ὄναρ εἶδεν· ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι, αὗται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόματα περιρρυῆναι, ὥστε λυθῆναι καὶ διαβαίνειν ὁπόσον ἐβούλετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀρθρὸς ἦν, ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Χειρίσοφον καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἐλπίδας ἔχει καλῶς ἔσεσθαι, καὶ διηγεῖται αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ. [4.3.9] ὁ δὲ ἡδετό τε καὶ ὥς τάχιστα ἕως ὑπέφαιναν ἐθύοντο πάντες παρόντες οἱ στρατηγοί· καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἦν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου. καὶ ἀπιώντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ παρήγγελλον τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι. [4.3.10] καὶ ἀριστῶντι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι προσέτρεχον δύο νεανίσκω· ἤιδεσαν γὰρ πάντες ὅτι ἐξείη αὐτῷ καὶ ἀριστῶντι καὶ δειπνοῦντι προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰ καθεύδοι ἐπεγείραντα εἰπεῖν, εἴ τίς τι ἔχοι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. [4.3.11] καὶ τότε ἔλεγον ὅτι τυγχάνοιεν φρύγανα συλλέγοντες ὥς ἐπὶ πῦρ, κᾶπειτα κατίδοιεν ἐν τῷ πέραν ἐν

πέτραις καθηκούσαις ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν γέροντά τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παιδίσκας ὥσπερ μαρσίπους ἱματίων κατατιθεμένους ἐν πέτραις ἀντρώδει. [4.3.12] ἰδοῦσι δὲ σφίσι δόξα ἄσφαλές εἶναι διαβῆναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἰππεῦσι προσβατὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοῦτο. ἐκδύντες δ’ ἔφασαν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐγχειρίδια γυμνοὶ ὥς νευσόμενοι διαβαίνειν· πορευόμενοι δὲ πρόσθεν διαβῆναι πρὶν βρέξαι τὰ αἰδοῖα· [4.3.13] καὶ διαβάντες, λαβόντες τὰ ἱμάτια πάλιν ἤκειν. εὐθὺς οὖν Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς τε ἔσπενδε καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ εὐχεσθαι τοῖς φήνασι θεοῖς τά τε ὀνείρατα καὶ τὸν πόρον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. σπείσας δ’ εὐθὺς ἦγε τοὺς νεανίσκους παρὰ τὸν Χειρίσοφον, καὶ διηγοῦνται ταῦτά. [4.3.14] ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος σπονδὰς ἐποίει. σπείσαντες δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον συσκευάζεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐβουλευόντο ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα διαβαῖεν καὶ τοὺς τε ἔμπροσθεν νικῶιεν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπισθεν μηδὲν πάσχοιεν κακόν. [4.3.15] καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Χειρίσοφον μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ διαβαίνειν ἔχοντα τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δ’ ἥμισυ ἔτι ὑπομένειν σὺν Ξενοφῶντι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν μέσῳ τούτων διαβαίνειν. [4.3.16] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς εἶχεν ἐπορεύοντο· ἡγοῦντο δ’ οἱ νεανίσκοι ἐν ἀριστεραῖ ἔχοντες τὸν ποταμόν· ὁδὸς δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τὴν διάβασιν ὥς τέτταρες στάδιοι. [4.3.17] πορευομένων δ’ αὐτῶν ἀντιπαρήρισαν αἱ τάξεις τῶν ἰππέων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τὰς ὄχθας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος Χειρίσοφος στεφανωσάμενος καὶ ἀποδὺς ἐλάμβανε τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι παρήγγελλε, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἀριστεραῖ τοὺς δ’ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ οἱ μὲν μάντις ἐσφαγιάζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν· [4.3.18] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἐσφενδόνων· [4.3.19] ἀλλ’ οὐπω ἐξικνοῦντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια, ἐπαιάνιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ ἀνηγάλαζον, συνωλόλυζον δὲ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες ἅπασαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐταῖραι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι. [4.3.20] καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἐνέβαινε καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐκείνῳ· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζωνοτάτους ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν πόρον τὸν κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν τὴν εἰς τὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρη, προσποιούμενος ταύτην διαβὰς ἀποκλείσειν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἰππέας. [4.3.21] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον εὐπετῶς τὸ ὕδωρ περῶντας, ὀρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα θέοντας εἰς τοῦμπαλιν,

δείσαντες μὴ ἀποληφθείησαν φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄνω ἔκβασιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐγένοντο, ἔτεινον ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. [4.3.22] Λύκιος δ' ὁ τὴν τάξιν ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Αἰσχίνης ὁ τὴν τάξιν τῶν πελταστῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἐπεὶ ἐώρων ἀνὰ κράτος φεύγοντας, εἶποντο· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐβόων μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συνεκβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος. [4.3.23] Χειρίσοφος δ' αὖ ἐπεὶ διέβη, τοὺς ἱππέας οὐκ ἐδίωκεν, εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ τὰς προσηκούσας ὄχθας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξέβαιναν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνω πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, ὀρῶντες μὲν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἱππέας φεύγοντας, ὀρῶντες δ' ὀπλίτας σφίσιν ἐπιόντας, ἐκλείπουσι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄκρα. [4.3.24] Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ πέραν ἐώρα καλῶς γιγνόμενα, ἀπεχώρει τὴν ταχίστην πρὸς τὸ διαβαῖνον στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καρδοῦχοι φανεροὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντες ὡς ἐπιθησόμενοι τοῖς τελευταίοις. [4.3.25] καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν τὰ ἄνω κατεῖχε, Λύκιος δὲ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρήσας ἐπιδιώξαι ἔλαβε τῶν σκευοφόρων τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐσθῆτά τε καλὴν καὶ ἐκπώματα. [4.3.26] καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ὁ ὄχλος ἀκμὴν διέβαινε, Ξενοφῶν δὲ στρέψας πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους ἀντία τὰ ὄπλα ἔθετο, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατ' ἐνωμοτίας ποιήσασθαι ἕκαστον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόχον, παρ' ἀσπίδα παραγαγόντας τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐνωμοτάρχους πρὸς τῶν Καρδούχων ἰέναι, οὐραγοὺς δὲ καταστήσασθαι πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [4.3.27] οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὡς ἐώρων τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας τοῦ ὄχλου ψιλουμένους καὶ ὀλίγους ἤδη φαινομένους, θᾶπτον δὴ ἐπῆσαν ᾠιδάς τινας αἰδοντες. ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῷ ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, πέμπει παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας καὶ κελεύει ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃ. [4.3.28] ἰδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς διαβαίνοντας Ξενοφῶν πέμπας ἄγγελον κελεύει αὐτοῦ μέναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μὴ διαβάντας· ὅταν δ' ἄρξωνται αὐτοὶ διαβαίνειν, ἐναντίους ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν σφῶν ἐμβαίνειν ὡς διαβησομένους, διηγκυλωμένους τοὺς ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ ἐπιβεβλημένους τοὺς τοξότας· μὴ πρόσω δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ προβαίνειν. [4.3.29] τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ παρήγγειλεν, ἐπειδὰν σφενδόνῃ ἐξικνηῖται καὶ ἀσπίς ψοφῇ, παιανίσαντας θεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀναστρέψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁ σαλπικτῆς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐπὶ δόρυ ἡγεῖσθαι μὲν τοὺς οὐραγοὺς, θεῖν δὲ πάντας καὶ διαβαίνειν ὅτι

τάχιστα ἢ ἕκαστος τὴν τάξιν εἶχεν, ὥς μὴ ἐμποδίζειν ἀλλήλους· ὅτι οὗτος ἄριστος ἔσοιτο ὃς ἂν πρῶτος ἐν τῷ πέραν γένηται. [4.3.30] οἱ δὲ Καρδοῦχοι ὀρῶντες ὀλίγους ἤδη τοὺς λοιπούς (πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν μένειν τεταγμένων ὦχοντο ἐπιμελόμενοι οἱ μὲν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δὲ σκευῶν, οἱ δ' ἑταιρῶν), ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐπέκειντο θρασέως καὶ ἤρχοντο σφενδονᾶν καὶ τοξεύειν. [4.3.31] οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες παιανίσαντες ὥρμησαν δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὠπλισμένοι ὥς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἱκανῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐπιδραμεῖν καὶ φεύγειν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ εἰς χεῖρας δέχεσθαι οὐχ ἱκανῶς. [4.3.32] ἐν τούτῳ σημαίνει ὁ σαλπικτής· καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι ἔφευγον πολὺ ἔτι θᾶπτον, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τἀναντία στρέψαντες ἔφευγον διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅτι τάχιστα. [4.3.33] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ μὲν τινες αἰσθόμενοι πάλιν ἔδραμον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοξεύοντες ὀλίγους ἔτρωσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πέραν ὄντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔτι φανεροὶ ἦσαν φεύγοντες. [4.3.34] οἱ δὲ ὑπαντήσαντες ἀνδριζόμενοι καὶ προσωτέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες ὕστερον τῶν μετὰ Ξενοφῶντος διέβησαν πάλιν· καὶ ἐτρώθησάν τινες καὶ τούτων.

[4.4.1] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, συνταξάμενοι ἀμφὶ μέσον ἡμέρας ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πεδίον ἅπαν καὶ λείους γηλόφους οὐ μείον ἢ πέντε παρασάγγας· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἐγγὺς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κῶμαι διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς Καρδούχους. [4.4.2] εἰς δὲ ἦν ἀφίκοντο κόμην μεγάλη τε ἦν καὶ βασιλείον εἶχε τῷ σατράπῃ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς πλείσταις οἰκίαις τύρσεις ἐπῆσαν· ἐπιτήδεια δ' ἦν δαψιλῇ. [4.4.3] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα μέχρι ὑπερήλθον τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος ποταμοῦ. ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Τηλεβόαν ποταμόν. οὗτος δ' ἦν καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὐ· κῶμαι δὲ πολλαὶ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦσαν. [4.4.4] ὁ δὲ τόπος οὗτος Ἀρμενία ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. ὑπαρχος δ' ἦν αὐτῆς Τιρίβαζος, ὁ καὶ βασιλεὶ φίλος γενόμενος, καὶ ὁπότε παρείη, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν. [4.4.5] οὗτος προσήλασεν ἱππέας ἔχων, καὶ προπέμψας ἐρμηνέα εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο διαλεχθῆναι τοῖς ἄρχουσι. τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀκοῦσαι· καὶ προσελθόντες εἰς ἐπήκοον ἡρώτων τί θέλει. [4.4.6] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι σπείσασθαι βούλοιο ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἐκείνους καίειν τὰς οἰκίας λαμβάνειν τε τὰπιτήδεια ὅσων δέοιντο. ἔδοξε ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἐσπείσαντο ἐπὶ τούτοις. [4.4.7] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς

τρεῖς διὰ πεδίου παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα· καὶ Τιρίβαζος παρηκολούθει ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀπέχων ὥς δέκα σταδίους· καὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς βασιλεία καὶ κώμας περίξ πολλὰς πολλῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μεστάς. [4.4.8] στρατοπεδευομένων δ' αὐτῶν γίνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν πολλή· καὶ ἔωθεν ἔδοξε διασκηνῆσαι τὰς τάξεις καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς κατὰ τὰς κώμας· οὐ γὰρ ἐώρων πολέμιον οὐδένα καὶ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χιόνος. [4.4.9] ἐνταῦθα εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὰ, ἱερεῖα, σῖτον, οἶνους παλαιούς εὐώδεις, ἀσταφίδας, ὄσπρια παντοδαπά. τῶν δὲ ἀποσκεδαννυμένων τινὲς ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεγον ὅτι κατίδοιεν νύκτωρ πολλὰ πυρὰ φαίνοντα. [4.4.10] ἐδόκει δὴ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διασκηνοῦν, ἀλλὰ συναγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν συνῆλθον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει διαθιράζειν. [4.4.11] νυκτερευόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ἐπιπίπτει χιὼν ἄπλετος, ὥστε ἀπέκρυσσε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατακειμένους· καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια συνεπόδισεν ἢ χιὼν· καὶ πολὺς ὄκνος ἦν ἀνίστασθαι· κατακειμένων γὰρ ἀλεεινὸν ἦν ἢ χιὼν ἐπιπεπτωκυῖα ὅτῳ μὴ παραρρυεῖν. [4.4.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐτόλμησε γυμνὸς ἀναστὰς σχίζειν ξύλα, τάχ' ἀναστάς τις καὶ ἄλλος ἐκείνου ἀφελόμενος ἔσχιζεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι ἀναστάντες πῦρ ἔκαιον καὶ ἐχρίοντο· [4.4.13] πολὺ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἠϋρίσκετο χρῖμα, ὧι ἐχρῶντο ἀντ' ἐλαίου, σύειον καὶ σησάμινον καὶ ἀμυγδάλινον ἐκ τῶν πικρῶν καὶ τερμίνθινον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μύρον ἠϋρίσκετο. [4.4.14] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόκει πάλιν διασκηνητέον εἶναι [τὰς κώμας] εἰς στέγας. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ στρατιῶται σὺν πολλῇ κραυγῇ καὶ ἡδονῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰς στέγας καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ὅσοι δὲ ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἀπῆσαν τὰς οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν ὑπὸ ἀτασθαλίας, δίκην ἐδίδοσαν κακῶς σκηνοῦντες. [4.4.15] ἐντεῦθεν ἔπεμψαν νυκτὸς Δημοκράτην Τημνίτην ἄνδρας δόντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη ἔνθα ἔφασαν οἱ ἀποσκεδαννύμενοι καθορᾶν τὰ πυρὰ· οὗτος γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ ἤδη ἀληθεῦσαι τοιαῦτα, τὰ ὄντα τε ὥς ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ὄντα ὥς οὐκ ὄντα. [4.4.16] πορευθεὶς δὲ τὰ μὲν πυρὰ οὐκ ἔφη ἰδεῖν, ἄνδρα δὲ συλλαβὼν ἦκεν ἄγων ἔχοντα τόξον Περσικὸν καὶ φαρέτραν καὶ σάγαριν οἶανπερ καὶ <αῖ> Ἀμαζόνες ἔχουσιν. [4.4.17] ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ποδαπὸς εἶη Πέρσης μὲν ἔφη εἶναι, πορεύεσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιριβάζου στρατοπέδου, ὅπως ἐπιτήδεια λάβοι. οἱ δὲ ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τὸ στράτευμα ὁπόσον τε εἶη καὶ ἐπὶ τίνι συνειλεγμένον. [4.4.18] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι Τιρίβαζος εἶη ἔχων τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους

Χάλυβας καὶ Ταόχους· παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφη ὥς ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς ἥπερ μοναχῇ εἶη πορεία, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιθησόμενον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. [4.4.19] ἀκούσασι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ταῦτα ἔδοξε τὸ στράτευμα συναγαγεῖν· καὶ εὐθὺς φύλακας καταλιπόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς μένουσι Σοφαίνετον Στυμφάλιον ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν ἀλόντα ἄνθρωπον. [4.4.20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερέβαλλον τὰ ὄρη, οἱ πελτασταὶ προϊόντες καὶ κατιδόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἔμειναν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἀλλ' ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [4.4.21] οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἀκούσαντες τὸν θόρυβον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἔφευγον· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ ἵπποι ἤλωσαν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἡ σκηνὴ ἡ Τιριβάζου ἐάλω καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ κλῖναι ἀργυρόποδες καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ οἱ ἀρτοκόποι καὶ οἱ οἰνοχόοι φάσκοντες εἶναι. [4.4.22] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα οἱ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγοί, ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, μὴ τις ἐπίθεσις γένοιτο τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνακαλεσάμενοι τῇ σάλπιγγι ἀπῆισαν, καὶ ἀφίκοντο αὐθημερὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[4.5.1] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐδόκει πορευτέον εἶναι ὅπῃ δύναιτο τάχιστα πρὶν ἢ συλλεγῆναι τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰ στενά. συσκευασάμενοι δ' εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς ἡγεμόνας ἔχοντες πολλούς· καὶ αὐθημερὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὸ ἄκρον ἐφ' ᾧ ἔμελλεν ἐπιτίθεσθαι Τιρίβαζος κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. [4.5.2] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς ἐρήμους τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν, καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν. [4.5.3] ἐλέγοντο δ' οὐδὲ πηγαὶ πρόσω εἶναι. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος πολλῆς καὶ πεδίου σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας πεντεκαίδεκα. ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐγένετο χαλεπὸς καὶ ἄνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνει παντάπασιν ἀποκαίων πάντα καὶ πηγνὺς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. [4.5.4] ἔνθα δὴ τῶν μάντεων τις εἶπε σφαγιάσασθαι τῷ ἀνέμῳ, καὶ σφαγιάζεται· καὶ πᾶσι δὴ περιφανῶς ἔδοξεν λῆξαι τὸ χαλεπὸν τοῦ πνεύματος. ἦν δὲ τῆς χιόνος τὸ βάθος ὀργυιὰ· ὥστε καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πολλὰ ἀπώλετο καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥς τριάκοντα. [4.5.5] διεγέροντο δὲ τὴν νύκτα πῦρ καίοντες· ξύλα δ' ἦν ἐν τῷ σταθμῷ πολλὰ· οἱ δὲ ὀψὲ προσιόντες ξύλα οὐκ εἶχον. οἱ οὖν πάλαι ἤκοντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ καίοντες οὐ προσίεσαν πρὸς τὸ πῦρ τοὺς ὀψίζοντας, εἰ μὴ μεταδοῖεν αὐτοῖς πυροὺς ἢ ἄλλο [τι] εἴ τι ἔχοιεν βρωτόν. [4.5.6] ἔνθα δὴ μετεδίδοσαν

ἀλλήλοις ὧν εἶχον ἕκαστοι. ἔνθα δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκαίετο, διατηκομένης τῆς χιόνος βόθροι ἐγένοντο μεγάλοι ἔστε ἐπὶ τὸ δάπεδον· οὗ δὴ παρῆν μετρεῖν τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος. [4.5.7] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἐπορεύοντο διὰ χιόνος, καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐβουλιμίαςαν. Ξενοφῶν δ' ὀπισθοφυλακῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνων τοὺς πίπτοντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠγνῶει ὅτι τὸ πάθος εἶη. [4.5.8] ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἶπε τις αὐτῶι τῶν ἐμπείρων ὅτι σαφῶς βουλιμιῶσι κἄν τι φάγωσιν ἀναστήσονται, περιῶν περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια, εἴ ποῦ τι ὀρήγη βρωτόν, διεδίδου καὶ διέπεμπε διδόντας τοὺς δυναμένους περιτρέχειν τοῖς βουλιμιῶσιν. [4.5.9] ἐπειδὴ δέ τι ἐμφάγοιεν, ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἐπορεύοντο. πορευομένων δὲ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἀμφὶ κνέφας πρὸς κώμην ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ ὑδροφορούσας ἐκ τῆς κώμης πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ γυναικας καὶ κόρας καταλαμβάνει ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἐρύματος. [4.5.10] αὗται ἡρώτων αὐτοὺς τίνες εἶεν. ὁ δ' ἐρμηνεὺς εἶπε περσιιστὶ ὅτι παρὰ βασιλέως πορεύονται πρὸς τὸν σατράπην. αἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ἐνταῦθα εἶη, ἀλλ' ἀπέχει ὅσον παρασάγγην. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὧσέ ἦν, πρὸς τὸν κώμαρχον συνεισέρχονται εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα σὺν ταῖς ὑδροφόροις. [4.5.11] Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν καὶ ὅσοι ἐδυνήθησαν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, τῶν δ' ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι διατελέσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνυκτέρευσαν ἄσιτοι καὶ ἄνευ πυρός· καὶ ἐνταῦθά τινες ἀπώλοντο τῶν στρατιωτῶν. [4.5.12] ἐφείποντο δὲ τῶν πολεμίων συνειλεγμένοι τινὲς καὶ τὰ μὴ δυνάμενα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἥρπαζον καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐμάχοντο περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐλείποντο δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἳ τε διεφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς χιόνος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς οἳ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσσεσηπότες. [4.5.13] ἦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐπικούρημα τῆς χιόνος εἴ τις μέλαν τι ἔχων πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐπορεύετο, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν εἴ τις κινοῖτο καὶ μηδέποτε ἡσυχίαν ἔχοι καὶ εἰς τὴν νύκτα ὑπολύοιτο· [4.5.14] ὅσοι δὲ ὑποδεδεμένοι ἐκοιμῶντο, εἰσεδύοντο εἰς τοὺς πόδας οἱ ἱμάντες καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα περιεπῆγγυντο· καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν, ἐπειδὴ ἐπέλιπε τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὑποδήματα, καρβάτιναι πεποιημέναι ἐκ τῶν νεοδάρτων βοῶν. [4.5.15] διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας οὖν ἀνάγκας ὑπελείποντό τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν· καὶ ἰδόντες μέλαν τι χωρίον διὰ τὸ ἐκλελοιπέναι αὐτόθι τὴν χιόνα εἵκαζον τετηκέναι· καὶ ἐτετήκει διὰ κρήνην τινὰ ἢ πλησίον ἦν ἀτμίζουσα ἐν νάπηι. ἐνταῦθ' ἐκτραπόμενοι ἐκάθηντο καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι. [4.5.16] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων ὀπισθοφύλακας ὡς ἦισθετο, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῶν πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ

μη ἀπολείπεσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ἔπονται πολλοὶ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐχαλέπαινε. οἱ δὲ σφάττειν ἐκέλευον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθαι πορευθῆναι. [4.5.17] ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοὺς ἐπομένους πολεμίους φοβῆσαι, εἴ τις δύναιτο, μὴ ἐπίοιεν τοῖς κάμνουσι. καὶ ἦν μὲν σκότος ἤδη, οἱ δὲ προσῆισαν πολλῶι θορύβῳ ἀμφὶ ὧν εἶχον διαφερόμενοι. [4.5.18] ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, ἅτε ὑγιαίνοντες, ἐξαναστάντες ἔδραμον εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ κάμνοντες ἀνακραγόντες ὅσον ἐδύναντο μέγιστον τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸς τὰ δόρατα ἔκρουσαν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι δέισαντες ἦκαν ἑαυτοὺς κατὰ τῆς χιόνος εἰς τὴν νάπην, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι οὐδαμοῦ ἐφθέγγατο. [4.5.19] καὶ Ξενοφῶν μὲν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ εἰπόντες τοῖς ἀσθενοῦσιν ὅτι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἤξουσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, πορευόμενοι πρὶν τέτταρα στάδια διελθεῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναπαυομένοις ἐπὶ τῆς χιόνος τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐγκεκαλυμμένοις, καὶ οὐδὲ φυλακὴ οὐδεμία καθειστήκει· καὶ ἀνίστασαν αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ἔμπροσθεν οὐχ ὑποχωροῖεν. [4.5.20] ὁ δὲ παριῶν καὶ παραπέμπων τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους ἐκέλευε σκέψασθαι τί εἴη τὸ κωλῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι ὅλον οὕτως ἀναπαύοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. [4.5.21] ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἠϋλίσθησαν αὐτοῦ ἄνευ πυρὸς καὶ ἄδειπνοι, φυλακὰς οἷας ἐδύναντο καταστησάμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν, ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀναστήσαντας ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκάζειν προΐεναι. [4.5.22] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Χειρίσοφος πέμπει τῶν ἐκ τῆς κώμης σκεψομένους πῶς ἔχοιεν οἱ τελευταῖοι. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοι ἰδόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας τούτοις παρέδοσαν κομίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ πρὶν εἴκοσι στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἦσαν πρὸς τῇ κώμῃ ἔνθα Χειρίσοφος ἠϋλίζετο. [4.5.23] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεγένοντο ἀλλήλοις, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὰς κώμας ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τὰς τάξεις σκηνοῦν. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν αὐτοῦ ἔμενε, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι διαλαχόντες ἅς ἐώρων κώμας ἐπορεύοντο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες. [4.5.24] ἔνθα δὴ Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος λοχαγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀφιέναι ἑαυτόν· καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς εὐζώνους, θεῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κώμην ἦν εἰλήχει Ξενοφῶν καταλαμβάνει πάντας ἔνδον τοὺς κωμήτας καὶ τὸν κωμάρχον, καὶ πῶλους εἰς δασμὸν βασιλεῖ τρεφομένους ἑπτακαίδεκα, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ κωμάρχου ἐνάτην ἡμέραν γεγαμημένην· ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς λαγῶς ὦιχετο θηράσων καὶ οὐχ ἥλω ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. [4.5.25] αἱ δ' οἰκίαι ἦσαν κατάγειοι, τὸ μὲν στόμα ὥσπερ φρέατος, κάτω δ' εὐρεῖται· αἱ δὲ

εἴσοδοι τοῖς μὲν ὑποζυγίοις ὀρυκταί, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ κλίμακος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν αἶγες, οἶες, βόες, ὄρνιθες, καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα τούτων· τὰ δὲ κτήνη πάντα χιλῶι ἔνδον ἐτρέφοντο. [4.5.26] ἦσαν δὲ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ κριθαὶ καὶ ὄσπρια καὶ οἶνος κρίθινος ἐν κρατῆρσιν. ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ αἱ κριθαὶ ἰσοχειλεῖς, καὶ κάλαμοι ἐνέκειντο, οἱ μὲν μεῖζους οἱ δὲ ἐλάττους, γόνата οὐκ ἔχοντες· [4.5.27] τούτους ἔδει ὁπότε τις διψήη λαβόντα εἰς τὸ στόμα μύζειν. καὶ πάνυ ἄκρατος ἦν, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι· καὶ πάνυ ἡδὺν συμμαθόντι τὸ πῶμα ἦν. [4.5.28] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς κώμης ταύτης σύνδειπνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ θαρρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε λέγων ὅτι οὔτε τῶν τέκνων στερήσοιτο τὴν τε οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀντεμπλήσαντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπίαςιν, ἣν ἀγαθόν τι τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξηγησάμενος φαίνεται ἔστ' ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ ἔθνει γένωνται. [4.5.29] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπισχνεῖτο, καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος οἶνον ἔφρασεν ἔνθα ἦν κατορωρυγμένος. ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα διασκεπήσαντες οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀφθόνοις πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχοντες τὸν κώμαρχον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. [4.5.30] τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ Ξενοφῶν λαβὼν τὸν κώμαρχον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον ἐπορεύετο· ὅπου δὲ παρίοι κώμην, ἐτρέπετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ κατελάμβανε πανταχοῦ εὐωχομένους καὶ εὐθυμουμένους, καὶ οὐδαμῶθεν ἀφίεσαν πρὶν παραθεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄριστον· [4.5.31] οὐκ ἦν δ' ὅπου οὐ παρετίθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τράπεζαν κρέα ἄρνια, ἐρίφεια, χοίρεια, μόσχεια, ὀρνίθια, σὺν πολλοῖς ἄρτοις τοῖς μὲν πυρίνοις τοῖς δὲ κριθίνοις. [4.5.32] ὁπότε δὲ τις φιλοφρονούμενός τῳ βούλοιτο προπιεῖν, εἵλκεν ἐπὶ τὸν κρατῆρα, ἔνθεν ἐπικούψαντα ἔδει ῥοφοῦντα πίνειν ὥσπερ βοῦν. καὶ τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἐδίδοσαν λαμβάνειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέχετο, ὅπου δὲ τινα τῶν συγγενῶν ἴδοι, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν. [4.5.33] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον πρὸς Χειρίσοφον, κατελάμβανον κάκείνους σκηνοῦντας ἐστεφανωμένους τοῦ ξηροῦ χιλοῦ στεφάνοις, καὶ διακονοῦντας Ἀρμενίους παῖδας σὺν ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς στολαῖς· τοῖς παισὶν ἐδείκνυσαν ὥσπερ ἐνεοῖς ὅ τι δέοι ποιεῖν. [4.5.34] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀλλήλους ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν, κοινῇ δὴ ἀνηρώτων τὸν κώμαρχον διὰ τοῦ περσίζοντος ἐρμηνέως τίς εἴη ἡ χώρα. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀρμενία. καὶ πάλιν ἡρώτων τίτι οἱ ἵπποι τρέφονται. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι βασιλεὶ δασμός· τὴν δὲ πλησίον χώραν ἔφη εἶναι Χάλυβας, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἔφραζεν ἥτις εἴη. [4.5.35] καὶ αὐτὸν

τότε μὲν ὦχετο ἄγων ὁ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ οἰκέτας, καὶ ἵππον ὃν εἰλήφει παλαιότερον δίδωσι τῷ κωμάρχῳ ἀναθρέψαντι καταθῆσαι, ὅτι ἤκουεν αὐτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι τοῦ Ἥλιου, δεδιὼς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ· ἐκεκᾶκωτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν πῶλων λαμβάνει, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν καὶ λοχαγῶν ἔδωκεν ἐκάστωι πῶλον. [4.5.36] ἦσαν δ' οἱ ταύτῃ ἵπποι μείονες μὲν τῶν Περσικῶν, θυμοειδέστεροι δὲ πολὺ. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ διδάσκει ὁ κωμάρχος περὶ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων σακία περιειλεῖν, ὅταν διὰ τῆς χιόνος ἄγωσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν σακίων κατεδύνοντο μέχρι τῆς γαστρούς.

[4.6.1] ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν ὀγδόη, τὸν μὲν ἡγεμόνα παραδίδωσι Χειρισόφῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας καταλείπει τῷ κωμάρχῳ, πλὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἄρτι ἡβάσκοντος· τοῦτον δὲ Πλεισθένῃ Ἀμφιπολίτῃ δίδωσι φυλάττειν, ὅπως εἰ καλῶς ἡγήσοιτο, ἔχων καὶ τοῦτον ἀπίοι. καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ εἰσεφόρησαν ὥς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ ἀναζευζάντες ἐπορεύοντο. [4.6.2] ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ κωμάρχος λελυμένος διὰ χιόνος· καὶ ἤδη τε ἦν ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ σταθμῷ, καὶ Χειρίσοφος αὐτῷ ἐχαλεπάνθη ὅτι οὐκ εἰς κόμας ἤγαγεν. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ εἶεν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ. [4.6.3] ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος αὐτὸν ἔπαισεν, ἔδησε δ' οὐ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκεῖνος τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποδράς ὦχετο καταλιπὼν τὸν υἱόν. τοῦτό γε δὴ Χειρισόφῳ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι μόνον διάφορον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἐγένετο, ἢ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος κάκωσις καὶ ἀμέλεια. Πλεισθένης δὲ ἡράσθη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οἴκαδε κομίσας πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρήτο. [4.6.4] μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπορεύθησαν ἑπτὰ σταθμοὺς ἀνὰ πέντε παρασάγγας τῆς ἡμέρας παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, εὖρος πλεθριαῖον. [4.6.5] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμοὺς δύο παρασάγγας δέκα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὑπερβολῇ ἀπῆντησαν αὐτοῖς Χάλυβες καὶ Τάοχοι καὶ Φασιανοί. [4.6.6] Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ κατεῖδε τοὺς πολέμιους ἐπὶ τῇ ὑπερβολῇ, ἐπαύσατο πορευόμενος, ἀπέχων εἰς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ κέρας ἄγων πλησιάσῃ τοῖς πολέμοις· παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράγειν τοὺς λόχους, ὅπως ἐπὶ φάλαγγος γένοιτο τὸ στράτευμα. [4.6.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, συνεκάλεσε στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγούς, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. «οἱ μὲν πολέμοι, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, κατέχουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τοῦ ὄρους· ὧρα δὲ βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. [4.6.8] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ παραγγεῖλαι μὲν ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλευέσθαι εἴτε τήμερον εἴτε αὔριον δοκεῖ

υπερβάλλειν τὸ ὄρος.» [4.6.9] «ἐμοὶ δέ γε, ἔφη ὁ Κλεάνωρ, δοκεῖ, ἐπὶ τὰ χίιστα ἀριστήσωμεν, ἐξοπλισμένους ὡς κράτιστα ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. εἰ γὰρ διατρίψωμεν τὴν τήμερον ἡμέραν, οἳ τε νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρώντες πολέμοιοι θαρραλεώτεροι ἔσονται καὶ ἄλλους εἰκὸς τούτων θαρρούντων πλείους προσγενέσθαι.» [4.6.10] μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ δ' οὕτω γινώσκω. εἰ μὲν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ μάχεσθαι, τοῦτο δεῖ παρασκευάσασθαι, ὅπως ὡς κράτιστα μαχοῦμεθα· εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ὡς ῥᾷστα υπερβάλλειν, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σκεπτέον εἶναι, ὅπως <ὡς> ἐλάχιστα μὲν τραύματα λάβωμεν, ὡς ἐλάχιστα δὲ σώματα ἀνδρῶν ἀποβάλωμεν. [4.6.11] τὸ μὲν οὖν ὄρος ἐστὶ τὸ ὀρώμενον πλεον ἢ ἐφ' ἐξήκοντα στάδια, ἄνδρες δ' οὐδαμοῦ φυλάττοντες ἡμᾶς φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἀλλ' ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ὁδὸν· πολὺ οὖν κρεῖττον τοῦ ἐρήμου ὄρους καὶ κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι λαθόντας καὶ ἀρπάσαι φθάσαντας, εἰ δυνάμεθα, μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἰσχυρὰ χωρία καὶ ἀνθρώπους παρεσκευασμένους μάχεσθαι. [4.6.12] πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ὀρθιον ἀμαχεῖ ἰέναι ἢ ὁμαλὲς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πολεμίων ὄντων, καὶ νύκτωρ ἀμαχεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ πρὸ ποδῶν ὀρήτη τις ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν μαχόμενος, καὶ ἢ τραχεῖα τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμαχεῖ ἰοῦσιν εὐμενεστέρα ἢ ἢ ὁμαλὴ τὰς κεφαλὰς βαλλομένοις. [4.6.13] καὶ κλέψαι δ' οὐκ ἀδύνατόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐξὸν μὲν νυκτὸς ἰέναι, ὡς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι, ἐξὸν δ' ἀπελθεῖν τοσοῦτον ὡς μὴ αἰσθησιν παρέχειν. δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι ταύτῃ προσποιούμενοι προσβάλλειν ἐρημοτέρῳ ἢ τῷ ὄρει χρῆσθαι· μένοιν γὰρ <ἂν> αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἄθροοι οἱ πολέμοιοι. [4.6.14] ἀτὰρ τί ἐγὼ περὶ κλοπῆς συμβάλλομαι; ὑμᾶς γὰρ ἔγωγε, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἀκούω τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὅσοι ἐστὲ τῶν ὁμοίων εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων κλέπτειν μελετᾶν, καὶ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀλλὰ καλὸν κλέπτειν ὅσα μὴ κωλύει νόμος. [4.6.15] ὅπως δὲ ὡς κράτιστα κλέπτῃτε καὶ πειρᾶσθε λανθάνειν, νόμιμον ἄρα ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐὰν ληφθῇτε κλέπτοντες, μαστιγοῦσθαι. νῦν οὖν μάλα σοι καιρὸς ἐστίν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν παιδείαν, καὶ φυλάξασθαι μὴ ληφθῶμεν κλέπτοντες τοῦ ὄρους, ὡς μὴ πληγὰς λάβωμεν.» [4.6.16] «ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀκούω δεινοὺς εἶναι κλέπτειν τὰ δημόσια, καὶ μάλα ὄντος δεινοῦ κινδύνου τῷ κλέπτοντι, καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους μέντοι μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὑμῖν οἱ κράτιστοι ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦνται· ὥστε ὦρα καὶ σοὶ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν παιδείαν.» [4.6.17] «ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἔτοιμός εἰμι τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας ἔχων, ἐπειδὰν δειπνήσωμεν, ἰέναι καταληψόμενος τὸ ὄρος. ἔχω δὲ

καὶ ἡγεμόνας· οἱ γὰρ γυμνήτες τῶν ἐπομένων ἡμῖν κλωπῶν ἔλαβόν
τινας ἐνεδρεύσαντες· τούτων καὶ πυνθάνομαι ὅτι οὐκ ἄβατόν ἐστι τὸ
ὄρος, ἀλλὰ νέμεται αἰξὶ καὶ βουσίν· ὥστε ἐάνπερ ἅπαξ λάβωμέν τι
τοῦ ὄρους, βατὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἔσται. [4.6.18] ἐλπίζω δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς
πολεμίους μενεῖν ἔτι, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄκρων· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν ἐθέλουσι καταβαίνειν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἡμῖν.» [4.6.19] ὁ
δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπε· «καὶ τί δεῖ σὲ ἰέναι καὶ λιπεῖν τὴν
ὀπισθοφυλακίαν; ἀλλὰ ἄλλους πέμψον, ἂν μὴ τινες ἐθέλοντες ἀγαθοὶ
φαίνωνται.» [4.6.20] ἐκ τούτου Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς ἔρχεται
ὀπλίτας ἔχων καὶ Ἀριστεὰς ὁ Χῖος γυμνήτας καὶ Νικόμαχος Οἰταῖος
γυμνήτας· καὶ σύνθημα ἐποίησαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἅκρα, πυρὰ
καίειν πολλά. [4.6.21] ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἡρίστων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἀρίστου
προήγαγεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ὡς δέκα σταδίους πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως ὡς μάλιστα δοκοίη ταύτῃ προσάξειν. [4.6.22]
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν καὶ νύξ ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ὦιχοντο, καὶ
καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι αὐτοῦ ἀνεπαύοντο. οἱ δὲ
πολέμιοι ἐπεὶ ἦισθοντο τὸ ὄρος ἐχόμενον, ἐγρηγόρεσαν καὶ ἔκαιον
πυρὰ πολλὰ διὰ νυκτός. [4.6.23] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο Χειρίσοφος
μὲν θυσάμενος ἤγε κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, οἱ δὲ τὸ ὄρος καταλαβόντες κατὰ
τὰ ἅκρα ἐπῆισαν. [4.6.24] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν πολὺ ἔμενεν ἐπὶ τῇ
ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ ὄρους, μέρος δ' αὐτῶν ἀπῆντα τοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἅκρα.
πρὶν δὲ ὁμοῦ εἶναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀλλήλοις, συμμιγνύασιν οἱ κατὰ τὰ
ἅκρα, καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ διώκουσιν. [4.6.25] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων δρόμῳ ἔθεον πρὸς
τοὺς παρατεταγμένους, Χειρίσοφος δὲ βάδην ταχὺ ἐφείπετο σὺν τοῖς
ὀπλίταις. [4.6.26] οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἄνω ἐώρων
ἡττώμενον, φεύγουσι· καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, γέρρα δὲ
πάμπολλα ἐλήφθη· ἃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ταῖς μαχαίραις κόπτοντες ἀχρεῖα
ἐποίουν. [4.6.27] ὥς δ' ἀνέβησαν, θύσαντες καὶ τρόπαιον στησάμενοι
κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ εἰς κώμας πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν
γεμούσας ἦλθον.

[4.7.1] ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Ταόχους σταθμοὺς πέντε
παρασάγγας τριάκοντα· καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλειπε· χωρία γὰρ ὠικουν
ἰσχυρὰ οἱ Τάοχοι, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἅπαντα εἶχον
ἀνακεκομισμένοι. [4.7.2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο πρὸς χωρίον ὃ πόλιν μὲν οὐκ
εἶχεν οὐδ' οἰκίας, συνεληλυθότες δ' ἦσαν αὐτόσε καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ
γυναῖκες καὶ κτήνη πολλά, Χειρίσοφος μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοῦτο

προσέβαλλεν εὐθὺς ἥκων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἀπέκαμνεν, ἄλλη προσήκει καὶ αὐθις ἄλλη· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀθρόοις περιστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπότομον ἦν κύκλωι. [4.7.3] ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἦλθε σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφυλάξι καὶ πελτασταῖς καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει Χειρίσοφος· «εἰς καλὸν ἦκετε· τὸ γὰρ χωρίον αἰρετέον· τῇ γὰρ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ μὴ ληψόμεθα τὸ χωρίον.» [4.7.4] ἐνταῦθα δὴ κοινῇ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος ἐρωτῶντος τί τὸ κωλύον εἴη εἰσελθεῖν, εἶπεν ὁ Χειρίσοφος· «μία αὕτη πάροδος ἔστιν ἣν ὁρᾷς· ὅταν δέ τις ταύτην πειρᾶται παριέναι, κυλίνδουσι λίθους ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς ὑπερεχούσης πέτρας· ὃς δ' ἂν καταληφθῇ, οὕτω διατίθεται.» ἅμα δ' ἔδειξε συντετριμμένους ἀνθρώπους καὶ σκέλη καὶ πλευράς. [4.7.5] «ἦν δὲ τοὺς λίθους ἀναλώσωσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἄλλο τι ἢ οὐδὲν κωλύει παριέναι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου ὀρῶμεν εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τούτους ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τούτων δύο ἢ τρεῖς ὥπλισμένους. [4.7.6] τὸ δὲ χωρίον, ὥς καὶ σὺ ὁρᾷς, σχεδὸν τρία ἡμίπλεθρά ἐστιν ὃ δεῖ βαλλομένους διελθεῖν· τούτου δὲ ὅσον πλέθρον δασὺ πίτυσι διαλειπούσαις μεγάλαις, ἀνθ' ὧν ἐστηκότες ἄνδρες τί ἂν πάσχοιεν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν φερομένων λίθων ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν κυλινδομένων; τὸ λοιπὸν οὖν γίγνεται ὥς ἡμίπλεθρον, ὃ δεῖ ὅταν λωφήσωσιν οἱ λίθοι παραδραμεῖν.» [4.7.7] «ἀλλὰ εὐθύς, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ἐπειδὴν ἀρξώμεθα εἰς τὸ δασὺ προσιέναι, φέρονται οἱ λίθοι πολλοί.» «αὐτὸ ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ δέον εἴη· θᾶττον γὰρ ἀναλώσουσι τοὺς λίθους. ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ἔνθεν ἡμῖν μικρόν τι παραδραμεῖν ἔσται, ἣν δυνώμεθα, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν ραίδιον, ἣν βουλώμεθα.» [4.7.8] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο Χειρίσοφος καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ Καλλίμαχος Παρράσιος λοχαγός· τούτου γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἦν τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγῶν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι λοχαγοὶ ἔμενον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ. μετὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀπῆλθον ὑπὸ τὰ δένδρα ἄνθρωποι ὥς ἐβδομήκοντα, οὐχ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ καθ' ἓνα, ἕκαστος φυλαττόμενος ὥς ἐδύνατο. [4.7.9] Ἀγασίας δὲ ὁ Στυμφάλιος καὶ Ἀριστῶνυμος Μεθυδριεὺς καὶ οὗτοι τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων λοχαγοὶ ὄντες, καὶ ἄλλοι δέ, ἐφέστασαν ἔξω τῶν δένδρων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐν τοῖς δένδροις ἐστάναι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἓνα λόχον. [4.7.10] ἔνθα δὴ Καλλίμαχος μηχανᾶται τι· προὔτρεχεν ἀπὸ τοῦ δένδρου ὑφ' ὧν ἦν αὐτὸς δύο ἢ τρία βήματα· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ λίθοι φέροντο, ἀνέχαζεν εὐπετῶς· ἐφ' ἐκάστης δὲ τῆς προδρομῆς πλέον ἢ δέκα ἅμαζαι πετρῶν ἀνηλίσκοντο. [4.7.11] ὁ δὲ Ἀγασίας ὥς ὁρᾷ τὸν Καλλίμαχον ἃ ἐποίει τὸ

στράτευμα πᾶν θεώμενον, δείσας μὴ οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμηι εἰς τὸ χωρίον, οὐδὲ τὸν Ἀριστώνυμον πλησίον ὄντα παρακαλέσας οὐδὲ Εὐρύλοχον τὸν Λουσιέα, ἐταίρους ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα χωρεῖ αὐτός, καὶ παρέρχεται πάντας. [4.7.12] ὁ δὲ Καλλίμαχος ὡς ὄρᾱι αὐτὸν παριόντα, ἐπιλαμβάνεται αὐτοῦ τῆς ἴτιος· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παραθεῖ αὐτοὺς Ἀριστώνυμος Μεθυδριεύς, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιεύς· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι ἀντεποιοῦντο ἀρετῆς καὶ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· καὶ οὕτως ἐρίζοντες αἰροῦσι τὸ χωρίον. ὡς γὰρ ἅπαξ εἰσέδραμον, οὐδεὶς πέτρος ἄνωθεν ἠνέχθη. [4.7.13] ἐνταῦθα δὴ δεινὸν ἦν θέαμα. αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ρίπτουσai τὰ παιδιά εἴτα ἑαυτὰς ἐπικατερρίπτουν, καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ὡσάυτως. ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ Αἰνείας Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς ἰδὼν τινα θέοντα ὡς ρίποντα ἑαυτὸν στολὴν ἔχοντα καλὴν ἐπιλαμβάνεται ὡς κωλύσων· [4.7.14] ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπισπᾶται, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ὦιχοντο κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν φερόμενοι καὶ ἀπέθανον. ἐντεῦθεν ἄνθρωποι μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγοι ἐλήφθησαν, βόες δὲ καὶ ὄνοι πολλοὶ καὶ πρόβατα. [4.7.15] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Χαλύβων σταθμοὺς ἐπτὰ παρασάγγας πεντήκοντα. οὗτοι ἦσαν ὦν διήλθον ἀλκιμώτατοι, καὶ εἰς χεῖρας ἦσαν. εἶχον δὲ θώρακας λινοὺς μέχρι τοῦ ἥτρου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν περυγῶν σπάρτα πυκνὰ ἐστραμμένα. [4.7.16] εἶχον δὲ καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη καὶ παρὰ τὴν ζώνην μαχαίριον ὅσον ξυήλην Λακωνικὴν, ὧι ἔσφαττον ὦν κρατεῖν δύναιντο, καὶ ἀποτεμόντες ἂν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχοντες ἐπορεύοντο, καὶ ἦιδον καὶ ἐχόρευον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτοὺς ὄψεσθαι ἔμελλον. εἶχον δὲ καὶ δόρυ ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεων μίαν λόγχην ἔχον. [4.7.17] οὗτοι ἐνέμενον ἐν τοῖς πολίσμασιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέλθοιεν οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶποντο ἀεὶ μαχοῦμενοι. ὠικουν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄχυροῖς, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐν τούτοις ἀνακεκομισμένοι ἦσαν· ὥστε μηδὲν λαμβάνειν αὐτόθεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ διετράφησαν τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἃ ἐκ τῶν Ταόχων ἔλαβον. [4.7.18] ἐκ τούτων οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ Ἄρπασον ποταμόν, εὖρος τεττάρων πλέθρων. ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύθησαν διὰ Σκυθηγῶν σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι διὰ πεδίου εἰς κώμας· ἐν αἷς ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο. [4.7.19] ἐντεῦθεν διήλθον σταθμοὺς τέτταρας παρασάγγας εἴκοσι πρὸς πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα καὶ οἰκουμένην ἥ ἐκαλεῖτο Γυμνιάς. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὁ ἄρχων τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἡγεμόνα πέμπει, ὅπως διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίας χώρας ἄγοι αὐτούς. [4.7.20] ἐλθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος λέγει ὅτι ἄξει αὐτοὺς πέντε ἡμερῶν εἰς χωρίον ὅθεν ὄψονται θάλατταν· εἰ δὲ μή,

τεθνάναι ἐπηγγείλατο. καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐπειδὴ ἐνέβαλλεν εἰς τὴν [ἑαυτοῦ] πολεμίαν, παρεκελεύετο αἶθιν καὶ φθείρειν τὴν χώραν· ὧι καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι τούτου ἕνεκα ἔλθοι, οὐ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὐνοίας. [4.7.21] καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῇ πέμπτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· ὄνομα δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἦν Θήχης. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πρῶτοι ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους καὶ κατείδον τὴν θάλατταν, κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἐγένετο. [4.7.22] ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ὠιήθησαν ἔμπροσθεν ἄλλους ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολεμίους· εἶποντο γὰρ ὀπισθεν ἐκ τῆς καιομένης χώρας, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες ἀπέκτεινάν τέ τινας καὶ ἐζώγησαν ἐνέδραν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ γέρρα ἔλαβον δασειῶν βοῶν ὠμοβόεια ἀμφὶ τὰ εἴκοσιν. [4.7.23] ἐπειδὴ δὲ βοὴ πλείων τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἐγγύτερον καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐπιόντες ἔθεον δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ βοῶντας καὶ πολλῶι μείζων ἐγίγνετο ἢ βοὴ ὅσῳ δὴ πλείους ἐγίγνοντο, [4.7.24] ἐδόκει δὴ μείζον τι εἶναι τῷ Ξενοφῶντι, καὶ ἀναβάς ἐφ' ἵππον καὶ Λύκιον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἀναλαβὼν παρεβόηθει· καὶ τάχα δὴ ἀκούουσι βοῶντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν «θάλαττα θάλαττα» καὶ παρεγγυώντων. ἔνθα δὴ ἔθεον πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπισθοφύλακες, καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἠλαύνετο καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. [4.7.25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλους καὶ στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς δακρύνοντες. καὶ ἐξαπίνης ὅτου δὴ παρεγγυήσαντος οἱ στρατιῶται φέρουσι λίθους καὶ ποιοῦσι κολωνὸν μέγαν. [4.7.26] ἐνταῦθα ἀνέτιθесαν δερμάτων πλῆθος ὠμοβοείων καὶ βακτηρίας καὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα γέρρα, καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν αὐτός τε κατέτεμνε τὰ γέρρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διεκελεύετο. [4.7.27] μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἡγεμόνα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀποπέμπουσι δῶρα δόντες ἀπὸ κοινοῦ ἵππον καὶ φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν καὶ σκευὴν Περσικὴν καὶ δαρεικοὺς δέκα· ἥτις δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς δακτυλίους, καὶ ἔλαβε πολλοὺς παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. κώμην δὲ δείξας αὐτοῖς οὗ σκηνήσουσι καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν πορεύονται εἰς Μάκρωνα, ἐπεὶ ἐσπέρα ἐγένετο, ὥιχeto τῆς νυκτὸς ἀπιών.

[4.8.1] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ Μακρόνων σταθμοὺς τρεῖς παρασάγγας δέκα. τῇ πρώτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὃς ὠρίζε τὴν τῶν Μακρόνων καὶ τὴν τῶν Σκυθηνῶν. [4.8.2] εἶχον δ' ὑπὲρ δεξιῶν χωρίον οἷον χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς ἄλλον ποταμόν, εἰς ὃν ἐνέβαλλεν ὁ ὀρίζων, δι' οὗ ἔδει διαβῆναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος δασὺς δένδρεσι παχέσι μὲν οὗ, πυκνοῖς δέ. ταῦτ' ἐπεὶ προσήλθον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔκοπτον, σπεύδοντες ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ὡς τάχιστα ἐξελεθεῖν. [4.8.3] οἱ δὲ Μάκρωνες ἔχοντες γέρρα καὶ λόγχας καὶ

τριχίνους χιτῶνας κατ' ἀντιπέραν τῆς διαβάσεως παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀλλήλοις διεκελεύοντο καὶ λίθους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔρριπτον· ἐξικνοῦντο γὰρ οὐ οὐδ' ἔβλαπτον οὐδέν. [4.8.4] ἔνθα δὴ προσέρχεται Ξενοφῶντι τῶν πελταστῶν ἀνὴρ Ἀθήνησι φάσκων δεδουλευκέναι, λέγων ὅτι γιγνώσκoi τὴν φωνὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. «καὶ οἶμαι, ἔφη, ἐμὴν ταύτην πατρίδα εἶναι· καὶ εἰ μὴ τι κωλύει, ἐθέλω αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι.» [4.8.5] «ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ διαλέγου καὶ μάθε πρῶτον τίνες εἰσίν.» οἱ δ' εἶπον ἐρωτήσαντος ὅτι Μάκρωνες. «ἐρώτα τοῖνυν, ἔφη, αὐτοὺς τί ἀντιτετάχεται καὶ χρήζουσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι εἶναι.» [4.8.6] οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο «ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν ἔρχεσθε.» λέγειν ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ ὅτι «οὐ κακῶς γε ποιήσοντες, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖ πολεμήσαντες ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐπὶ θάλατταν βουλόμεθα ἀφικέσθαι.» [4.8.7] ἡρώτων ἐκεῖνοι εἰ δοῖεν ἂν τούτων τὰ πιστά. οἱ δ' ἔφασαν καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ἐθέλειν. ἐντεῦθεν διδόασιν οἱ Μάκρωνες βαρβαρικὴν λόγχην τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες ἐκείνοις Ἑλληνικὴν· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔφασαν πιστὰ εἶναι· θεοὺς δ' ἐπεμαρτύραντο ἀμφοτέρω. [4.8.8] μετὰ δὲ τὰ πιστὰ εὐθύς οἱ Μάκρωνες τὰ δένδρα συνεξέκοπτον τὴν τε ὁδὸν ὠδοποιοῦν ὥς διαβιβάσοντες ἐν μέσοις ἀναμεμιγμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησι, καὶ ἀγορὰν οἷαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, καὶ παρήγαγον ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἕως ἐπὶ τὰ Κόλχων ὄρια κατέστησαν τοὺς Ἑλληνας. [4.8.9] ἐνταῦθα ἦν ὄρος μέγα, προσβατὸν δέ· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτου οἱ Κόλχοι παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ Ἑλληνες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο φάλαγγα, ὥς οὕτως ἄζοντες πρὸς τὸ ὄρος· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βουλευσασθαι συλλεγεῖσιν ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιοῦνται. [4.8.10] ἔλεξεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὅτι δοκοίη παύσαντας τὴν φάλαγγα λόχους ὀρθίους ποιῆσαι· ἢ μὲν γὰρ φάλαγξ διασπασθήσεται εὐθύς· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἄνοδον τῇ δὲ εὐδοδον εὐρήσομεν τὸ ὄρος· καὶ εὐθύς τοῦτο ἀθυμίαν ποιήσει ὅταν τεταγμένοι εἰς φάλαγγα ταύτην διεσπασμένην ὀρῶσιν. [4.8.11] ἔπειτα ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ πολλῶν τεταγμένοι προσάγωμεν, περιττεύσουσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς χρήσονται ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ὀλίγων τεταγμένοι ὦμεν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ διακοπεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φάλαγξ ὑπὸ ἀθρόων καὶ βελῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πολλῶν ἐμπεσόντων· εἰ δὲ πῃ τοῦτο ἔσται, τῇ ὅλῃ φάλαγγι κακὸν ἔσται. [4.8.12] ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησαμένους τοσοῦτον χωρίον κατασχεῖν διαλιπόντας τοῖς λόχοις

ὅσον ἔξω τοὺς ἐσχάτους λόχους γενέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων κεράτων· καὶ οὕτως ἐσόμεθα τῆς τε τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω [οἱ ἐσχατοὶ λόχοι], καὶ ὀρθίους ἄγοντες οἱ κράτιστοι ἡμῶν πρῶτοι προσίασιν, ἥ τε ἂν εὐοδὸν ᾖ, ταύτη ἕκαστος ἄξει [ὁ λόχος]. [4.8.13] καὶ εἰς τε τὸ διαλείπον οὐ ράϊδιον ἔσται τοῖς πολεμίοις εἰσελθεῖν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν λόχων ὄντων, διακόψαι τε οὐ ράϊδιον ἔσται λόχον ὀρθιον προσιόντα. ἂν τέ τις πιέζεται τῶν λόχων, ὁ πλησίον βοηθήσει. ἦν τε εἰς πη δυνηθῇ τῶν λόχων ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀναβῆναι, οὐδεὶς μηκέτι μείνηι τῶν πολεμίων. [4.8.14] ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποιοῦν ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ἔλεγε τοῖς στρατιώταις· «ἄνδρες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οὓς ὁρᾶτε μόνοι ἔτι ἡμῖν ἐμποδῶν τὸ μὴ ἤδη εἶναι ἔνθα πάλαι σπεύδομεν· τούτους, ἦν πῶς δυνώμεθα, καὶ ὤμους δεῖ καταφαγεῖν.» [4.8.15] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἕκαστοι ἐγένοντο καὶ τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους ἐποίησαντο, ἐγένοντο μὲν λόχοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα, ὁ δὲ λόχος ἕκαστος σχεδὸν εἰς τοὺς ἑκατόν· τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας τριχῇ ἐποίησαντο, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔξω, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοὺς δὲ κατὰ μέσον, σχεδὸν ἑξακοσίους ἑκάστους. [4.8.16] ἐκ τούτου παρηγγύησαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εὐχεσθαι· εὐξάμενοι δὲ καὶ παιανίσαντες ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν καὶ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πελτασταὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων φάλαγγος ἔξω γενόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο· [4.8.17] οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, ἀντιπαραθέοντες οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον διεσπάρσθησαν, καὶ πολὺ τῆς αὐτῶν φάλαγγος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κενὸν ἐποίησαν. [4.8.18] οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν πελτασταί, ὧν ἦρχεν Αἰσχίνης ὁ Ἀκαρνάν, νομίσαντες φεύγειν ἀνακραγόντες ἔθεον· καὶ οὗτοί πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνουσι· συνεφείπετο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν ὀπλιτικόν, ὧν ἦρχε Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος. [4.8.19] οἱ δὲ πολέμοι, ὥς ἦρξαντο θεῖν, οὐκέτι ἔστησαν, ἀλλὰ φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτράπετο. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀναβάντες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν πολλαῖς κώμαις καὶ τὰπιτήδεια πολλὰ ἐχούσαις. [4.8.20] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἐθαύμασαν· τὰ δὲ σμήνη πολλὰ ἦν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῶν κηρίων ὅσοι ἔφαγον τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντες ἄφρονές τε ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἤμουν καὶ κάτω διεχώρει αὐτοῖς καὶ ὀρθὸς οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὀλίγον ἐδηδοκότες σφόδρα μεθύουσιν ἐήικεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολὺ μαινομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν. [4.8.21] ἔκειντο δὲ οὕτω πολλοὶ ὥσπερ τροπῆς γεγεννημένης, καὶ πολλή ἦν ἀθυμία. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς, ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν πῶς

ᾧραν ἀνεφρόνουν· τρίτη δὲ καὶ τετάρτη ἀνίσταντο ὥσπερ ἐκ
φαρμακοποσίας. [4.8.22] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν δύο σταθμούς
παρασάγγας ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ θάλατταν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα πόλιν
Ἑλληνίδα οἰκουμένην ἐν τῷ Εὐξεινῷ Πόντῳ, Σινωπέων ἀποικίαν,
ἐν τῇ Κόλχων χώρῃ. ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἀμφὶ τὰς τριάκοντα
ἐν ταῖς τῶν Κόλχων κώμας· [4.8.23] κἀντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι ἐλήϊζοντο
τὴν Κολχίδα. ἀγορὰν δὲ παρῆχον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ Τραπεζοῦντιοι,
καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ
οἶνον. [4.8.24] συνδιεπράττοντο δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλησίον Κόλχων τῶν
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μάλιστα οἰκούντων, καὶ ξένια καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἦλθον
βόες. [4.8.25] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν θυσίαν ἦν ἠϋζαντο παρεσκευάζοντο·
ἦλθον δ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὶ βόες ἀποθῦσαι τῷ Διὶ τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ τῷ
Ἡρακλεῖ ἡγεμόσυνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἃ ἠϋζαντο. ἐποίησαν δὲ
καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐνθαπερ ἐσκήνουν. εἵλοντο δὲ
Δρακόντιον Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς ἔφυγε παῖς ὢν οἴκοθεν, παῖδα ἄκων
κατακανὼν ξυήλην πατάξας, δρόμου τ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος
προστατῆσαι. [4.8.26] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ θυσία ἐγένετο, τὰ δέρματα
παρέδοσαν τῷ Δρακοντίῳ, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον ὅπου τὸν δρόμον
πεποιηκὼς εἴη. ὁ δὲ δείξας οὐπερ ἐστηκότες ἐτύγγανον «οὗτος ὁ
λόφος, ἔφη, κάλλιστος τρέχειν ὅπου ἂν τις βούληται.» «πῶς οὖν,
ἔφασαν, δυνήσονται παλαίειν ἐν σκληρῷ καὶ δασεῖ οὕτως;» ὁ δ'
εἶπε· «μᾶλλον τι ἀνιάσεται ὁ καταπεσών.» [4.8.27] ἡγωνίζοντο δὲ
παῖδες μὲν στάδιον τῶν αἰχμαλώτων οἱ πλεῖστοι, δόλιχον δὲ Κρήτες
πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα ἔθεον, πάλην δὲ καὶ πυγμὴν καὶ παγκράτιον
ἕτεροι, καὶ καλὴ θέα ἐγένετο· πολλοὶ γὰρ κατέβησαν καὶ ἄτε
θεωμένων τῶν ἐταίρων πολλὴ φιλονικία ἐγίνετο. [4.8.28] ἔθεον δὲ καὶ
ἵπποι καὶ ἔδει αὐτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ πρᾶνου ἐλάσαντας ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
ἀποστρέψαντας πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ἄγειν. καὶ κάτω μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ
ἐκαλινδοῦντο· ἄνω δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἰσχυρῶς ὄρθιον μόλις βάδην
ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ἵπποι· ἐνθα πολλὴ κραυγὴ καὶ γέλως καὶ
παρακέλευσις ἐγίνετο.

Βιβλίον ε΄

[5.1.1] [ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ τῇ μέχρι ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ Πόντῳ, καὶ ὡς εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὡς ἀπέθυσαν ἃ εὗξαντο σωτήρια θύειν ἔνθα πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν γῆν ἀφίκοντο, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.]

[5.1.2] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ξυνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας· ἀνέστη δὲ πρῶτος Λέων Θούριος καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. «ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀπείρηκα ἤδη ξυσκευαζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων καὶ τρέχων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα φέρων καὶ ἐν τάξει ὦν καὶ φυλακὰς φυλάττων καὶ μαχόμενος, ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ ἤδη παυσάμενος τούτων τῶν πόνων, ἐπεὶ θάλατταν ἔχομεν, πλεῖν τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐκταθεῖς ὥσπερ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀφικέσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.» [5.1.3] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεθορύβησαν ὡς εὖ λέγει· καὶ ἄλλος ταῦτ' ἔλεγε, καὶ πάντες οἱ παριόντες. ἔπειτα δὲ Χειρίσοφος ἀνέστη καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε. [5.1.4] «φίλος μοί ἐστιν, ὧ ἄνδρες, Ἀναξίβιος, ναυαρχῶν δὲ καὶ τυγχάνει. ἦν οὖν πέμπητέ με, οἶομαι ἂν ἐλθεῖν καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων καὶ πλοῖα τὰ ἡμᾶς ἄξοντα· ὑμεῖς δὲ εἴπερ πλεῖν βούλεσθε, περιμένετε ἔστ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἔλθω· ἥξω δὲ ταχέως.» ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατιῶται ἡσθησάν τε καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο πλεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα. [5.1.5] μετὰ τοῦτον Ξενοφῶν ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Χειρίσοφος μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ πλοῖα στέλλεται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀναμενοῦμεν. ὅσα μοι οὖν δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ μονῇ, ταῦτα ἐρῶ. [5.1.6] πρῶτον μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ πορίζεσθαι ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας· οὔτε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἔστιν ἱκανὴ οὔτε ὅτου ὠνησόμεθα εὐπορία εἰ μὴ ὀλίγοις τισίν· ἡ δὲ χώρα πολεμία· κίνδυνος οὖν πολλοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἦν ἀμελῶς τε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως πορεύησθε ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [5.1.7] ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ σὺν προνομαῖς λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι, ὡς σήιξησθε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [5.1.8] ἔδοξε ταῦτα. «ἔτι τοίνυν ἀκούσατε καὶ τὰδε. ἐπὶ λείαν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἐκπορεύονται τινες. οἶομαι οὖν βέλτιστον εἶναι ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐξιέναι, φράζειν δὲ καὶ ὅποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδῶμεν τῶν ἐξιόντων καὶ τῶν μενόντων καὶ ξυμπαρασκευάζωμεν, ἐάν τι δέηι, κἂν βοηθῆσαί τισι καιρὸς ᾗ, εἰδῶμεν ὅποι δεήσει βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τις τῶν ἀπειροτέρων ἐγχειρῇ ποι, ξυμβουλεύωμεν πειρώμενοι εἰδέναι τὴν δύναμιν ἐφ' οὓς ἂν

ἴωσιν.» [5.1.9] ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. «ἐννοεῖτε δὴ καὶ τόδε, ἔφη. σχολὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις λήζεσθαι, καὶ δικαίως ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν· ἔχομεν γὰρ τὰ ἐκείνων· ὑπερκάθηνται δὲ ἡμῶν. φυλακὰς δὴ μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶναι· ἐὰν οὖν κατὰ μέρος [μερισθέντες] φυλάττωμεν καὶ σκοπῶμεν, ἦττον ἂν δύναιντο ἡμᾶς θηρᾶν οἱ πολέμιοι. ἔτι τοίνυν τάδε ὁρᾶτε. [5.1.10] εἰ μὲν ἡπιστάμεθα σαφῶς ὅτι ἦξει πλοῖα Χειρίσοφος ἄγων ἱκανά, οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὦν μέλλω λέγειν· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἄδηλον, δοκεῖ μοι πειρᾶσθαι πλοῖα συμπαρασκευάζειν καὶ αὐτόθεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἔλθῃ, ὑπαρχόντων ἐνθάδε ἐν ἀφθονωτέροις πλευσόμεθα· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄγῃ, τοῖς ἐνθάδε χρυσόμεθα. [5.1.11] ὁρῶ δὲ ἐγὼ πλοῖα πολλάκις παραπλέοντα· εἰ οὖν αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων μακρὰ πλοῖα κατάγοιμεν καὶ φυλάττοιμεν αὐτά, τὰ πηδάλια παραλυόμενοι, ἕως ἂν ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄξοντα γένηται, ἴσως ἂν οὐκ ἀπορήσαιμεν κομιδῆς οἷας δεόμεθα.» ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. [5.1.12] «ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, εἰ εἰκὸς καὶ τρέφειν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ οὓς ἂν καταγάγωμεν ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν μένωσι, καὶ ναῦλον ξυνθέσθαι, ὅπως ὠφελοῦντες καὶ ὠφελῶνται.» ἔδοξε καὶ ταῦτα. [5.1.13] «δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, ἦν ἄρα καὶ ταῦτα ἡμῖν μὴ ἐκπεραίνηται ὥστε ἄρκεῖν πλοῖα, τὰς ὁδοὺς ἅς δυσπόρους ἀκούομεν εἶναι ταῖς παρὰ θάλατταν οἰκούσαις πόλεσιν ἐντείλασθαι ὁδοποιεῖν· πείσονται γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι ἡμῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι.» [5.1.14] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀνέκραγον ὡς οὐ δέοι ὁδοιορεῖν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἀφροσύνην αὐτῶν, ἐπεψήφισε μὲν οὐδέν, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἐκούσας ἔπεισεν ὁδοποιεῖν, λέγων ὅτι θάπτον ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν εὐποροὶ γένωνται αἱ ὁδοί. [5.1.15] ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ πεντηκόντορον παρὰ τῶν Τραπεζουντίων, ἧ ἐπέστησαν Δέξιππον Λάκωνα περίοικον. οὗτος ἀμελήσας τοῦ ξυλλέγειν πλοῖα ἀποδρὰς ὠιχετο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, ἔχων τὴν ναῦν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν δίκαια ἔπαθεν ὕστερον· ἐν Θράκῃ γὰρ παρὰ Σεύθῃ πολυπραγμονῶν τι ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος. [5.1.16] ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τριακόντορον, ἧ ἐπεστάθη Πολυκράτης Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς ὅποσα λαμβάνοι πλοῖα κατήγεν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγώγιμα εἴ τι ἦγον ἐξαιρούμενοι φύλακας καθίστασαν, ὅπως σῶια εἴη, τοῖς δὲ πλοίοις ἐχρήσαντο εἰς παραγωγὴν. [5.1.17] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἦν ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάμβανον οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐ. Κλεαίνετος δ' ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄλλον λόχον πρὸς χωρίον χαλεπὸν αὐτός τε ἀπέθανε καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.

[5.2.1] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὐκέτι ἦν λαμβάνειν ὥστε ἀπαυθημερίζειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐκ τούτου λαβὼν Ξενοφῶν ἡγεμόνας τῶν Τραπεζουντιῶν ἐξάγει εἰς Δρίλας τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ κατέλιπε φυλάττειν τὸ στρατόπεδον· οἱ γὰρ Κόλχοι, ἅτε ἐκπεπτωκότες τῶν οἰκιῶν, πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἄθροοι καὶ ὑπερεκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων. [5.2.2] οἱ δὲ Τραπεζούντιοι ὀπόθεν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ράιδιον ἦν λαβεῖν οὐκ ἤγον· φίλοι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν· εἰς δὲ τοὺς Δρίλας προθύμως ἤγον, ὑφ' ὧν κακῶς ἔπασχον, εἰς χωρία τε ὀρεινὰ καὶ δύσβατα καὶ ἀνθρώπους πολεμικωτάτους τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ. [5.2.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἄνω χώρᾳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὅποια τῶν χωρίων τοῖς Δρίλαις ἀλώσιμα εἶναι ἐδόκει ἐμπιμπράντες ἀπῆισαν· καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν λαμβάνειν εἰ μὴ ὕς ἢ βοὺς ἢ ἄλλο τι κτήνος τὸ πῦρ διαπεφευγός. ἐν δὲ ἦν χωρίον μητρόπολις αὐτῶν· εἰς τοῦτο πάντες ξυνερρυήκεσαν. περὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἦν χαράδρα ἰσχυρῶς βαθεῖα, καὶ πρόσοδοι χαλεπαὶ πρὸς τὸ χωρίον. [5.2.4] οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ προδραμιόντες στάδια πέντε ἢ ἕξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, διαβάντες τὴν χαράδραν, ὀρῶντες πρόβατα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα χρήματα προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον· ξυνείποντο δὲ καὶ δορυφόροι πολλοὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξωρμημένοι· ὥστε ἐγένοντο οἱ διαβάντες πλείους ἢ δισχίλιοι ἄνθρωποι. [5.2.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ μαχόμενοι οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον (καὶ γὰρ τάφος ἦν περὶ αὐτὸ εὐρεῖα ἀναβεβλημένη καὶ σκόλοπες ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβολῆς καὶ τύρσεις πυκναὶ ξύλινα πεποιημέναι), ἀπιέναι δὴ ἐπεχείρουν· οἱ δὲ ἐπέκειντο αὐτοῖς. [5.2.6] ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀποτρέχειν (ἦν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνὸς ἢ κατάβασις ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου εἰς τὴν χαράδραν), πέμπουσι πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα· ὁ δὲ ἡγεῖτο τοῖς ὀπλίταις. [5.2.7] ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει ὅτι ἔστι χωρίον χρημάτων πολλῶν μεστόν· τοῦτο οὔτε λαβεῖν δυνάμεθα· ἰσχυρὸν γὰρ ἐστίν· οὔτε ἀπελθεῖν ράιδιον· μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ ἡ ἄφοδος χαλεπή. [5.2.8] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν προσαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν χαράδραν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας θέσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὰ ὄπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ διαβὰς σὺν τοῖς λοχαγοῖς ἐσκοπεῖτο πότερον εἷη κρεῖττον ἀπαγαγεῖν καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας ἢ καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας διαβιβάσειν, ὥς ἀλόντος ἂν τοῦ χωρίου. [5.2.9] ἐδόκει γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐκ εἶναι ἄνευ πολλῶν νεκρῶν, ἐλεῖν δ' ἂν ὦιοντο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ξυνεχώρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς πιστεύσας· οἱ γὰρ μάντιες ἀποδεδειγμένοι ἦσαν ὅτι μάχη μὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ τέλος καλὸν τῆς ἐξόδου. [5.2.10] καὶ τοὺς μὲν λοχαγοὺς ἔπεμπε διαβιβάσοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, αὐτὸς δ' ἔμενεν ἀναχωρίσας

ἅπαντας τοὺς πελταστάς, καὶ οὐδένα εἶα ἀκροβολίζεσθαι. [5.2.11] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον οἱ ὀπλῖται, ἐκέλευσε τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ποιῆσαι τῶν λοχαγῶν ὡς ἂν κράτιστα οἴηται ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ λοχαγοὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων οἱ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἀλλήλοις περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀντεποιοῦντο. [5.2.12] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς πελτασταῖς πᾶσι παρήγγειλε διηγκυλωμένους ἰέναι, ὥς, ὅποταν σημήνηι, ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπιβεβλήσθαι ἐπὶ ταῖς νευραῖς, ὥς, ὅποταν σημήνηι, τοξεύειν δεῖσον, καὶ τοὺς γυμνήτας λίθων ἔχειν μεστὰς τὰς διφθέρας· καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους ἔπεμψε τούτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. [5.2.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ὑπολόχαγοι καὶ οἱ ἀξιοῦντες τούτων μὴ χεῖρους εἶναι πάντες παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν, καὶ ἀλλήλους μὲν δὴ ξυνεώρων (μνηοειδὴς γὰρ διὰ τὸ χωρίον ἡ τάξις ἦν)· [5.2.14] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο, ἅμα τε τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἠλέλιξαν καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ οἱ ὀπλῖται, καὶ τὰ βέλη ὁμοῦ ἐφέρετο, λόγχαι, τοξεύματα, σφενδόνη, πλεῖστοι δ' ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν λίθοι, ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ πῦρ προσέφερον. [5.2.15] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν βελῶν ἔλιπον οἱ πολέμοι τὰ τε σταυρώματα καὶ τὰς τύρσεις· ὥστε Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος καταθέμενος τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χιτῶνι μόνον ἀνέβη, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον εἶλκε, καὶ ἄλλος ἀνεβεβήκει, καὶ ἠλώκει τὸ χωρίον, ὥς ἐδόκει. [5.2.16] καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ ψιλοὶ ἐσδραμόντες ἤρπαζον ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν στὰς κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὀπόσους ἐδύνατο κατεκώλυε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔξω· πολέμοι γὰρ ἄλλοι ἐφαίνοντο ἐπ' ἄκροις τισὶν ἰσχυροῖς. [5.2.17] οὐ πολλοῦ δὲ χρόνου μετὰξὺ γενομένου κραυγῇ τε ἐγένετο ἔνδον καὶ ἔφευγον οἱ μὲν καὶ ἔχοντες ἃ ἔλαβον, τάχα δέ τις καὶ τετρωμένος· καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ὠθισμὸς ἀμφὶ τὰ θύρετρα. καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄκρα τέ ἐστιν ἔνδον καὶ οἱ πολέμοι πολλοί, οἱ παίουσιν ἐκδεδραμηκότες τοὺς ἔνδον ἀνθρώπους. [5.2.18] ἐνταῦθα ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσε Τολμίδην τὸν κήρυκα ἰέναι εἴσω τὸν βουλόμενόν τι λαμβάνειν. καὶ ἵενται πολλοὶ εἴσω, καὶ νικῶσι τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας οἱ εἰσωθούμενοι καὶ κατακλείουσι τοὺς πολεμίους πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν. [5.2.19] καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ἄκρας πάντα διηρπάσθη, καὶ ἐξεκομίσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ σταυρώματα, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φέρουσαν. [5.2.20] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐσκόπουν εἰ οἷόν τε εἶη τὴν ἄκραν λαβεῖν· ἦν γὰρ οὕτως σωτηρία ἀσφαλής, ἄλλως δὲ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀπελθεῖν·

σκοπουμένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔδοξε παντάπασιν ἀνάλωτον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον. [5.2.21] ἐνταῦθα παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν σταυροὺς ἕκαστοι τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διήρουν, καὶ τοὺς ἀχρεῖους καὶ φορτία ἔχοντάς τε ἐξεπέμποντο καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καταλιπόντες οἱ λοχαγοὶ οἷς ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν. [5.2.22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο ἀποχωρεῖν, ἐπεξέθεον ἔνδοθεν πολλοὶ γέρρα καὶ λόγχας ἔχοντες καὶ κνημίδας καὶ κράνη Παφλαγονικά, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀνέβαινον τὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσης ὁδοῦ· [5.2.23] ὥστε οὐδὲ διώκειν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν κατὰ τὰς πύλας τὰς εἰς τὴν ἄκραν φερούσας. καὶ γὰρ ξύλα μεγάλα ἐπερρίπτουν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε χαλεπὸν ἦν καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀπιέναι· καὶ ἡ νύξ φοβερά ἦν ἢ ἐπιούσα. [5.2.24] μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπορουμένων θεῶν τις αὐτοῖς μηχανὴν σωτηρίας δίδωσιν. ἐξαπίνης γὰρ ἀνέλαμψεν οἰκία τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὅτου δὴ ἐνάψαντος. ὥς δ' αὕτη ξυνέπιπτεν, ἔφευγον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν δεξιᾷ οἰκίων. [5.2.25] ὥς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς τύχης, ἐνάπτειν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ οἰκίας, αἱ ξύλιναι ἦσαν, ὥστε καὶ ταχὺ ἐκαίοντο. [5.2.26] ἔφευγον οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν οἰκίων. οἱ δὲ κατὰ στόμα δὴ ἔτι μόνοι ἐλύπουν καὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν ὅτι ἐπικείμενοι ἐν τῇ ἐξόδῳ τε καὶ καταβάσει. ἐνταῦθα παραγγέλλει φέρειν ξύλα ὅσοι ἐτύγγανον ἔξω ὄντες τῶν βελῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱκανὰ ἤδη ἦν, ἐνήψαν· ἐνήπτον δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ χαράκωμα οἰκίας, ὅπως οἱ πολέμιοι ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἔχοιεν. [5.2.27] οὕτω μόλις ἀπῆλθον ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου, πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ ἑαυτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιησάμενοι. καὶ κατεκαύθη πᾶσα ἡ πόλις καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι καὶ αἱ τύρσεις καὶ τὰ σταυρώματα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἄκρας. [5.2.28] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάβασιν ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα (πρανὴς γὰρ ἦν καὶ στενὴ), ψευδενέδραν ἐποίησαντο· [5.2.29] καὶ ἀνὴρ Μυσὸς καὶ τοῦνομα τοῦτο ἔχων τῶν Κρητῶν λαβὼν δέκα ἔμενεν ἐν λασίῳ χωρίῳ καὶ προσεποιεῖτο τοὺς πολεμίους πειρᾶσθαι λανθάνειν· αἱ δὲ πέλται αὐτῶν ἄλλοτε καὶ ἄλλοτε διεφαίνοντο χαλκαῖ οὔσαι. [5.2.30] οἱ μὲν οὖν πολέμιοι ταῦτα διορῶντες ἐφοβοῦντο ὥς ἐνέδραν οὔσαν· ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ἐν τούτῳ κατέβαινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει ἤδη ἱκανὸν ὑπεληλυθέναι, τῷ Μυσῶι ἐσήμηνε φεύγειν ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ ὃς ἐξαναστὰς φεύγει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ. [5.2.31] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Κρηῖτες (άλισκεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τῷ δρόμῳ), ἐκπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ εἰς ὕλην κατὰ τὰς νάπας

καλινδούμενοι ἐσώθησαν, ὁ Μυσὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν φεύγων ἐβόα βοηθεῖν [5.2.32] καὶ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνέλαβον τετρωμένον. καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχώρουν βαλλόμενοι οἱ βοηθήσαντες καὶ ἀντιτοξεύοντές τινες τῶν Κρητῶν. οὕτως ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον πάντες σῶιοι ὄντες.

[5.3.1] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε Χειρίσοφος ἦκεν οὔτε πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἦν οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν λαμβάνειν ἔτι, ἐδόκει ἀπιτεόν εἶναι. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰ πλοῖα τοὺς τε ἀσθενοῦντας ἐνεβίβασαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἔτη καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν σκευῶν ὅσα μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν ἔχειν. καὶ Φιλήσιον καὶ Σοφαίνετον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰσβιβάσαντες τούτων ἐκέλευον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο· ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ὠδοποιημένη ἦν. [5.3.2] καὶ ἀφικνούνται πορευόμενοι εἰς Κερασοῦντα τριταῖοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ Σινωπέων ἄποικον ἐν τῇ Κολχίδι χώραι. [5.3.3] ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας δέκα· καὶ ἐξέτασις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἀριθμός, καὶ ἐγένοντο ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐξακόσιοι. οὗτοι ἐσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ χιόνος καὶ εἴ τις νόσῳ. [5.3.4] ἐνταῦθα καὶ διαλαμβάνουσι τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀργύριον γενόμενον. καὶ τὴν δεκάτην, ἣν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐξεῖλον καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, διέλαβον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὸ μέρος ἕκαστος φυλάττειν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ Χειρισόφου Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναιὸς ἔλαβε. [5.3.5] Ξενοφῶν οὖν τὸ μὲν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἀνάθημα ποιησάμενος ἀνατίθησιν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων θησαυρὸν καὶ ἐπέγραψε τό τε αὐτοῦ ὄνομα καὶ τὸ Προξένου, ὃς σὺν Κλεάρχῳ ἀπέθανεν· ξένος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ. [5.3.6] τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας, ὅτ' ἀπῆι σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν εἰς Βοιωτοὺς ὁδόν, καταλείπει παρὰ Μεγαβύζῳ τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεωκόρῳ, ὅτι αὐτὸς κινδυνεύσων ἐδόκει ἰέναι, καὶ ἐπέστειλεν, ἣν μὲν αὐτὸς σωθῇ, αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι· ἣν δέ τι πάθῃ, ἀναθεῖναι ποιησάμενον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ὃ τι οἶοιτο χαριεῖσθαι τῇ θεῷ. [5.3.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἔφευγεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν, κατοικοῦντος ἤδη αὐτοῦ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκισθέντος παρὰ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικνεῖται Μεγάβυζος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν θεωρήσων καὶ ἀποδίδωσι τὴν παρακαταθήκην αὐτῷ. Ξενοφῶν δὲ λαβὼν χωρίον ὠνεῖται τῇ θεῷ ὅπου ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός. [5.3.8] ἔτυχε δὲ διαρρέων διὰ τοῦ χωρίου ποταμὸς Σελινοῦς. καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ παρὰ τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν Σελινοῦς ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ. καὶ ἰχθύες τε ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἔνεισι καὶ κόγχαι· ἐν

δὲ τῷ ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι χωρίῳ καὶ θῆραι πάντων ὅποσα ἐστὶν ἀγρευόμενα θηρία. [5.3.9] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ βωμὸν καὶ ναὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ αἰεὶ δεκατεύων τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ ὥραϊα θυσίαν ἐποίει τῇ θεῷ, καὶ πάντες οἱ πολῖται καὶ οἱ πρόσχωροι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες μετεῖχον τῆς ἐορτῆς. παρεῖχε δὲ ἡ θεὸς τοῖς σκηνοῦσιν ἄλφита, ἄρτους, οἶνον, τραγήματα, καὶ τῶν θυομένων ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομῆς λάχος, καὶ τῶν θηρευομένων δέ. [5.3.10] καὶ γὰρ θήραν ἐποιοῦντο εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν οἱ τε Ξενοφῶντος παῖδες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ ἄνδρες ξυνεθήρων· καὶ ἠλίσκετο τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ χώρου, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Φολόης, σῦες καὶ δορκάδες καὶ ἔλαφοι. [5.3.11] ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα ἥ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν πορεύονται ὡς εἴκοσι στάδιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Διὸς ἱεροῦ. ἐν δ' ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ χώρῳ καὶ λειμῶν καὶ ὄρη δένδρων μεστά, ἱκανὰ σῦς καὶ αἶγας καὶ βοῦς τρέφειν καὶ ἵππους, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν ἰόντων ὑποζύγια εὐωχεῖσθαι. [5.3.12] περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν τὸν ναὸν ἄλλος ἡμέρων δένδρων ἐφυτεύθη ὅσα ἐστὶ τρωκτὰ ὥραϊα. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ εἴκασται, καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἔοικεν ὡς κυπαρίττινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. [5.3.13] καὶ στήλη ἔστηκε παρὰ τὸν ναὸν γράμματα ἔχουσα·

Ἱερὸς ὁ χώρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. τὸν ἔχοντα καὶ καρπούμενον τὴν μὲν δεκάτην καταθῆναι ἐκάστου ἔτους. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ περιττοῦ τὸν ναὸν ἐπισκευάζειν. ἂν δὲ τις μὴ ποιῇ ταῦτα τῇ θεῷ μελήσει.

[5.4.1] ἐκ Κερασοῦντος δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν μὲν ἐκομίζοντο οἵπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι κατὰ γῆν ἐπορεύοντο. [5.4.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Μοσσυνοίκων ὁρίοις, πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς Τιμησίθεον τὸν Τραπεζούντιον πρόξενον ὄντα τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, ἐρωτῶντες πότερον ὡς διὰ φιλίας ἢ διὰ πολεμίας πορεύσονται τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι οὐ διήσοιεν· ἐπίστευον γὰρ τοῖς χωρίοις. [5.4.3] ἐντεῦθεν λέγει ὁ Τιμησίθεος ὅτι πολέμιοι εἰσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπέκεινα. καὶ ἐδόκει καλέσαι ἐκείνους, εἰ βούλοιντο ξυμμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· καὶ πεμφθεὶς ὁ Τιμησίθεος ἤκεν ἄγων τοὺς ἄρχοντας. [5.4.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, συνῆλθον οἱ τε τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων· [5.4.5] καὶ ἔλεξε Ξενοφῶν, ἡρμήνευε δὲ Τιμησίθεος· «ὦ ἄνδρες Μοσσύνοικοι, ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα διασωθῆναι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεζῇ· πλοῖα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν· κωλύουσι δὲ οὗτοι ἡμᾶς οὕς ἀκούομεν ὑμῖν πολεμίους εἶναι. [5.4.6] εἰ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ἡμᾶς λαβεῖν ξυμμάχους καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι εἴ τί ποτε

ὕμᾱς οὗτοι ἡδίκησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους.
[5.4.7] εἰ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀφήσετε, σκέψασθε πόθεν αὐθις ἂν τοσαύτην
δύναμιν λάβοιτε ξύμμαχον.» [5.4.8] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ ἄρχων
τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων ὅτι καὶ βούλονται ταῦτα καὶ δέχονται τὴν
ξυμμαχίαν. [5.4.9] «ἄγετε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τί ἡμῶν δεήσεσθε
χρήσασθαι, ἂν ξύμμαχοι ὑμῶν γενώμεθα, καὶ ὑμεῖς τί οἰοί τε ἔσεσθε
ἡμῖν ξυμπράξαι περὶ τῆς διόδου;» [5.4.10] οἱ δὲ εἶπον ὅτι ἱκανοὶ ἐσμεν
εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα τὴν τῶν ὑμῖν τε καὶ ἡμῖν
πολεμίων, καὶ δεῦρο ὑμῖν πέμψαι ναῦς τε καὶ ἄνδρας οἵτινες ὑμῖν
ξυμμαχοῦνται τε καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡγήσονται. [5.4.11] ἐπὶ τούτοις πιστὰ
δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ὤχοντο. καὶ ἦκον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγοντες
τριακόσια πλοῖα μονόξυλα καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τρεῖς ἄνδρας, ὧν οἱ μὲν
δύο ἐκβάντες εἰς τάξιν ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα, ὁ δὲ εἷς ἔμενε. [5.4.12] καὶ οἱ
μὲν λαβόντες τὰ πλοῖα ἀπέπλευσαν, οἱ δὲ μένοντες ἐξετάξαντο ὧδε.
ἔστησαν [ὥσπερ] ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν μάλιστα οἶον χοροὶ ἀντιστοιχοῦντες
ἀλλήλοις, ἔχοντες γέρρα πάντες λευκῶν βοῶν δασέα, ἠικασμένα
κιττοῦ πετάλωι, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ παλτὸν ὡς ἐξπηχυ, ἔμπροσθεν μὲν
λόγχην ἔχον, ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ξύλου σφαιροειδές. [5.4.13] χιτωνίσκους
δὲ ἐνεδεδύκεσαν ὑπὲρ γονάτων, πάχος ὡς λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου,
ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ κράνη σκύτινα οἷάπερ τὰ Παφλαγονικά,
κρωβύλον ἔχοντα κατὰ μέσον, ἐγγύτατα τιαροειδῆ· εἶχον δὲ καὶ
σαγάρεις σιδηρᾶς. [5.4.14] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆρχε μὲν αὐτῶν εἷς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
ἅπαντες ἐπορεύοντο αἰδοντες ἐν ῥυθμῶι, καὶ διελθόντες διὰ τῶν
τάξεων καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπορεύοντο εὐθύς πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ χωρίον ὃ ἐδόκει ἐπιμαχώτατον εἶναι. [5.4.15]
ὠκεῖτο δὲ τοῦτο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μητροπόλεως καλουμένης
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐχούσης τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. καὶ περὶ
τούτου ὁ πόλεμος ἦν· οἱ γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐδόκουν ἐγκρατεῖς
εἶναι καὶ πάντων Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ἔφασαν τούτους οὐ δικαίως
ἔχειν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ κοινὸν ὃν καταλαβόντας πλεονεκτεῖν. [5.4.16]
εἶποντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινές, οὐ ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν
στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρπαγῆς ἕνεκεν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι προσιόντων τέως
μὲν ἡσύχαζον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο τοῦ χωρίου, ἐκδραμόντες
τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνούς τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν
ξυναναβάντων Ἑλλήνων τινάς, καὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι οὗ εἶδον τοὺς
Ἑλληνας βοηθοῦντας· [5.4.17] εἶτα δὲ ἀποτραπόμενοι ὤχοντο, καὶ
ἀποτεμόντες τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπεδείκνυσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ

τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πολεμίοις, καὶ ἅμα ἐχόρευον νόμῳ τινὶ αἰδοντες. [5.4.18] οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες μάλα ἤχθοντο ὅτι τοὺς τε πολεμίους ἐπεποιήκεσαν θρασυτέρους καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐξελθόντες Ἕλληνες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐπεφεύγεσαν μάλα ὄντες συχνοί· ὁ οὐπω πρόσθεν ἐπεποιήκεσαν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ. [5.4.19] Ξενοφῶν δὲ ζυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶπεν· «ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, μηδὲν ἀθυμήσητε ἔνεκα τῶν γεγεννημένων· ἴστε γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἀγαθὸν οὐ μείον τοῦ κακοῦ γεγένηται. [5.4.20] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι οἱ μέλλοντες ἡμῖν ἡγεῖσθαι τῷ ὄντι πολέμοι εἰσιν οἷσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ξὺν ἡμῖν τάξεως καὶ ἱκανοὶ ἡγησάμενοι εἶναι ξὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ταῦτά πράττειν ἅπερ σὺν ἡμῖν δίκην δεδώκασιν· ὥστε αὖθις ἦττον τῆς ἡμετέρας τάξεως ἀπολείπονται. [5.4.21] ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὅπως καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὔσι τῶν βαρβάρων δόζητε κρείττους αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις δηλώσητε ὅτι οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἀνδράσι μαχοῦνται νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε τοῖς ἀτάκτοις ἐμάχοντο.» [5.4.22] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἔμειναν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θύσαντες ἐπεὶ ἐκαλλιερήσαντο, ἀριστήσαντες, ὀρθίους τοὺς λόχους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ ταῦτα ταξάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο τοὺς τοξότας μεταξὺ τῶν λόχων [ὀρθίων] ἔχοντες, ὑπολειπομένου δὲ μικρὸν τοῦ στόματος τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. [5.4.23] ἦσαν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ εὗζωνοὶ κατατρέχοντες τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλον. τούτους ἀνέστελλον οἱ τοξόται καὶ πελτασταί. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι βάδην ἐπορεύοντο πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ἀφ' οὗ τῇ προτεραίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτρέφθησαν καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτοῖς· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ πολέμοι ἦσαν ἀντιτεταγμένοι. [5.4.24] τοὺς μὲν οὖν πελταστὰς ἐδέξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐμάχοντο, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν οἱ ὀπλίται, ἐτρέποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ εὐθύς εἶποντο διώκοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ἐν τάξει εἶποντο. [5.4.25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄνω ἦσαν πρὸς ταῖς Μητροπόλεως οἰκίαις, ἐνταῦθα οἱ πολέμοι ὁμοῦ δὴ πάντες γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντο καὶ ἐξηκόντιζον τοῖς παλτοῖς, καὶ ἄλλα δόρατα ἔχοντες παχέα μακρά, ὅσα ἀνὴρ ἂν φέροι μόλις, τούτοις ἐπειρῶντο ἀμύνεσθαι ἐκ χειρός. [5.4.26] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ὑφίεντο οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ ὁμόσε ἐχώρουν, ἔφευγον οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν, λιπόντες ἅπαντες τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ μόσσουνι τῷ ἐπ' ἄκρου ὠικοδομημένῳ, ὃν τρέφουσι πάντες κοινῇ αὐτοῦ μένοντα καὶ φυλάττουσιν, οὐκ ἤθελεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐδὲ ὁ ἐν τῷ πρότερον αἰρεθέντι χωρίῳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς μοσσύναις κατεκαύθησαν. [5.4.27] οἱ δὲ

Ἕλληνες διαρπάζοντες τὰ χωρία ἠύρισκον θησαυροὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἄρτων νενημένων περυσινῶν, ὥς ἔφασαν οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι, τὸν δὲ νέον σῖτον ξὺν τῇ καλάμῃ ἀποκεείμενον· ἦσαν δὲ ζειαὶ αἱ πλεῖσται. [5.4.28] καὶ δελφίνων τεμάχῃ ἐν ἀμφορεῦσιν ἠύρισκετο τεταριχευμένα καὶ στέαρ ἐν τεύχεσι τῶν δελφίνων, ᾧ ἐχρῶντο οἱ Μοσσύνοικοι καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐλαίῳ· [5.4.29] κάρυα δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνώγεων ἦν πολλὰ τὰ πλατέα οὐκ ἔχοντα διαφυῆν οὐδεμίαν. τούτων καὶ πλείστῳ σίτῳ ἐχρῶντο ἔσποντες καὶ ἄρτους ὀπτῶντες. οἶνος δὲ ἠύρισκετο ὃς ἄκρατος μὲν ὅζυς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι ὑπὸ τῆς αὐστηρότητος, κερασθεὶς δὲ εὐώδης τε καὶ ἡδύς. [5.4.30] οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἕλληνες ἀριστήσαντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὸ πρόσω, παραδόντες τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ζυμμαχήσασι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων. ὅποσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα παρῆσαν χωρία τῶν ξὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων, τὰ εὐπροσοδῶτατα οἱ μὲν ἔλειπον, οἱ δὲ ἐκόντες προσεχώρουν. [5.4.31] τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα τοιάδε ἦν τῶν χωρίων. ἀπεῖχον αἱ πόλεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων στάδια ὀγδοήκοντα, αἱ δὲ πλέον αἱ δὲ μεῖον· ἀναβοώντων δὲ ἀλλήλων ζυνήκουον εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας πόλεως· οὕτως ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ κοίλῃ ἡ χώρα ἦν. [5.4.32] ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἦσαν, ἐπεδείκνυσαν αὐτοῖς παῖδας τῶν εὐδαιμόνων σιτευτοὺς, τεθραμμένους καρύοις ἐφθοῖς, ἀπαλούς καὶ λευκοὺς σφόδρα καὶ οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας ἴσους τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἶναι, ποικίλους δὲ τὰ νῶτα καὶ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν πάντα, ἐστιγμένους ἀνθέμια. [5.4.33] ἐζήτουν δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἐταίραις ὥς ἦγον οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐμφανῶς ζυγγίγνεσθαι· νόμος γὰρ ἦν οὗτός σφισι. λευκοὶ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες. [5.4.34] τούτους ἔλεγον οἱ στρατευσάμενοι βαρβαρωτάτους διελθεῖν καὶ πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν νόμων κεχωρισμένους. ἐν τε γὰρ ὄχλῳ ὄντες ἐποίουν ἅπερ <ἄν> ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἐρημίᾳ ποιήσειαν, μόνοι τε ὄντες ὅμοια ἔπραττον ἅπερ ἂν μετ' ἄλλων ὄντες, διελέγοντό τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγέλων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ὠρχοῦντο ἐφιστάμενοι ὅπου τύχοιεν, ὥσπερ ἄλλοις ἐπιδεικνύμενοι.

[5.5.1] διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας οἱ Ἕλληνες, διὰ τε τῆς πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας, ἐπορεύθησαν ὁκτὼ σταθμούς, καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Χάλυβας. οὗτοι ὀλίγοι τε ἦσαν καὶ ὑπήκοοι τῶν Μοσσυνοίκων, καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ σιδηρείας. [5.5.2] ἐντεῦθεν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Τιβαρηνούς. ἡ δὲ τῶν Τιβαρηνῶν χώρα πολὺ ἦν πεδινωτέρα καὶ χωρία εἶχεν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἤττον ἐρυμνά. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐχρηίζον πρὸς τὰ χωρία προσβάλλειν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν

ὀνηθῆναι τι, καὶ τὰ ξένια ἃ ἦκε παρὰ Τιβαρηνῶν οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' ἐπιμεῖναι κελεύσαντες ἔστε βουλευσάιντο ἐθύοντο. [5.5.3] καὶ πολλὰ καταθυσάντων τέλος ἀπεδείξαντο οἱ μάντιες πάντες γνώμην ὅτι οὐδαμῇ προσίοιντο οἱ θεοὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ τὰ ξένια ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὡς διὰ φιλίας πορευόμενοι δύο ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο εἰς Κοτύωρα πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα, Σινωπέων ἄποικον, οὗσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Τιβαρηνῶν χώρᾳ. [5.5.4] [μέχρι ἐνταῦθα ἐπέξευσεν ἡ στρατιὰ. πλῆθος τῆς καταβάσεως τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μάχης ἄχρι εἰς Κοτύωρα σταθμοὶ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι δύο, παρασάγγαι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ εἴκοσι, στάδιοι μῦριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἑξακόσιοι, χρόνου πλῆθος ὀκτὼ μῆνες.] [5.5.5] ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα πέντε. ἐν δὲ ταύταις πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔθυσαν, καὶ πομπὰς ἐποίησαν κατὰ ἔθνος ἕκαστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀγῶνας γυμνικούς. [5.5.6] τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδει' ἐλάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν χωρίων τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν· οὐ γὰρ παρεῖχον ἀγοράν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ τεῖχος τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἐδέχοντο. [5.5.7] ἐν τούτῳ ἔρχονται ἐκ Σινώπης πρέσβεις, φοβούμενοι περὶ τῶν Κοτυωριτῶν τῆς τε πόλεως (ἦν γὰρ ἐκείνων καὶ φόρον ἐκείνοις ἔφερον) καὶ περὶ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἤκουον δηιουμένην. καὶ ἐλθόντες εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔλεγον· προηγόρει δὲ Ἑκατῶνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος εἶναι λέγειν· [5.5.8] «ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ τῶν Σινωπέων πόλις ἐπαινέσοντάς τε ὑμᾶς ὅτι νικᾶτε Ἕλληνες ὄντες βαρβάρους, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ξυνησθησομένους ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν τε καὶ δεινῶν, ὡς ἡμεῖς ἠκούσαμεν, πραγμάτων σεσωσμένοι πάρεστε. [5.5.9] ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ Ἕλληνες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὄντων Ἑλλήνων ἀγαθὸν μὲν τι πάσχειν, κακὸν δὲ μηδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ὑπῆρξαμεν κακῶς ποιοῦντες. [5.5.10] Κοτυωρίται δὲ οὗτοι εἰσὶ μὲν ἡμέτεροι ἄποικοι, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς ταύτην παραδεδώκαμεν βαρβάρους ἀφελόμενοι· διὸ καὶ δασμὸν ἡμῖν φέρουσιν οὗτοι τεταγμένον καὶ Κερασούντιοι καὶ Τραπεζούντιοι· ὥστε ὃ τι ἂν τούτους κακὸν ποιήσητε ἡ Σινωπέων πόλις νομίζει πάσχειν. [5.5.11] νῦν δὲ ἀκούομεν ὑμᾶς εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν βίαι παρελθλυθότας ἐνίους σκηνοῦν ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων βίαι λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν δέησθε οὐ πείθοντας. [5.5.12] ταῦτ' οὖν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσετε, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν καὶ Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινα ἂν δυνώμεθα φίλον ποιεῖσθαι.» [5.5.13] πρὸς ταῦτα ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶπεν· «ἡμεῖς

δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Σινωπεῖς, ἤκομεν ἀγαπῶντες ὅτι τὰ σώματα διεσωσάμεθα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δυνατὸν ἅμα τε χρήματα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. [5.5.14] καὶ νῦν ἐπεὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἤλθομεν, ἐν Τραπεζοῦντι μὲν (παρεῖχον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀγοράν) ὠνούμενοι εἶχομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ ἀνθ' ὧν ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς καὶ ξένια ἔδωκαν τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀντετιμῶμεν αὐτούς, καὶ εἴ τις αὐτοῖς φίλος ἦν τῶν βαρβάρων, τούτων ἀπειχόμεθα· τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους αὐτῶν ἐφ' οὓς αὐτοὶ ἡγοῖντο κακῶς ἐποιοῦμεν ὅσον ἐδυνάμεθα. [5.5.15] ἐρωτᾶτε δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁποίων τινῶν ἡμῶν ἔτυχον· πάρεισι γὰρ ἐνθάδε οὓς ἡμῖν ἡγεμόνας διὰ φιλίαν ἢ πόλιν ξυνέπεμψεν. [5.5.16] ὅποι δ' ἂν ἐλθόντες ἀγοράν μὴ ἔχωμεν, ἂν τε εἰς βάρβαρον γῆν ἂν τε εἰς Ἑλληνίδα, οὐχ ὕβρει ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκῃ λαμβάνομεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [5.5.17] καὶ Καρδούχους καὶ Ταόχους καὶ Χαλδαίους καίπερ βασιλέως οὐχ ὑπηκόους ὄντας ὅμως καὶ μάλα φοβεροὺς ὄντας πολεμίους ἐκτησάμεθα διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην εἶναι λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οὐ παρεῖχον. [5.5.18] Μάκρωνας δὲ καίπερ βαρβάρους ὄντας, ἐπεὶ ἀγοράν οἷαν ἐδύναντο παρεῖχον, φίλους τε ἐνομιζόμεν εἶναι καὶ βίαι οὐδὲν ἐλαμβάνομεν τῶν ἐκείνων. [5.5.19] Κοτυωρίτας δέ, οὓς ὑμετέρους φατὲ εἶναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν εἰλήφαμεν, αὐτοὶ αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φίλοι προσεφέροντο ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὔτε εἴσω ἐδέχοντο οὔτε ἔξω ἀγοράν ἔπεμπον· ἠτιῶντο δὲ τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἄρμοσθην τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. [5.5.20] ὁ δὲ λέγεις βίαι παρελθόντας σκηνοῦν, ἡμεῖς ἡξιοῦμεν τοὺς κάμνοντας εἰς τὰς στέγας δέξασθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέωγον τὰς πύλας, ἥ ἡμᾶς ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον ταύτῃ εἰσελθόντες ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν βίαιον ἐποιήσαμεν, σκηνοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς στέγαις οἱ κάμνοντες τὰ αὐτῶν δαπανῶντες, καὶ τὰς πύλας φρουροῦμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἄρμοστῇ ὧσιν οἱ κάμνοντες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἥ κομίσασθαι ὅταν βουλώμεθα. [5.5.21] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, σκηνοῦμεν ὑπαίθριοι ἐν τῇ τάξει, παρεσκευασμένοι, ἂν μὲν τις εὖ ποιῇ, ἀντ' εὖ ποιεῖν, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, ἀλέξασθαι. [5.5.22] ἃ δὲ ἡπείλησας ὡς, ἦν ὑμῖν δοκῇ, Κορύλαν καὶ Παφλαγόνας ξυμμάχους ποιήσεσθε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ, ἦν μὲν ἀνάγκη ἦι, πολεμήσομεν καὶ ἀμφοτέροις· ἥδη γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαπλασίοις ὑμῶν ἐπολεμήσαμεν· ἂν δὲ δοκῇ ἡμῖν καὶ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Παφλαγόνα [5.5.23] (ἀκούομεν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ χωρίων τῶν ἐπιθαλαττίων), πειρασόμεθα ξυμπράττοντες αὐτῷ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ φίλοι γίγνεσθαι.» [5.5.24] ἐκ τούτου

μάλα μὲν δῆλοι ἦσαν οἱ ζυμπρέσβεις τῷ Ἑκατωνύμῳ χαλεπαίνοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις, παρελθὼν δ' αὐτῶν ἄλλος εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ πόλεμον ποιησόμενοι ἤκοιεν ἀλλὰ ἐπιδείζοντες ὅτι φίλοι εἰσὶ. καὶ ξενίοις, ἣν μὲν ἔλθητε πρὸς τὴν Σινωπέων πόλιν, ἐκεῖ δεξόμεθα, νῦν δὲ τοὺς ἐνθάδε κελεύσομεν διδόναι ἃ δύνανται· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ πάντα ἀληθῆ ὄντα ἃ λέγετε. [5.5.25] ἐκ τούτου ξενία τε ἔπεμπον οἱ Κοτυωρίται καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξένιζον τοὺς τῶν Σινωπέων πρέσβεις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλά τε καὶ φιλικὰ διελέγοντο τά τε ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὧν ἑκάτεροι ἐδέοντο.

[5.6.1] ταύτῃ μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυνέλεξαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας. καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς λοιπῆς πορείας παρακαλέσαντας τοὺς Σινωπέας βουλευέσθαι. εἴτε γὰρ πεζῇ δέοι πορεύεσθαι, χρήσιμοι ἂν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ Σινωπεῖς· ἔμπειροι γὰρ ἦσαν τῆς Παφλαγονίας· εἴτε κατὰ θάλατταν, προσδεῖν ἐδόκει Σινωπέων· μόνοι γὰρ ἂν ἐδόκουν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἀρκοῦντα τῇ στρατιᾷ. [5.6.2] καλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς πρέσβεις ξυνεβουλευόντο, καὶ ἡξίουσαν Ἑλληνας ὄντας Ἑλλησι τούτῳ πρῶτον καλῶς δέχεσθαι τῷ εὐνους τε εἶναι καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ζυμβουλεύειν. [5.6.3] ἀναστὰς δὲ Ἑκατόννυμος πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελογήσατο περὶ οὗ εἶπεν ὡς τὸν Παφλαγόνα φίλον ποιήσονται, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς τοῖς Ἑλλησι πολεμησόντων σφῶν εἴποι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξὸν τοῖς βαρβάροις φίλους εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλληνας αἰρήσονται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ζυμβουλεύειν ἐκέλευον, ἐπευξάμενος εἶπεν ὧδε. [5.6.4] «εἰ μὲν ζυμβουλεύοιμι ἃ βέλτιστά μοι [εἶναι] δοκεῖ, πολλά μοι καὶ ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο· εἰ δὲ μή, τάναντία. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ ἱερὰ ζυμβουλὴ λεγομένη εἶναι δοκεῖ μοι παρεῖναι· νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἂν μὲν εὖ ζυμβουλεύσας φανῶ, πολλοὶ ἔσονται οἱ ἐπαινοῦντές με, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, πολλοὶ ἔσσεσθε οἱ καταρώμενοι. [5.6.5] πράγματα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ πλείω ἔξομεν, ἐὰν κατὰ θάλατταν κομίζησθε· ἡμᾶς γὰρ δεήσει τὰ πλοῖα πορίζειν· ἣν δὲ κατὰ γῆν στέλλησθε, ὑμᾶς δεήσει τοὺς μαχομένους εἶναι. ὅμως δὲ λεκτέα ἃ γινώσκω· [5.6.6] ἔμπειρος γὰρ εἰμι καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς Παφλαγόνων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχει γὰρ ἀμφοτέρω, καὶ πεδία κάλλιστα καὶ ὄρη ὑψηλότατα. [5.6.7] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οἶδα εὐθὺς ἢ τὴν εἰσβολὴν ἀνάγκη ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλη ἢ ἢ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ ὄρους τῆς ὁδοῦ καθ' ἑκάτερά ἐστιν ὑψηλά, ἃ κρατεῖν κατέχοντες καὶ πάνυ ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν· τούτων δὲ κατεχομένων οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες

ἄνθρωποι δύναιнт' ἂν διελθεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δεῖξαιμι ἂν, εἴ μοί τινα βούλοισθε ξυμπέμψαι. [5.6.8] ἔπειτα δὲ οἶδα καὶ πεδία ὄντα καὶ ἱππεῖαν ἦν αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι νομίζουσι κρεῖττω εἶναι ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλέως ἱππείας. καὶ νῦν οὗτοι οὐ παρεγένοντο βασιλεῖ καλοῦντι, ἀλλὰ μεῖζον φρονεῖ ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν. [5.6.9] ἦν δὲ καὶ δυνηθῆτε τὰ τε ὄρη κλέψαι ἢ φθάσαι λαβόντες καὶ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κρατῆσαι μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἱππείας τούτων καὶ πεζῶν μυριάδας πλέον ἢ δώδεκα, ἥξετε ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Θερμώδοντα, εὖρος τριῶν πλέθρων, ὃν χαλεπὸν οἶμαι διαβαίνειν ἄλλως τε καὶ πολεμίων πολλῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὄντων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπισθεν ἐπομένων· δεύτερον δὲ Ἴριν, τρίπλεθρον ὡσαύτως· τρίτον δὲ Ἄλυν, οὐ μεῖον δυοῖν σταδίοις, ὃν οὐκ ἂν δύναισθε ἄνευ πλοίων διαβῆναι· πλοῖα δὲ τίς ἔσται ὁ παρέχων; ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ ὁ Παρθένιος ἄβατος· [5.6.10] ἐφ' ὃν ἔλθοιτε ἂν, εἴ τὸν Ἄλυν διαβαίητε. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐ χαλεπὴν ὑμῖν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν πορείαν ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. ἂν δὲ πλέητε, ἔστιν ἐνθένδε μὲν εἰς Σινώπην παραπλευσαι, ἐκ Σινώπης δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἐξ Ἡρακλείας δὲ οὔτε πεζῇ οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν ἀπορία· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ πλοῖά ἐστιν ἐν Ἡρακλείαι.» [5.6.11] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ μὲν ὑπώπτευνον φιλίας ἔνεκα τῆς Κορύλα λέγειν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρόξενος αὐτῶι· οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς δῶρα ληψόμενον διὰ τὴν ξυμβουλὴν ταύτην· οἱ δὲ ὑπώπτευνον καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα λέγειν ὥς μὴ πεζῇ ἰόντες τὴν Σινωπέων τι χώραν κακὸν ἐργάζοιντο. οἱ δ' οὖν Ἕλληνες ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ θάλατταν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι. [5.6.12] μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· «ὦ Σινωπεῖς, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἡγῆνται πορείαν ἦν ὑμεῖς ξυμβουλευέτε· οὕτω δὲ ἔχει· εἰ μὲν μέλλει πλοῖα ἔσεσθαι ἱκανὰ ὥς ἀριθμῶι ἓνα μὴ καταλείπεσθαι ἐνθάδε, ἡμεῖς ἂν πλείοιμεν· εἰ δὲ μέλλοιμεν οἱ μὲν καταλείψεσθαι οἱ δὲ πλεύσεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίημεν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα. [5.6.13] γινώσκομεν γὰρ ὅτι ὅπου μὲν ἂν κρατῶμεν, δυναίμεθ' ἂν καὶ σήιξεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν· εἰ δὲ που ἦττους τῶν πολεμίων ληφθησόμεθα, εὐδηλον δὴ ὅτι ἐν ἀνδραπόδων χώραι ἐσόμεθα.» ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ πρέσβεις ἐκέλευον πέμπειν πρέσβεις. [5.6.14] καὶ πέμπουσι Καλλίμαχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Ἀρίστων Ἀθηναῖον καὶ Σαμόλαν Ἀχαιοόν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὤιχοντο. [5.6.15] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ Ξενοφῶντι, ὀρῶντι μὲν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὀρῶντι δὲ πελταστὰς πολλοὺς καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ ἱππείας δὲ καὶ μάλα ἤδη διὰ τὴν τριβὴν ἱκανοὺς, ὄντας δ' ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, ἔνθα οὐκ ἂν ἀπ' ὀλίγων χρημάτων τοσαύτη δύναμις παρεσκευάσθη, καλὸν

αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι χώραν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ Ἑλλάδι προσκτήσασθαι πόλιν κατοικήσαντας. [5.6.16] καὶ γενέσθαι ἂν αὐτῷ ἐδόκει μεγάλη, καταλογιζομένῳ τό τε αὐτῶν πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς περιοικοῦντας τὸν Πόντον. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύετο πρὶν τινι εἰπεῖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν Σιλανὸν παρακαλέσας τὸν Κύρου μάντιν γενόμενον τὸν Ἀμπρακιώτην. [5.6.17] ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς δεδιὼς μὴ γένηται ταῦτα καὶ καταμείνῃ που ἡ στρατιά, ἐκφέρει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα λόγον ὅτι Ξενοφῶν βούλεται καταμείναι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ πόλιν οἰκίσαι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὄνομα καὶ δύναμιν περιποιήσασθαι. [5.6.18] αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σιλανὸς ἐβούλετο ὅτι τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀφικέσθαι· οὓς γὰρ παρὰ Κύρου ἔλαβε τρισχιλίους δαρεικοὺς ὅτε τὰς δέκα ἡμέρας ἡλήθευσε θυόμενος Κύρῳ, διεσεσώκει. [5.6.19] τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, τοῖς μὲν ἐδόκει βέλτιστον εἶναι καταμείναι, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐ. Τιμασίῳν δὲ ὁ Δαρδανεύς καὶ Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος πρὸς ἐμπόρους τινὰς παρόντας τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ Σινωπέων λέγουσιν ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐκποριοῦσι τῇ στρατιᾷ μισθὸν ὥστε ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλέοντας, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει μείναι τοσαύτῃ δύναμις ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ· βούλεται γὰρ Ξενοφῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖ, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθῃ τὰ πλοῖα, τότε εἰπεῖν ἐξαίφνης τῇ στρατιᾷ· [5.6.20] «ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν ὀρώμεν ὑμᾶς ἀπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀπόπλῳ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ὥς οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντας ὀνῆσαί τι τοὺς οἴκοι· εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε τῆς κύκλῳ χώρας περὶ τὸν Πόντον οἰκουμένης ἐκλεξάμενοι ὅποι ἂν βούλησθε κατασχεῖν, καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐθέλοντα ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, τὸν δ' ἐθέλοντα μένειν αὐτοῦ, πλοῖα δ' ὑμῖν πάρεστιν, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν βούλησθε ἐξαίφνης ἂν ἐπιπέσοιτε.» [5.6.21] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔμποροι ἀπήγγελλον ταῖς πόλεσι· ξυνέπεμψε δ' αὐτοῖς Τιμασίῳν Δαρδανεύς Εὐρύμαχόν τε τὸν Δαρδανέα καὶ Θώρακα τὸν Βοιώτιον ταῦτα ἐροῦντας. Σινωπεῖς δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Τιμασίῳνα καὶ κελεύουσι προστατεῦσαι λαβόντα χρήματα ὅπως ἐκπλεύσῃ ἡ στρατιά. [5.6.22] ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας ἐν ξυλλόγῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὄντων λέγει τάδε. «οὐ δεῖ προσέχειν μονῇ, ᾧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι. ἀκούω δὲ τινὰς θύεσθαι ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὐδ' ὑμῖν λέγοντας. [5.6.23] ὑπισχνοῦμαι δὲ ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐκπλέητε, ἀπὸ νουμηνίας μισθοφορὰν παρέξειν κυζικηνὸν ἐκάστῳ τοῦ μηνός· καὶ ἄξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Τρωιάδα, ἔνθεν καὶ εἰμι φυγὰς, καὶ ὑπάρξει ὑμῖν ἡ ἐμὴ πόλις· ἐκόντες γὰρ με δέξονται. [5.6.24] ἡγήσομαι δὲ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἔνθεν πολλὰ χρήματα λήψεσθε. ἔμπειρος δὲ

εἰμι τῆς Αἰολίδος καὶ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τῆς Τρωιάδος καὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου ἀρχῆς πάσης, τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ ξυνεστρατεῦσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ σὺν Κλεάρχῳ τε καὶ Δερκυλίδαι.» [5.6.25] ἀναστὰς αὖθις Θώραξ ὁ Βοιώτιος, ὃς περὶ στρατηγίας Ξενοφῶντι ἐμάχετο, ἔφη, εἰ ἐξέλθοιεν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς Χερρόνησον χώραν καλὴν καὶ εὐδαίμονα ὥστε τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐνοικεῖν, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε. γελοῖον δὲ εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὔσης χώρας πολλῆς καὶ ἀφθόνου ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων μαστεύειν. [5.6.26] ἔστε δ' ἄν, ἔφη, ἐκεῖ γένησθε, κἀγὼ καθάπερ Τιμασίῳν ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν τὴν μισθοφοράν. ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεγεν εἰδὼς ἅ Τιμασίῳν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ οἱ Σινωπεῖς ὑπισχνοῦντο ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν. [5.6.27] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν τούτῳ ἐσίγα. ἀναστὰς δὲ Φιλήσιος καὶ Λύκων οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔλεγον ὡς δεινὸν εἶη ἰδία μὲν Ξενοφῶντα πείθειν τε καταμένειν καὶ θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς μονῆς [μὴ κοινούμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ], εἰς δὲ τὸ κοινὸν μηδὲν ἀγορεύειν περὶ τούτων. ὥστε ἠναγκάσθη ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ εἰπεῖν τάδε. [5.6.28] «ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, θύομαι μὲν ὡς ὁρᾷτε ὅποσα δύναμαι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ ὅπως ταῦτα τυγχάνω καὶ λέγων καὶ νοῶν καὶ πράττων ὅποια μέλλει ὑμῖν τε κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐμοί. καὶ νῦν ἐθυόμην περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, εἰ ἄμεινον εἶη ἄρχεσθαι λέγειν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ πράττειν περὶ τούτων ἢ παντάπασι μηδὲ ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ πράγματος. [5.6.29] Σιλανὸς δέ μοι ὁ μάντις ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι· ἥιδει γὰρ καὶ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἄπειρον ὄντα διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς· ἔλεξε δὲ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς φαίνοιτό τις δόλος καὶ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐμοί, ὡς ἄρα γινώσκων ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐπεβούλευε διαβάλλειν με πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐξήνεγκε γὰρ τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐγὼ πράττειν ταῦτα διανοοίμην ἤδη οὐ πείσας ὑμᾶς. [5.6.30] ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἐώρων ἀποροῦντας ὑμᾶς, τοῦτ' ἂν ἐσκόπουν ἀφ' οὗ ἂν γένοιτο ὥστε λαβόντας ὑμᾶς πόλιν τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον ἀποπλεῖν ἤδη, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἐπεὶ κτήσαιτο ἱκανὰ ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ οἰκείους ὠφελῆσαι τι. [5.6.31] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁρῶ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πέμποντας Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Σινωπέας ὥστε ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπισχνουμένους ὑμῖν ἄνδρας ἀπὸ νομηνίας, καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι σωιζομένους ἔνθα βουλόμεθα μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας λαμβάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸς τε παύομαι ἐκείνης τῆς διανοίας, καὶ ὅποσοι πρὸς ἐμὲ προσῆισαν λέγοντες ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πράττειν, ἀναπαύεσθαι φημι χρῆναι. [5.6.32] οὕτω γὰρ γινώσκω· ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πολλοὶ ὥσπερ

νυνὶ δοκεῖτε ἂν μοι καὶ ἔντιμοι εἶναι καὶ ἔχειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐν γὰρ τῷ κρατεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων· διασπασθέντες δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ μικρὰ γενομένης τῆς δυνάμεως οὐτ' ἂν τροφὴν δύνασθε λαμβάνειν οὔτε χαίροντες ἂν ἀπαλλάξαίτε. [5.6.33] δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ἅπερ ὑμῖν, ἐκπορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ ἐάν τις μέντοι ἀπολιπὼν ληφθῇ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, κρίνεσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα. καὶ ὅτωι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ταῦτα, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.» [5.6.34] ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ἐβόα, καὶ ἐπεχείρει λέγειν ὡς δίκαιον εἶη ἀπιέναι τὸν βουλούμενον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἠνείχοντο, ἀλλ' ἠπειλοῦν αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ λήγονται ἀποδιδράσκοντα, τὴν δίκην ἐπιθήσοιεν. [5.6.35] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ὅτι ἐκπλεῖν δεδογμένον εἶη καὶ Ξενοφῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεψηφικῶς εἶη, τὰ μὲν πλοῖα πέμπουσι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχοντο Τιμασίῳ καὶ Θώρακι ἐψευσμένοι ἦσαν [τῆς μισθοφορᾶς]. [5.6.36] ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν καὶ ἐδεδίεσαν τὴν στρατιάν οἱ τὴν μισθοφορὰν ὑπεσχημένοι. παραλαβόντες οὖν οὗτοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς οἷς ἀνεκεκοίνωντο ἃ πρόσθεν ἔπραττον, πάντες δ' ἦσαν πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Ἀσιναίου, ὃς Χειρισόφῳ ὑπεστρατήγει, Χειρίσοφος δὲ οὐπω παρῆν, ἔρχονται πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι μεταμέλοι αὐτοῖς, καὶ δοκοῖη κράτιστον εἶναι πλεῖν εἰς Φᾶσιν, ἐπεὶ πλοῖα ἐστὶ, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν Φασιανῶν χώραν. [5.6.37] αἰήτου δὲ ὑδροῦς ἐτύγγανε βασιλεύων αὐτῶν. Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποι εἰς τὴν στρατιάν· «ὕμεῖς δὲ ξυλλέξαντες, ἔφη, εἰ βούλεσθε, λέγετε.» ἐνταῦθα ἀποδείκνυται Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς γνώμην οὐκ ἐκκλησιάζειν ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον λοχαγοὺς πρῶτον πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. καὶ ἀπελθόντες ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν.

[5.7.1] ταῦτα οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνεπύθοντο ταραττόμενα. καὶ ὁ Νέων λέγει ὡς Ξενοφῶν ἀναπεπεικῶς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς διανοεῖται ἄγειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξαπατήσας πάλιν εἰς Φᾶσιν. [5.7.2] ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται χαλεπῶς ἔφερον, καὶ ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο καὶ μάλα φοβεροὶ ἦσαν μὴ ποιήσειαν οἷα καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κόλχων κήρυκας ἐποίησαν καὶ τοὺς ἀγορανόμους· [ὅσοι μὴ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατέφυγον κατελεύσθησαν.] [5.7.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠισθάνετο Ξενοφῶν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα ξυναγαγεῖν αὐτῶν ἀγοράν, καὶ μὴ ἐᾶσαι ξυλλεγῆναι αὐτομάτους· καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὸν κήρυκα ξυλλέξαι ἀγοράν. [5.7.4] οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσαν, ξυνέδραμον καὶ μάλα ἐτοίμως. ἐνταῦθα

Ξενοφῶν τῶν μὲν στρατηγῶν οὐ κατηγορεῖ, ὅτι ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν, λέγει δὲ ὧδε. [5.7.5] «ἀκούω τινὰ διαβάλλειν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐμὲ ὡς ἐγὼ ἄρα ἐξαπατήσας ὑμᾶς μέλλω ἄγειν εἰς Φᾶσιν. ἀκούσατε οὖν μου πρὸς θεῶν, καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ φαίνομαι ἀδικεῖν, οὐ χρή με ἐνθένδε ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἂν δῶ δίκην· ἂν δ' ὑμῖν φαίνονται ἀδικεῖν οἱ ἐμὲ διαβάλλοντες, οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρησθε ὥσπερ ἄξιον. [5.7.6] ὑμεῖς δέ, ἔφη, ἴστε δήπου ὅθεν ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου δύεται, καὶ ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν τις εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μέλλῃ ιέναι, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δεῖ πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δέ τις βούληται εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, τοῦμπαλιν πρὸς ἕω. ἔστιν οὖν ὅστις τοῦτο ἂν δύναιτο ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι ὡς ἥλιος ἐνθεν μὲν ἀνίσχει, δύεται δὲ ἐνταῦθα, ἐνθα δὲ δύεται, ἀνίσχει δ' ἐντεῦθεν; [5.7.7] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο γε ἐπίστασθε ὅτι βορέας μὲν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρει, νότος δὲ εἴσω εἰς Φᾶσιν, καὶ λέγεται, ὅταν βορρᾶς πνέῃ, ὡς καλοὶ πλοῖ εἰσιν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. τοῦτ' οὖν ἔστιν ὅπως τις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατῆσαι ὥστε ἐμβαίνειν ὁπότεν νότος πνέῃ; [5.7.8] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁπότεν γαλήνῃ ἢ ἐμβιβῶ. οὐκοῦν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν ἐνὶ πλοίῳ πλεύσομαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῦλάχιστον ἐν ἑκατόν. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ἢ βιασαίμην ὑμᾶς ζῆν ἐμοὶ πλεῖν μὴ βουλομένους ἢ ἐξαπατήσας ἄγοιμι; [5.7.9] ποιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατηθέντας καὶ γοητευθέντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἦκειν εἰς Φᾶσιν· καὶ δὴ ἀποβαίνομεν εἰς τὴν χώραν· γνῶσεσθε δήπου ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐστέ· καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ἔσομαι ὁ ἐξηπατηκῶς εἷς, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐξηπατημένοι ἐγγὺς μυρίων ἔχοντες ὅπλα. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον δοίῃ δίκην ἢ οὕτω περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ ὑμῶν βουλευόμενος; [5.7.10] ἀλλ' οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λόγοι ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἡλιθίων κάμοι φθονούντων, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμῶμαι. καίτοι οὐ δικαίως γ' ἂν μοι φθονοῖεν· τίνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐγὼ κωλύω ἢ λέγειν εἰ τίς τι ἀγαθὸν δύναται ἐν ὑμῖν, ἢ μάχεσθαι εἰ τις ἐθέλει ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ ἐγρηγορέναι περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἐπιμελούμενον; τί γάρ, ἄρχοντας αἰρουμένων ὑμῶν ἐγὼ τινι ἐμποδὼν εἰμι; παρίημι, ἀρχέτω· μόνον ἀγαθὸν τι ποιῶν ὑμᾶς φαιnéσθω. [5.7.11] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ περὶ τούτων τὰ εἰρημένα· εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ἢ αὐτὸς ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἂν οἶεται ταῦτα ἢ ἄλλον ἐξαπατῆσαι ταῦτα, λέγων διδασκέτω. [5.7.12] ὅταν δὲ τούτων ἄλις ἔχητε, μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε πρὶν ἂν ἀκούσητε οἷον ὁρῶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀρχόμενον πρᾶγμα· ὃ εἰ ἔπεισι καὶ ἔσται οἷον ὑποδείκνυσιν, ὥρα ἡμῖν βουλεύεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν μὴ κάκιστοί τε καὶ αἰσχιστοὶ ἄνδρες ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων.» [5.7.13] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ

στρατιῶται ἐθαύμασάν τε ὅ τι εἶη καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευον. ἐκ τούτου ἄρχεται πάλιν· «ἐπίστασθέ που ὅτι χωρία ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι βαρβαρικά, φίλια τοῖς Κερασούντιοις, ὅθεν κατιόντες τινὲς καὶ ἱερεῖα ἐπώλουν ἡμῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὧν εἶχον, δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ ὑμῶν τινες εἰς τὸ ἐγγυτάτω χωρίον τούτων ἐλθόντες ἀγοράσαντές τι πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν. [5.7.14] τοῦτο καταμαθὼν Κλεάρετος ὁ λοχαγὸς ὅτι καὶ μικρὸν εἶη καὶ ἀφύλακτον διὰ τὸ φίλιον νομίζειν εἶναι, ἔρχεται ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς πορθήσων, οὐδενὶ ἡμῶν εἰπών. [5.7.15] διενενόητο δέ, εἰ λάβοι τόδε τὸ χωρίον, εἰς μὲν τὸ στράτευμα μηκέτι ἐλθεῖν, εἰσβάς δὲ εἰς πλοῖον ἐν ᾧ ἐτύγγανον οἱ ξύσκηνοι αὐτοῦ παραπλέοντες, καὶ ἐνθήμενος εἴ τι λάβοι, ἀποπλέων οἷχεσθαι ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου. καὶ ταῦτα ξυνωμολόγησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου σύσκηνοι, ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν αἰσθάνομαι. [5.7.16] παρακαλέσας οὖν ὁπόσους ἔπειθεν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον. πορευόμενον δ' αὐτὸν φθάνει ἡμέρα γενομένη, καὶ ξυστάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν τόπων βάλλοντες καὶ παίοντες τὸν τε Κλεάρετον ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγχούς, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ εἰς Κερασοῦντα αὐτῶν ἀποχωροῦσι. [5.7.17] ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐξωρμῶμεν πεζῇ· τῶν δὲ πλεόντων ἔτι τινὲς ἦσαν ἐν Κερασοῦντι, οὐπω ἀνηγμένοι. μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ Κερασούντιοι λέγουσιν, ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν γεραιτέρων πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὸ ἡμέτερον χρήζοντες ἐλθεῖν. [5.7.18] ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμᾶς οὐ κατέλαβον, πρὸς τοὺς Κερασούντιους ἔλεγον ὅτι θαυμάζοιεν τί ἡμῖν δόξειεν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ μέντοι σφεῖς λέγειν, ἔφασαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γένοιτο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἥδεσθαί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ μέλλειν ἐνθάδε πλεῖν, ὡς ἡμῖν λέξαι τὰ γενόμενα καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς κελεύειν αὐτοὺς θάπτειν λαβόντας. [5.7.19] τῶν δ' ἀποφυγόντων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων τυχεῖν ἔτι ὄντας ἐν Κερασοῦντι· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅποι ἴοιεν αὐτοί τε ἐτόλμησαν βάλλειν τοῖς λίθοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀποθνήσκουσι τρεῖς ὄντες οἱ πρέσβεις καταλευσθέντες. [5.7.20] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἔρχονται πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ Κερασούντιοι καὶ λέγουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀκούσαντες ἠχθόμεθά τε τοῖς γεγεννημένοις καὶ ἐβουλευόμεθα ξὺν τοῖς Κερασούντιοις ὅπως ἂν ταφείησαν οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νεκροί. [5.7.21] συγκαθήμενοι δ' ἔξωθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐξαίφνης ἀκούομεν θορύβου πολλοῦ «παῖε παῖε, βάλλε βάλλε», καὶ τάχα δὴ ὀρῶμεν πολλοὺς προσθέοντας λίθους ἔχοντας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναιρουμένους. [5.7.22] καὶ οἱ μὲν

Κερασούντιοι, ὥς [ἄν] καὶ ἑορακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα, δείσαντες ἀποχωροῦσι πρὸς τὰ πλοῖα. ἦσαν δὲ νῆ Δία καὶ ἡμῶν οἱ ἔδεισαν. [5.7.23] ἐγὼ γε μὴν ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡρώτων ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα. τῶν δὲ ἦσαν μὲν οἱ οὐδὲν ἠίδεσαν, ὅμως δὲ λίθους εἶχον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰδοῖτι τινὶ ἐπέτυχον, λέγει μοι ὅτι οἱ ἀγορανόμοι δεινότατα ποιοῦσι τὸ στράτευμα. [5.7.24] ἐν τούτῳ τις ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀγορανόμον Ζήλαρχον πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ἀποχωροῦντα, καὶ ἀνέκραγεν· οἱ δὲ ὥς ἤκουσαν, ὥσπερ ἡ συὸς ἀγρίου ἢ ἐλάφου φανέντος ἵενται ἐπ' αὐτόν. [5.7.25] οἱ δ' αὖ Κερασούντιοι ὥς εἶδον ὁρμῶντας καθ' αὐτούς, σαφῶς νομίζοντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἵεσθαι, φεύγουσι δρόμῳ καὶ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. ξυνεισέπεσον δὲ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τινες, καὶ ἐπνίγετο ὅστις νεῖν μὴ ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιστάμενος. [5.7.26] καὶ τούτους τί δοκεῖτε; ἡδίκουν μὲν οὐδέν, ἔδεισαν δὲ μὴ λύττα τις ὥσπερ κυσὶν ἡμῖν ἐμπεπτῶκοι. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ἔσται, θεάσασθε οἷα ἢ κατάστασις ἡμῖν ἔσται τῆς στρατιᾶς. [5.7.27] ὑμεῖς μὲν οἱ πάντες οὐκ ἔσεσθε κύριοι οὔτε ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον ὧι ἂν βούλησθε οὔτε καταλῦσαι, ἰδία δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος ἄξει στράτευμα ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν θέλῃ. καὶ τινες πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἴωσι πρέσβεις εἰρήνης δεόμενοι ἢ ἄλλου τινός, κατακτείναντες τούτους οἱ βουλόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ὑμᾶς τῶν λόγων μὴ ἀκοῦσαι τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰόντων. [5.7.28] ἔπειτα δὲ οὓς μὲν ἂν ὑμεῖς πάντες ἔλῃσθε ἄρχοντας, ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ χώρῳ ἔσονται, ὅστις δὲ ἂν ἑαυτὸν ἔλῃται στρατηγὸν καὶ ἐθέλῃ λέγειν «βάλλε βάλλε», οὗτος ἔσται ἱκανὸς καὶ ἄρχοντα κατακαθεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτην ὃν ἂν ὑμῶν ἐθέλῃ ἄκριτον, ἣν ὧσιν οἱ πεισόμενοι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐγένετο. [5.7.29] οἷα δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ διαπεπράχασιν οἱ αὐθαίρετοι οὗτοι στρατηγοὶ σκέψασθε. Ζήλαρχος μὲν ὁ ἀγορανόμος εἰ μὲν ἀδικοῖ ὑμᾶς, οἴχεται ἀποπλέων οὐ δοὺς ὑμῖν δίκην· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀδικοῖ, φεύγει ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος δείσας μὴ ἀδίκως ἄκριτος ἀποθάνῃ. [5.7.30] οἱ δὲ καταλεύσαντες τοὺς πρέσβεις διεπράξαντο ὑμῖν μόνοις μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς Κερασούντα μὴ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ἂν μὴ σὺν ἰσχύϊ ἀφικνησθε· τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς οὓς πρόσθεν αὐτοὶ οἱ κατακατόντες ἐκέλευον θάπτειν, τούτους διεπράξαντο μηδὲ ξὺν κηρυκείῳ ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἀνελέσθαι. τίς γὰρ ἐθελήσει κῆρυξ ἵεναι κήρυκας ἀπεκτονῶς; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς Κερασουντίων θάψαι αὐτοὺς ἐδεήθημεν. [5.7.31] εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει, δοξάτω ὑμῖν, ἵνα ὥς τοιούτων ἐσομένων καὶ φυλακὴν ἰδία ποιήσῃ τις καὶ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια πειρᾶται ἔχων σκηνοῦν. [5.7.32] εἰ μέντοι ὑμῖν δοκεῖ θηρίων ἀλλὰ μὴ

ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα, σκοπεῖτε παῦλάν τινα αὐτῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς Διὸς πῶς ἢ θεοῖς θύσομεν ἡδέως ποιοῦντες ἔργα ἀσεβῆ, ἢ πολεμίοις πῶς μαχοῦμεθα, ἢν ἀλλήλους κατακαίνωμεν; [5.7.33] πόλις δὲ φιλία τίς ἡμᾶς δέξεται, ἣτις ἂν ὀραῖ τοσαύτην ἀνομίαν ἐν ἡμῖν; ἀγορὰν δὲ τίς ἄξει θαρρῶν, ἢν περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες φαινώμεθα; οὗ δὲ δὴ πάντων οἴομεθα τεύξεσθαι ἐπαίνου, τίς ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιοῦτους ὄντας ἐπαινέσειεν; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πονηροὺς ἂν φαίημεν εἶναι τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας.» [5.7.34] ἐκ τούτου ἀνιστάμενοι πάντες ἔλεγον τοὺς μὲν τούτων ἄρξαντας δοῦναι δίκην, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι· ἐὰν δὲ τις ἄρξει, ἄγεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς εἰς δίκας πάντας καταστήσαι· εἶναι δὲ δίκας καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τις ἡδίκητο ἐξ οὗ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε· δικαστὰς δὲ τοὺς λοχαγούς ἐποίησαντο. [5.7.35] παραινοῦντος δὲ Ξενοφῶντος καὶ τῶν μάντεων συμβουλευόντων ἔδοξε καθῆραι τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἐγένετο καθαρός.

[5.8.1] ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς δίκην ὑποσχεῖν τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου. καὶ διδόντων Φιλήσιος μὲν ὄφλε καὶ Ξανθικλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν γαυλικῶν χρημάτων τὸ μείωμα εἴκοσι μνᾶς, Σοφαίνετος δέ, ὅτι αἰρεθεὶς ... κατημέλει, δέκα μνᾶς. Ξενοφῶντος δὲ κατηγόρησάν τινες φάσκοντες παῖεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς ὑβρίζοντος τὴν κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντο. [5.8.2] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν πρῶτον λέξαντα ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· «ὅπου καὶ ῥίγει ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ χιῶν πλείστη ἦν.» [5.8.3] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ μὴν χειμῶνός γε ὄντος οἴου λέγεις, σίτου δὲ ἐπιλελοιπότες, οἴνου δὲ μηδ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν, ὑπὸ δὲ πόνων πολλῶν ἀπαγορευόντων, πολεμίων δὲ ἐπομένων, εἰ ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ὕβριζον, ὁμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος εἶναι, οἷς φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς ὕβρεως κόπον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ λέξον, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνος ἐπλήγης. [5.8.4] πότερον ἦτιουν τί σε καὶ ἐπεὶ μοι οὐκ ἐδίδους ἔπαιον; ἀλλ' ἀπήτιουν; ἀλλὰ περὶ παιδικῶν μαχόμενος; [5.8.5] ἀλλὰ μεθύων ἐπαρώνησα;» ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔφησεν, ἐπήρετο αὐτὸν εἰ ὀπλιτεῖοι. οὐκ ἔφη· πάλιν εἰ πελτάζοι. οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἡμίονον ἐλαύνειν ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν συσκήνων ἐλεύθερος ὢν. [5.8.6] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναγινώσκει αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο· «ἦ σὺ εἰ ὁ τὸν κάμνοντα ἀγαγών;» «ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· σὺ γὰρ ἠνάγκαζες· τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν συσκήνων σκευὴ διέρριψας.» [5.8.7] «ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν διάρριψις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιαύτη τις ἐγένετο. διέδωκα ἄλλοις ἄγειν καὶ ἐκέλευσα

πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν ἅπαντα σῶια ἀπέδωκά σοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐμοὶ ἀπέδειξας τὸν ἄνδρα. οἷον δὲ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο ἀκούσατε, ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἄξιον. [5.8.8] ἀνὴρ κατελείπετο διὰ τὸ μηκέτι δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι. καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα τοσοῦτον ἐγίνωσκον ὅτι εἷς ἡμῶν εἴη· ἠνάγκασα δὲ σὲ τοῦτον ἄγειν, ὥς μὴ ἀπόλοιτο· καὶ γάρ, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο.» συνέφη τοῦτο ὁ ἄνθρωπος. [5.8.9] «οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ προύπεμψά σε, καταλαμβάνω αὐτίς σὺν τοῖς ὀπισθοφύλαξι προσιῶν βόθρον ὀρύττοντα ὥς κατορύζοντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐπιστὰς ἐπήνουν σε. [5.8.10] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεστηκότων ἡμῶν συνέκαμψε τὸ σκέλος ἀνὴρ, ἀνέκραγον οἱ παρόντες ὅτι ζῇ ἀνὴρ, σὺ δ' εἴπας· «ὀπόσα γε βούλεται· ὥς ἔγωγε αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄξω.» ἐνταῦθα ἔπαισά σε.» «ἀληθῆ λέγεις.» «ἔδοξας γάρ μοι εἰδοῖτι εὐοικέναι ὅτι ἔζη.» [5.8.11] «τί οὖν; ἔφη, ἦττόν τι ἀπέθανεν, ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ σοι ἀπέδειξα αὐτόν;» «καὶ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάντες ἀποθανούμεθα· τούτου οὖν ἕνεκα ζῶντας ἡμᾶς δεῖ κατορυχθῆναι;» [5.8.12] τοῦτον μὲν ἀνέκραγον ὥς ὀλίγας παίσειεν· ἄλλους δ' ἐκέλευε λέγειν διὰ τί ἕκαστος ἐπλήγη. [5.8.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνίσταντο, αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· «ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμολογῶ παῖσαι δὴ ἄνδρας ἕνεκεν ἀταξίας ὅσοις σήιζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι' ὑμῶν ἐν τάξει τε ἰόντων καὶ μαχομένων ὅπου δέοι, αὐτοὶ δὲ λιπόντες τὰς τάξεις προθέοντες ἀρπάζειν ἤθελον καὶ ὑμῶν πλεονεκτεῖν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο πάντες ἐποιοῦμεν, ἅπαντες ἂν ἀπωλόμεθα. [5.8.14] ἤδη δὲ καὶ μαλακιζόμενόν τινα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα ἀνίστασθαι ἀλλὰ προῖεμενον αὐτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἔπαισα καὶ ἐβιάσάμην πορεύεσθαι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἰσχυρῷ χειμῶνι καὶ αὐτός ποτε ἀναμένων τινὰς συσκευαζομένους καθεζόμενος συχνὸν χρόνον κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις καὶ τὰ σκέλη ἐκτείνας. [5.8.15] ἐν ἐμαυτῷ οὖν πείραν λαβὼν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἄλλον, ὁπότε ἴδοιμι καθήμενον καὶ βλακεύοντα, ἤλαυνον· τὸ γὰρ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ἀνδρίζεσθαι παρεῖχε θερμασίαν τινὰ καὶ ὑγρότητα, τὸ δὲ καθῆσθαι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐώρων ὑπουργὸν ὃν τῷ τε ἀποπήγνυσθαι τὸ αἷμα καὶ τῷ ἀποσῆπεσθαι τοὺς τῶν ποδῶν δακτύλους, ἅπερ πολλοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἴστε παθόντας. [5.8.16] ἄλλον δὲ γε ἴσως ἀπολειπόμενόν που διὰ ραιστώνην καὶ κωλύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς πρόσθεν καὶ ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀπισθεν πορεύεσθαι ἔπαισα πύξ, ὅπως μὴ λόγχη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων παίοιτο. [5.8.17] καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς σωθεῖσιν, εἴ τι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἔπαθον παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, δίκην λαβεῖν. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, τί μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον

ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἤξιουν λαμβάνειν; [5.8.18] ἀπλοῦς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ἐκόλασά τινα, ἀξιῶ ὑπέχειν δίκην οἷαν καὶ γονεῖς υἱοῖς καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισί· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ καίουσιν καὶ τέμνουσιν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ· [5.8.19] εἰ δὲ ὕβρει νομίζετέ με ταῦτα πράττειν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ θαρρῶ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τότε καὶ θρασύτερός εἰμι νῦν ἢ τότε καὶ οἶνον πλείω πίνω, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδένα παίω· [5.8.20] ἐν εὐδαίᾳ γὰρ ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς. ὅταν δὲ χειμῶν ᾦ καὶ θάλαττα μεγάλη ἐπιφέρηται, οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ὅτι καὶ νεύματος μόνον ἔνεκα χαλεπαίνει μὲν πρωιεὺς τοῖς ἐν πρήραι, χαλεπαίνει δὲ κυβερνήτης τοῖς ἐν πρύμνῃ; ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ καὶ μικρὰ ἀμαρτηθέντα πάντα συνεπιτρίψαι. [5.8.21] ὅτι δὲ δικαίως ἔπαιον αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμεῖς κατεδικάσατε· ἔχοντες ξίφη, οὐ ψήφους, παρέστατε, καὶ ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἰ ἐβούλεσθε· ἀλλὰ μὰ Δία οὔτε τούτοις ἐπεκουρεῖτε οὔτε σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα ἐπαίετε. [5.8.22] τοιγαροῦν ἐξουσίαν ἐποιήσατε τοῖς κακοῖς αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν ἐῶντες αὐτούς. οἶμαι γάρ, εἰ ἐθέλετε σκοπεῖν, τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐρήσετε καὶ τότε κακίστους καὶ νῦν ὑβριστοτάτους. [5.8.23] Βοίσκος γοῦν ὁ πύκτης ὁ Θετταλὸς τότε μὲν διεμάχετο ὥς κάμνων ἀσπίδα μὴ φέρειν, νῦν δέ, ὥς ἀκούω, Κοττωριτῶν πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀποδέδυκεν. [5.8.24] ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τοῦτον τάναντία ποιήσετε ἢ τοὺς κύνας ποιοῦσι· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κύνας τοὺς χαλεποὺς τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας διδέασι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἀφιάσι, τοῦτον δέ, ἦν σωφρονῆτε, τὴν νύκτα μὲν δήσετε, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἀφήσετε. [5.8.25] ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, θαυμάζω ὅτι εἰ μὲν τινι ὑμῶν ἀπηχθόμην, μέμνησθε καὶ οὐ σιωπᾶτε, εἰ δέ τῳ ἢ χειμῶνα ἐπεκούρησα ἢ πολέμιον ἀπήρυσα ἢ ἀσθενοῦντι ἢ ἀποροῦντι συνεξεπόρισά τι, τούτων δὲ οὐδεὶς μέμνηται, οὐδ' εἴ τινα καλῶς τι ποιοῦντα ἐπήνεσα οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἄνδρα ὄντα ἀγαθὸν ἐτίμησα ὥς ἐδυνάμην, οὐδὲν τούτων μέμνησθε. [5.8.26] ἀλλὰ μὴν καλὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ὅσιον καὶ ἥδιον τῶν ἀγαθῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κακῶν μεμνησθαι.» ἐκ τούτου μὲν δὴ ἀνίσταντο καὶ ἀνεμίνησκον. καὶ περιέγενετο ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν.

Βιβλίον ζ΄

[6.1.1] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐν τῇ διατριβῇ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ ληιζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας. ἐκλώπευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες εὖ μάλα τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τοὺς πρόσω σκηνοῦντας ἐπειρῶντο κακουργεῖν· καὶ πολεμικώτατα πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον ἐκ τούτων. [6.1.2] ὁ δὲ Κορύλας, ὃς ἐτύγγανε τότε Παφλαγονίας ἄρχων, πέμπει παρὰ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πρέσβεις ἔχοντας ἵππους καὶ στολὰς καλὰς, λέγοντας ὅτι Κορύλας ἕτοιμος εἶη τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μῆτε ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. [6.1.3] οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι περὶ μὲν τούτων σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ βουλευσούντο, ἐπὶ ξένια δὲ ἐδέχοντο αὐτούς· παρεκάλεσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν οὓς ἐδόκουν δικαιοτάτους εἶναι. [6.1.4] θύσαντες δὲ βοῦς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἄλλα ἱερεῖα εὐωχίαν μὲν ἀρκοῦσαν παρῆχον, κατακείμενοι δὲ ἐν σκίμποσιν ἐδείπνουν, καὶ ἔπινον ἐκ κερατίνων ποτηρίων, οἷς ἐνετύγγανον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. [6.1.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ σπονδαὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἀνέστησαν πρῶτον μὲν Θρᾶκες καὶ πρὸς αὐλὸν ὠρχήσαντο σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἤλλοντο ὑψηλὰ τε καὶ κούφως καὶ ταῖς μαχαίραις ἐχρῶντο· τέλος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὥς πᾶσιν ἐδόκει [πεπληγένοι τὸν ἄνδρα]· ὁ δ' ἔπεσε τεχνικῶς πῶς. [6.1.6] καὶ ἀνέκραγον οἱ Παφλαγόνες. καὶ ὁ μὲν σκυλεύσας τὰ ὄπλα τοῦ ἐτέρου ἐξῆλει ἄιδων τὸν Σιτάλκαν· ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Θραικῶν τὸν ἕτερον ἐξέφερον ὥς τεθνηκότα· ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν πεπονθώς. [6.1.7] μετὰ τοῦτο Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες ἀνέστησαν, οἱ ὠρχοῦντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλουμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. [6.1.8] ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς ὀρχήσεως ἦν, ὁ μὲν παραθέμενος τὰ ὄπλα σπείρει καὶ ζευγηλατεῖ, πυκνὰ δὲ στρεφόμενος ὥς φοβούμενος, ληιστῆς δὲ προσέρχεται· ὁ δ' ἐπειδὴν προΐδηται, ἀπαντᾷ ἀρπάσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ μάχεται πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους· καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν· καὶ τέλος ὁ ληιστῆς δήσας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ἀπάγει· [6.1.9] ἐνίστε δὲ καὶ ὁ ζευγηλάτης τὸν ληιστήν· εἴτα παρὰ τοὺς βοῦς ζεύξας ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρει δεδεμένον ἐλαύνει. μετὰ τοῦτο Μυσὸς εἰσῆλθεν ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχων πέλτην, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ὥς δύο ἀντιταττομένων μιμούμενος ὠρχεῖτο, τοτὲ δὲ ὥς πρὸς ἓνα ἐχρήτο ταῖς πέλταις, τοτὲ δ' ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ἔχων τὰς πέλτας, ὥστε ὅπιν καλὴν φαίνεσθαι. [6.1.10] τέλος δὲ τὸ περσικὸν ὠρχεῖτο κρούων τὰς πέλτας καὶ ὠκλαζε καὶ

ἐξανίστατο· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐν ῥυθμῳ ἐποίει πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν. [6.1.11] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ [ἐπιόντες] οἱ Μαντινεῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀναστάντες ἐξοπλισάμενοι ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα ἥσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῳ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Παφλαγόνες δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο πάσας τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἐν ὄπλοις εἶναι. [6.1.12] ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁρῶν ὁ Μυσὸς ἐκπεπληγμένους αὐτοὺς, πείσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰ πεπαμένον ὀρχηστρίδα εἰσάγει σκευάσας ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἀσπίδα δοὺς κούφην αὐτῇ. ἡ δὲ ὠρχήσατο πυρρίχην ἐλαφρῶς. [6.1.13] ἐνταῦθα κρότος ἦν πολὺς, καὶ οἱ Παφλαγόνες ἤροντο εἰ καὶ γυναῖκες συνεμάχοντο αὐτοῖς. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι αὐταὶ καὶ αἱ τρεψάμεναι εἶεν βασιλέα ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. τῇ μὲν νυκτὶ ταύτῃ τοῦτο τὸ τέλος ἐγένετο. [6.1.14] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προσῆγον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις μῆτε ἀδικεῖν Παφλαγόνας μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι. μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις ὦιχοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες, ἐπεὶ δὴ πλοῖα ἱκανὰ ἐδόκει παρεῖναι, ἀναβάντες ἔπλεον ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα πνεύματι καλῶ ἐν ἀριστεραῖ ἐχοντες τὴν Παφλαγονίαν. [6.1.15] τῇ δ' ἄλλῃ ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Σινώπην καὶ ὠρμίσαντο εἰς Ἀρμήνην τῆς Σινώπης. Σινωπεῖς δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν τῇ Παφλαγονικῇ, Μιλησίων δὲ ἄποικοί εἰσιν. οὗτοι δὲ ξένια πέμπουσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τρισχιλίους, οἶνου δὲ κεράμια χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια. καὶ Χειρίσοφος ἐνταῦθα ἦλθε τριήρη ἔχων. [6.1.16] καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται προσεδόκων ἄγοντά τι σφίσιν ἤκειν· ὁ δ' ἦγε μὲν οὐδέν, ἀπήγγελλε δὲ ὅτι ἐπαινοίη αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἀναξίβιος ὁ ναύαρχος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι ὑπισχνεῖτο Ἀναξίβιος, εἰ ἀφίκοντο ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, μισθοφορὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι. [6.1.17] καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ Ἀρμήνῃ ἔμειναν οἱ στρατιῶται ἡμέρας πέντε. ὡς δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐδόκουν ἐγγὺς γίνεσθαι, ἥδη μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσῆιαι αὐτοὺς ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδε ἀφίκωνται. [6.1.18] ἠγήσαντο οὖν, εἰ ἓνα ἔλοιντο ἄρχοντα, μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ πολυαρχίας οὔσης δύνασθαι τὸν ἓνα χρῆσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λανθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὐτὸ δέοι φθάνειν, ἤττον ἂν ὑστερίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν λόγων δεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ περαινεσθαι ἄν· τὸν δ' ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ἔπραττον πάντα οἱ στρατηγοί. [6.1.19] ὡς δὲ ταῦτα διανοοῦντο, ἐτράποντο ἐπὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα· καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἔλεγον προσιόντες αὐτῷ ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ οὕτω γινώσκει, καὶ εὖνοιαν ἐνδεικνύμενος

ἕκαστος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν. [6.1.20] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τῇ μὲν ἐβούλετο ταῦτα, νομίζων καὶ τὴν τιμὴν μείζω οὕτως ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοῦνομα μείζον ἀφίξεσθαι αὐτοῦ, τυχὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἂν αἴτιος τῇ στρατιᾷ γενέσθαι. [6.1.21] τὰ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐνθυμήματα ἐπῆιρεν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοκράτορα γενέσθαι ἄρχοντα. ὁπότε δ' αὖ ἐνθυμοῖτο ὅτι ἄδηλον μὲν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅπῃ τὸ μέλλον ἔξει, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κίνδυνος εἴη καὶ τὴν προειργασμένην δόξαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἤπορεῖτο. [6.1.22] διαπορουμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ διακρῖναι ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνακοινῶσαι· καὶ παραστησάμενος δύο ἱερεῖα ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ μαντευτὸς ἦν ἐκ Δελφῶν· καὶ τὸ ὄναρ δὴ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνόμιζεν ἐορακέναί ὃ εἶδεν ὅτε ἤρχετο ἐπὶ τὸ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς καθίστασθαι. [6.1.23] καὶ ὅτε ἐξ Ἐφέσου ὠρμᾶτο Κύρῳ συσταθισόμενος, αἰετὸν ἀνεμιμνήσκετο ἑαυτῷ δεξιὸν φθεγγόμενον, καθημένον μέντοι, ὃνπερ ὁ μάντις προπέμπων αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὅτι μέγας μὲν οἰωνὸς εἴη καὶ οὐκ ἰδιωτικός, καὶ ἐνδοξος, ἐπίπονος μέντοι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῷ αἰετῷ καθημένῳ· οὐ μέντοι χρηματιστικὸν εἶναι τὸν οἰωνόν· τὸν γὰρ αἰετὸν πετόμενον μᾶλλον λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [6.1.24] οὕτω δὲ θυομένῳ αὐτῷ διαφανῶς ὁ θεὸς σημαίνει μήτε προσδεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς μήτε εἰ αἰροῖντο ἀποδέχεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. [6.1.25] ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ συνῆλθε, καὶ πάντες ἔλεγον ἓνα αἰρεῖσθαι· καὶ ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἔδοξε, προυβάλλοντο αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει δηλὸν εἶναι ὅτι αἰρήσονται αὐτόν, εἴ τις ἐπιψηφίζοι, ἀνέστη καὶ ἔλεξε τάδε. [6.1.26] «ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἡδομαι μὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἴπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι, καὶ χάριν ἔχω καὶ εὐχομαι δοῦναί μοι τοὺς θεοὺς αἰτίον τινος ὑμῖν ἀγαθοῦ γενέσθαι· τὸ μέντοι ἐμὲ προκριθῆναι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἄρχοντα Λακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος οὔτε ὑμῖν μοι δοκεῖ συμφέρον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἥττον ἂν διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν, εἴ τι δέοισθε παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐμοί τε αὖ οὐ πάντῃ νομίζω ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι τοῦτο. [6.1.27] ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῇ πατρίδι μου οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες πρὶν ἐποίησαν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὁμολογεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνας εἶναι. [6.1.28] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὁμολόγησαν, εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες καὶ οὐκέτι πέρα ἐπολιόρκησαν τὴν πόλιν. εἰ οὖν ταῦτα ὁρῶν ἐγὼ δοκοῖην ὅπου δυναίμην ἐνταῦθ' ἄκυρον ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκείνων ἀξίωμα, ἐκεῖνο ἐννοῶ μὴ λίαν ἂν ταχὺ σωφρονισθεῖην. [6.1.29] ὁ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐννοεῖτε, ὅτι ἥττον ἂν στάσις εἴη ἐνὸς ἄρχοντος ἢ πολλῶν, εὖ

ἴστε ὅτι ἄλλον μὲν ἐλόμενοι οὐχ εὐρήσετε ἐμὲ στασιάζοντα· νομίζω γὰρ ὅστις ἐν πολέμῳ ὢν στασιάζει πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐμὲ ἔλησθε, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα εὕροιτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον.» [6.1.30] ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἶπε, πολὺ πλείονες ἀνίσταντο λέγοντες ὥς δέοι αὐτὸν ἄρχειν. Ἀγασίας δὲ Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν ὅτι γελοῖον εἴη, εἰ οὕτως ἔχοι· <ἧ> ὀργιοῦνται Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐὰν σύνδειπνοι συνελθόντες μὴ Λακεδαιμόνιον συμποσίαρχον αἰρῶνται; ἐπεὶ εἰ οὕτω γε τοῦτο ἔχει, ἔφη, οὐδὲ λοχαγεῖν ἡμῖν ἔξεστιν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἐσμέν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥς εὖ εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀγασίου ἀνεθορύβησαν. [6.1.31] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πλείονος ἐνδέον, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· «ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ὥς πάνυ εἰδήτε, ὁμνῶ ὑμῖν θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας, ἧ μὴν ἐγώ, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἡσθανόμην, ἐθυόμην εἰ βέλτιον εἴη ὑμῖν τε ἐμοὶ ἐπιτρέψαι ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑποστῆναι· καὶ μοι οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐσήμηναν ὥστε καὶ ἰδιώτην ἂν γινῶναι ὅτι τῆς μοναρχίας ἀπέχεσθαι με δεῖ.» [6.1.32] οὕτω δὴ Χειρίσοφον αἰροῦνται. Χειρίσοφος δ' ἐπεὶ ἡιρέθη, παρελθὼν εἶπεν· «ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν ἴστε, ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἐστασιάζον, εἰ ἄλλον εἴλεσθε· Ξενοφῶντα μέντοι, ἔφη, ὠνήσατε οὐχ ἐλόμενοι· ὥς καὶ νῦν Δέξιππος ἤδη διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον ὃ τι ἐδύνατο καὶ μάλα ἐμοῦ αὐτὸν σιγάζοντος. ὁ δ' ἔφη νομίζειν αὐτὸν Τιμασίῳνι μᾶλλον ἄρχειν συνεθελῆσαι Δαρδανεῖ ὄντι τοῦ Κλεάρχου στρατεύματος ἢ ἑαυτῷ Λάκωνι ὄντι. [6.1.33] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐμὲ εἴλεσθε, ἔφη, καὶ ἐγὼ πειράσομαι ὃ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε ὥς αὖριον, ἐὰν πλοῦς ᾖ, ἀναξόμενοι· ὁ δὲ πλοῦς ἔσται εἰς Ἡράκλειαν· ἅπαντας οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖσε πειρᾶσθαι κατασχεῖν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἐπειδὰν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, βουλευσόμεθα.»

[6.2.1] ἐντεῦθεν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναγόμενοι πνεύματι ἔπλεον καλῶι ἡμέρας δύο παρὰ γῆν. καὶ παραπλέοντες [ἐθεώρουν τὴν τε Ἰασονίαν ἀκτὴν, ἐνθα ἡ Ἀργὼ λέγεται ὀρμίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τὰ στόματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ Θερμώδοντος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἴριος, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῦ Ἄλυσος, μετὰ τοῦτον τοῦ Παρθενίου· τοῦτον δὲ παραπλεύσαντες] ἀφίκοντο εἰς Ἡράκλειαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Μεγαρέων ἄποικον, οὗσαν δ' ἐν τῇ Μαριανδυνῶν χώρῃ. [6.2.2] καὶ ὀρμίσαντο παρὰ τῇ Ἀχερουσιᾷ Χερρονήσῳ, ἐνθα λέγεται ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κέρβερον κύνα καταβῆναι ἧ νῦν τὰ σημεῖα δεικνύασι τῆς καταβάσεως τὸ βάθος πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια. [6.2.3]

ένταῦθα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται ξένια πέμπουσιν ἀλφίτων μεδίμνους τρισχίλιους καὶ οἶνου κεράμια δισχίλια καὶ βοῦς εἴκοσι καὶ οἷς ἑκατόν. ένταῦθα διὰ τοῦ πεδίου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς Λύκος ὄνομα, εὖρος ὥς δύο πλέθρων. [6.2.4] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται συλλεγέντες ἐβουλεύοντο τὴν λοιπὴν πορείαν πότερον κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν χρὴ πορευθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου. ἀναστὰς δὲ Λύκων Ἀχαιοὺς εἶπε· «θαυμάζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι οὐ πειρῶνται ἡμῖν ἐκπορίζειν σιτηρέσιον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξένια οὐ μὴ γένηται τῇ στρατιᾷ τριῶν ἡμερῶν σιτία· ὁπόθεν δ' ἐπισιτισάμενοι πορευσόμεθα οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη. ἐμοὶ οὖν δοκεῖ αἰτεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τρισχίλιους κυζικηνοὺς.» [6.2.5] ἄλλος δ' εἶπε μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ μυρίους· καὶ ἐλομένους πρέσβεις αὐτίκα μάλα ἡμῶν καθημένων πέμπειν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰδέναι ὅ τι ἂν ἀπαγγέλλωσι, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθαι. [6.2.6] έντεῦθεν προυβάλλοντο πρέσβεις πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφον, ὅτι ἄρχων ἦρητο· ἔστι δ' οἱ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. οἱ δὲ ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμάχοντο· ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ταῦτά ἐδόκει μὴ ἀναγκάζειν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα καὶ φιλίαν ὅ τι μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐθέλοντες διδοῖεν. [6.2.7] ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐδόκουν ἀπρόθυμοι εἶναι, πέμπουσι Λύκωνα Ἀχαιὸν καὶ Καλλίμαχον Παρράσιον καὶ Ἀγασίαν Στυμφάλιον. οὗτοι ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον τὰ δεδογμένα· τὸν δὲ Λύκωνα ἔφασαν καὶ ἐπαπειλεῖν, εἰ μὴ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα. [6.2.8] ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ Ἡρακλεῶται βουλεύσεσθαι ἔφασαν· καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ τε χρήματα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνῆγον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴσω ἀνεσκεύασαν, καὶ αἱ πύλαι ἐκέκλειντο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὅπλα ἐφαίνετο. [6.2.9] ἐκ τούτου οἱ ταραξάντες ταῦτα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἠτιῶντο διαφθεῖρειν τὴν πρᾶξιν· καὶ συνίσταντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀχαιοί· προειστήκει δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῶν Καλλίμαχός τε ὁ Παρράσιος καὶ Λύκων ὁ Ἀχαιός. [6.2.10] οἱ δὲ λόγοι ἦσαν αὐτοῖς ὥς αἰσχρὸν εἶη ἄρχειν Ἀθηναῖον Πελοποννησίων καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιον, μηδεμίαν δύναμιν παρεχόμενον εἰς τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους σφᾶς ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ κέρδη ἄλλους, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν σωτηρίαν σφῶν κατειργασμένων· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς κατειργασμένους Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα οὐδέν εἶναι (καὶ ἦν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖς τοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀχαιοί). [6.2.11] εἰ οὖν σωφρονοῖεν, αὐτοὶ συστάντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐλόμενοι ἑαυτῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἂν τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο καὶ πειρῶντο ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνειν. [6.2.12] ταῦτ' ἔδοξε· καὶ ἀπολιπόντες Χειρίσοφον εἰ τινες ἦσαν παρ' αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδες ἢ Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Ξενοφῶντα συνέστησαν καὶ

στρατηγούς αἰροῦνται ἑαυτῶν δέκα· τούτους δὲ ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκ τῆς νικώσης ὃ τι δοκοίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴ Χειρισόφωι ἐνταῦθα κατελύθη ἡμέραι ἕκτι ἢ ἐβδόμη ἀφ' ἧς ἠιρέθη. [6.2.13] Ξενοφῶν μέντοι ἐβούλετο κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ποιῆσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως ἀσφαλεστέραν εἶναι ἢ ἰδία ἕκαστον στέλλεσθαι· ἀλλὰ Νέων ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούσας τοῦ Χειρισόφου ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἀρμοστής φαίη τριήρεις ἔχων ἥξειν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα· [6.2.14] ὅπως οὖν μηδεὶς μετάσχοι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ αὐτῶν στρατιῶται ἐκπλεύσειαν ἐπὶ τῶν τριήρων, διὰ ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. καὶ Χειρίσοφος, ἅμα μὲν ἀθυμῶν τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἅμα δὲ μισῶν ἐκ τούτου τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπιτρέπει αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται. [6.2.15] Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησεν ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκπλεῦσαι· θυομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ κοινουμένῳ, πότερα λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη στρατεύεσθαι ἔχοντι τοὺς παραμείναντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἢ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἐσήμηνεν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς συστρατεύεσθαι. [6.2.16] οὕτω γίνγεται τὸ στράτευμα τρίχα, Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ πλείους ἢ τετρακισχίλιοι, ὀπλῖται πάντες, Χειρισόφωι δ' ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς τετρακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς ἑπτακοσίους, οἱ Κλέαρχου Θρᾱικες, Ξενοφῶντι δὲ ὀπλῖται μὲν εἰς ἑπτακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, πελτασταὶ δὲ εἰς τριακοσίους· ἵππικόν δὲ μόνος οὗτος εἶχεν, ἀμφὶ τετταράκοντα ἵππεις. [6.2.17] καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι πλοῖα παρὰ τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν πρῶτοι πλέουσιν, ὅπως ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς λάβοιεν ὅτι πλείστα· καὶ ἀποβαίνουσιν εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα κατὰ μέσον πῶς τῆς Θράικης. [6.2.18] Χειρίσοφος δ' εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀρξάμενος πεζῇ ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς χώρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν Θράικην ἐνέβαλε, παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν ἦιεν· [6.2.19] καὶ γὰρ ἡσθένει. Ξενοφῶν δὲ πλοῖα λαβὼν ἀποβαίνει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Θράικης καὶ τῆς Ἡρακλεωτίδος καὶ διὰ μεσογείας ἐπορεύετο.

[6.3.1] [ὄν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ἢ τε Χειρισόφου ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς κατελύθη καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ στράτευμα ἐσχίστη ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω εἴρηται.]

[6.3.2] ἔπραξαν δ' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι τάδε. οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες ὥς ἀπέβησαν νυκτὸς εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα, πορεύονται εἰς τὰς πρώτας κώμας, στάδια ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὥς τριάκοντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ φῶς ἐγένετο,

ἦγεν ἕκαστος ὁ στρατηγὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ λόχον ἐπὶ κώμην· ὅποια δὲ μείζων ἐδόκει εἶναι, σύνδυο λόχους ἦγον οἱ στρατηγοί. [6.3.3] συνεβάλλοντο δὲ καὶ λόφον εἰς ὃν δέοι πάντας ἀλίζεσθαι· καὶ ἄτε ἐξαίφνης ἐπιπεσόντες ἀνδράποδά τε πολλὰ ἔλαβον καὶ πρόβατα πολλὰ περιεβάλλοντο. [6.3.4] οἱ δὲ Θρᾶικες ἠθροίζοντο οἱ διαφεύγοντες· πολλοὶ δὲ διέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὄντες ὀπλίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν χειρῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνελέγησαν, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Σμίκρητος λόχῳ ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων στρατηγῶν ἀπiónτι ἤδη εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἄγοντι ἐπιτίθενται. [6.3.5] καὶ τέως μὲν ἐμάχοντο ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπὶ δὲ διαβάσει χαράδρας τρέπονται αὐτούς, καὶ αὐτόν τε τὸν Σμίκρητα ἀποκτινύουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας· ἄλλου δὲ λόχου τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν τοῦ Ἡγησάνδρου ὀκτὼ μόνους ἔλιπον· καὶ αὐτὸς Ἡγήσανδρος ἐσώθη. [6.3.6] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ λόχοι συνῆλθον οἱ μὲν σὺν πράγμασιν οἱ δὲ ἄνευ πραγμάτων· οἱ δὲ Θρᾶικες ἐπεὶ ἠτύχησαν τοῦτο τὸ εὐτύχημα, συνεβόων τε ἀλλήλους καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐρρωμένως τῆς νυκτός. καὶ ἅμα ἡμέραι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐτάττοντο καὶ ἱππεῖς πολλοὶ καὶ πελτασταί, καὶ αἰεὶ πλέονες συνέρρεον· καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀσφαλῶς· [6.3.7] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες οὔτε τοξότην εἶχον οὔτε ἀκοντιστὴν οὔτε ἱππέα· οἱ δὲ προσθέοντες καὶ προσελαύνοντες ἠκόντιζον· ὁπότε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπίοιεν, ραϊδίως ἀπέφευγον· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐπετίθεντο. [6.3.8] καὶ τῶν μὲν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, τῶν δὲ οὐδεῖς· ὥστε κινηθῆναι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος εἶργον αὐτούς οἱ Θρᾶικες. [6.3.9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία πολλὴ ἦν, διελέγοντο περὶ σπονδῶν· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὠμολόγητο αὐτοῖς, ὁμήρους δὲ οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Θρᾶικες αἰτούντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτῳ ἴσχετο. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀρκάδων οὕτως εἶχε. [6.3.10] Χειρίσοφος δὲ ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενος παρὰ θάλατταν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. Ξενοφῶντι δὲ διὰ τῆς μεσογείας πορευομένῳ οἱ ἱππεῖς καταθέοντες ἐντυγχάνουσι πρεσβύταις πορευομένοις ποι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἤχθησαν παρὰ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐρωτᾷ αὐτοὺς εἴ που ἦισθηνται ἄλλου στρατεύματος ὄντος Ἑλληνικοῦ. [6.3.11] οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον πάντα τὰ γεγενημένα, καὶ νῦν ὅτι πολιορκοῦνται ἐπὶ λόφου, οἱ δὲ Θρᾶικες πάντες περικεκυκλωμένοι εἶεν αὐτούς. ἐνταῦθα τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους τούτους ἐφύλαττεν ἰσχυρῶς, ὅπως ἡγεμόνες εἶεν ὅποι δέοι· σκοποὺς δὲ καταστήσας συνέλεξε τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξεν· [6.3.12] «ἄνδρες

στρατιῶται, τῶν Ἀρκάδων οἱ μὲν τεθνᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ λόφου
τινὸς πολιορκοῦνται. νομίζω δ' ἔγωγε, εἰ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπολοῦνται, οὐδ'
ἡμῖν εἶναι οὐδεμίαν σωτηρίαν, οὕτω μὲν πολλῶν ὄντων <τῶν>
πολεμίων, οὕτω δὲ τεθαρρηκότων. [6.3.13] κράτιστον οὖν ἡμῖν ὡς
τάχιστα βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὅπως εἰ ἔτι εἰσὶ σῶιοι, σὺν ἐκείνοις
μαχώμεθα καὶ μὴ μόνοι λειφθέντες μόνοι καὶ κινδυνεύωμεν. [6.3.14]
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἀποδράϊμεν ἂν οὐδαμοῖ ἐνθένδε· πολλὴ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰς
Ἡράκλειαν πάλιν ἀπιέναι, πολλὴ δὲ εἰς Χρυσόπολιν διελθεῖν· οἱ δὲ
πολέμιοι πλησίον· εἰς Κάλπης δὲ λιμένα, ἔνθα Χειρίσοφον εἰκάζομεν
εἶναι, εἰ σέσωσται, ἐλαχίστη ὁδός. ἀλλὰ δὴ ἐκεῖ μὲν οὔτε πλοῖα ἔστιν
οἷς ἀποπλευσούμεθα, μένουσι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἔστι τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια. [6.3.15] τῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἀπολομένων σὺν τοῖς
Χειρισόφου μόνοις κάκιόν ἔστι διακινδυνεύειν ἢ τῶνδε σωθέντων
πάντας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθόντας κοινῇ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔχεσθαι. ἀλλὰ χρὴ
παρασκευασαμένους τὴν γνώμην πορεύεσθαι ὡς νῦν ἢ εὐκλεῶς
τελευτῆσαι ἔστιν ἢ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἐργάσασθαι Ἑλληνας
τοσοῦτους σώσαντας. [6.3.16] καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἄγει οὕτως, ὃς τοὺς
μεγαληγορήσαντας ὡς πλέον φρονοῦντας ταπεινῶσαι βούλεται, ἡμᾶς
δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἀρχομένους ἐντιμοτέρους ἐκείνων
καταστῆσαι. ἀλλ' ἔπεσθαι χρὴ καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ὡς ἂν τὸ
παραγγελλόμενον δύνησθε ποιεῖν. [6.3.17] νῦν μὲν οὖν
στρατοπεδευσώμεθα προελθόντες ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ
δειπνοποιεῖσθαι· ἕως δ' ἂν πορευώμεθα, Τιμασίων ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεις
προελαυνέτω ἐφορῶν ἡμᾶς καὶ σκοπεῖτω τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, ὡς μηδὲν
ἡμᾶς λάθῃ.» [6.3.18] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἠγείτο. παρέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν
γυμνήτων ἀνθρώπους εὐζώνους εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως
εἴ πού τί ποθεν καθορῶιεν, σημαίνοιεν· ἐκέλευε δὲ καίειν ἅπαντα
ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν καυσίμῳι. [6.3.19] οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς σπειρόμενοι ἐφ' ὅσον
καλῶς εἶχεν ἔκαιον, καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπιπαριόντες κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα
ἔκαιον πάντα ὅσα καύσιμα ἐώρων, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ δέ, εἴ τι
παραλειπομένῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν· ὥστε πᾶσα ἡ χώρα αἶθεσθαι ἐδόκει
καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ εἶναι. [6.3.20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν,
κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ λόφον ἐκβάντες, καὶ τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων
πυρὰ ἐώρων, ἀπείχον δὲ ὡς τετταράκοντα σταδίους, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὡς
ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα πυρὰ ἔκαιον. [6.3.21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησαν τάχιστα,
παρηγγέλθη τὰ πυρὰ κατασβεννύναι πάντα. καὶ τὴν μὲν νύκτα
φυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσευξάμενοι

τοῖς θεοῖς, συνταξάμενοι ὡς εἰς μάχην ἐπορεύοντο ἢ ἐδύναντο τάχιστα. [6.3.22] Τιμασίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς ἔχοντες τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ προελαύνοντες ἐλάνθανον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ γενόμενοι ἔνθα ἐπολιορκοῦντο οἱ Ἕλληνες. καὶ οὐχ ὀρώσιν οὔτε φίλιον στράτευμα οὔτε πολέμιον (καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τὸ στράτευμα), γράϊδια δὲ καὶ γερόντια καὶ πρόβατα ὀλίγα καὶ βοῦς καταλελειμμένους. [6.3.23] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θαῦμα ἦν τί εἴη τὸ γεγενημένον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν καταλελειμμένων ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅτι οἱ μὲν Θρᾷκες ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ὦιχοντο ἀπiónτες, καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας δ' ἔφασαν οἷχεσθαι· ὅποι δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι. [6.3.24] ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἀμφὶ Ξενοφῶντα, ἐπεὶ ἠρίστησαν, συσκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, βουλόμενοι ὡς τάχιστα συμμεῖξαι τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς Κάλπης λιμένα. καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐώρων τὸν στίβον τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κάλπης ὁδόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὸ αὐτό, ἄσμενοί τε εἶδον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἡσπάζοντο ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῦς. [6.3.25] καὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες τῶν περὶ Ξενοφῶντα τί τὰ πυρὰ κατασβέσειαν· ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὤμεθα ὑμᾶς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐπειδὴ τὰ πυρὰ οὐχ ἐωρῶμεν, τῆς νυκτὸς ἥξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι δέ, ὥς γε ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν, τοῦτο δείσαντες ἀπῆλθον· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀπῆισαν. [6.3.26] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀφίκεσθε, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐξῆκεν, ὠϊόμεθα ὑμᾶς πυθομένους τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν φοβηθέντας οἷχεσθαι ἀποδράντας ἐπὶ θάλατταν· καὶ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν μὴ ἀπολείπεσθαι ὑμῶν. οὕτως οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο ἐπορεύθημεν.

[6.4.1] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἠυλίζοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ὃ καλεῖται Κάλπης λιμὴν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Θράικῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀρξάμενη δὲ ἡ Θράικη αὕτη ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Ἡρακλείας ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλέοντι. [6.4.2] καὶ τριήρει μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς Ἡράκλειαν ἐκ Βυζαντίου κώπαις ἡμέρας μακρᾶς πλοῦς· ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ ἄλλη μὲν πόλις οὐδεμία οὔτε φιλία οὔτε Ἑλληνίς, ἀλλὰ Θρᾷκες Βιθυνοί· καὶ οὓς ἂν λάβωσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκπίπτοντας ἢ ἄλλως πῶς δεινὰ ὑβρίζειν λέγονται τοὺς Ἕλληνας. [6.4.3] ὁ δὲ Κάλπης λιμὴν ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἐκατέρωθεν πλεόντων ἐξ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Βυζαντίου, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ προκείμενον χωρίον, τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθῆκον αὐτοῦ πέτρα ἀπορρώξ, ὕψος ὅπῃ ἐλάχιστον οὐ μεῖον εἴκοσιν ὀργυῶν, ὁ δὲ αὐχὴν ὁ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀνήκων τοῦ χωρίου μάλιστα τεττάρων πλέθρων τὸ εὖρος· τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ

αὐχένος χωρίον ἱκανὸν μυρίοις ἀνθρώποις οἰκῆσαι. [6.4.4] λιμὴν δ' ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πέτραι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέραν αἰγιαλὸν ἔχων. κρήνη δὲ ἡδέος ὕδατος καὶ ἄφθονος ῥέουσα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπὸ τῇ ἐπικρατείᾳ τοῦ χωρίου. ξύλα δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα, πάνυ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ναυπηγήσιμα ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ θαλάττῃ. [6.4.5] τὸ δὲ ὄρος εἰς μεσόγειαν μὲν ἀνήκει ὅσον ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου, καὶ τοῦτο γεῶδες καὶ ἄλιθον· τὸ δὲ παρὰ θάλατταν πλεον ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους δασὺ πολλοῖς καὶ παντοδαποῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ξύλοις. [6.4.6] ἡ δὲ ἄλλη χώρα καλὴ καὶ πολλή, καὶ κῶμαι ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσι πολλαὶ καὶ οἰκούμεναι· φέρει γὰρ ἡ γῆ καὶ κριθὰς καὶ πυροὺς καὶ ὄσπρια πάντα καὶ μελίνας καὶ σῆσαμα καὶ σῦκα ἀρκοῦντα καὶ ἀμπέλους πολλὰς καὶ ἡδυοῖνους καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πλὴν ἐλαῶν. [6.4.7] ἡ μὲν χώρα ἦν τοιαύτη. ἐσκήνουν δ' ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ· εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον οὐκ ἐβούλοντο στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ ἐλθεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς εἶναι, βουλομένων τινῶν κατοικίσαι πόλιν. [6.4.8] τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἦσαν οὐ σπάνει βίου ἐκπεπλευκότες ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν μισθοφοράν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Κύρου ἀρετὴν ἀκούοντες, οἱ μὲν καὶ ἄνδρας ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ προσανηλωκότες χρήματα, καὶ τούτων ἕτεροι ἀποδεδρακότες πατέρας καὶ μητέρας, οἱ δὲ καὶ τέκνα καταλιπόντες ὡς χρήματ' αὐτοῖς κτησάμενοι ἤζοντες πάλιν, ἀκούοντες καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ Κύρῳι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν. τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐπόθουν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα σήιζεσθαι. [6.4.9] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑστέρα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο τῆς εἰς ταὐτὸν συνόδου, ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ ἐθύετο Ξενοφῶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξάγειν· ἐπενόει δὲ καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάπτειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ ἐγένετο, εἶποντο καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεκροὺς τοὺς πλείστους ἐνθαπερ ἔπεσον ἐκάστους ἔθαψαν· ἤδη γὰρ ἦσαν πεμπταῖοι καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀναιρεῖν ἔτι ἦν· ἐνίους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὁδῶν συνενεγκόντες ἔθαψαν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὡς ἐδύναντο κάλλιστα· οὓς δὲ μὴ ἡῦρισκον, κενοτάφιον αὐτοῖς ἐποίησαν μέγα, καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέθεσαν. [6.4.10] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ συνήλθον οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες· συνῆγε δὲ μάλιστα Ἀγασίας τε ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς καὶ Ἰερώνυμος Ἡλεῖος λοχαγὸς καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Ἀρκάδων. [6.4.11] καὶ δόγμα ἐποίησαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι, καὶ κατὰ χώραν ἀπιέναι ἢ ἵπερ πρόσθεν

εἶχε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἄρχειν τοὺς πρόσθεν στρατηγούς. καὶ Χειρίσοφος μὲν ἤδη ἐτετελευτήκει φάρμακον πιὼν πυρέττων· τὰ δ' ἐκείνου Νέων Ἀσιναῖος παρέλαβε. [6.4.12] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν «ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, τὴν μὲν πορείαν, ὡς ἔοικε, [δηλὸν ὅτι] πεζῇ ποιητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πλοῖα· ἀνάγκη δὲ πορεύεσθαι ἤδη· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μένουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἔφη, θυσόμεθα· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μαχομένους εἴ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε· οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι ἀνατεθαρρήκασιν.» [6.4.13] ἐκ τούτου ἐθύοντο οἱ στρατηγοί, μάντις δὲ παρὴν Ἀρηξίων Ἀρκάς· ὁ δὲ Σιλανὸς ὁ Ἀμπρακιώτης ἤδη ἀπεδεδράκει πλοῖον μισθωσάμενος ἐξ Ἡρακλείας. θυομένοις δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερά. [6.4.14] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαύσαντο. καὶ τινες ἐτόλμων λέγειν ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν βουλόμενος τὸ χωρίον οἰκίσαι πέπεικε τὸν μάντιν λέγειν ὡς τὰ ἱερά οὐ γίνεταί ἐπὶ ἀφόδῳ. [6.4.15] ἐντεῦθεν κηρύξας τῇ αὖριον παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν τὸν βουλόμενον, καὶ μάντις εἴ τις εἶη, παραγγείλας παρεῖναι ὡς συνθεασόμενον τὰ ἱερά, ἔθυε· καὶ ἐνταῦθα παρῆσαν πολλοί. [6.4.16] θυομένῳ δὲ πάλιν εἰς τρις ἐπὶ τῇ ἀφόδῳ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερά. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπέλιπεν ἅ ἔχοντες ἦλθον, καὶ ἀγορὰ οὐδεμία πω παρῆν. [6.4.17] ἐκ τούτου ξυνελθόντων εἶπε πάλιν Ξενοφῶν «ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ πορείᾳ, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, τὰ ἱερά οὐπω γίνεταί· τῶν δ' ἐπιτηδείων ὁρῶ ὑμᾶς δεομένους· ἀνάγκη οὖν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι θύεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου.» [6.4.18] ἀναστὰς τις εἶπε· «καὶ εἰκότως ἄρα ἡμῖν οὐ γίνεταί τὰ ἱερά· ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἤκοντος πλοίου ἤκουσά τινος [ὅτι] Κλέανδρος <ὁ> ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής μέλλει ἥξειν πλοῖα καὶ τριήρεις ἔχων.» [6.4.19] ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀναμένειν μὲν πᾶσιν ἐδόκει· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐξιέναι. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάλιν ἐθύετο εἰς τρίς, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερά. καὶ ἤδη καὶ ἐπὶ σκηνὴν ἰόντες τὴν Ξενοφῶντος ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἔχοιεν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔφη ἐξαγαγεῖν μὴ γιγνομένων τῶν ἱερῶν. [6.4.20] καὶ πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐθύετο, καὶ σχεδόν τι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιὰ διὰ τὸ μέλειν ἅπασιν ἐκυκλοῦντο περὶ τὰ ἱερά· τὰ δὲ θύματα ἐπελελοίπει. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ ἐξῆγον μὲν οὐ, συνεκάλεσαν δέ. [6.4.21] εἶπεν οὖν Ξενοφῶν· «ἴσως οἱ πολέμιοι συνειλεγμένοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνάγκη μάχεσθαι· εἰ οὖν καταλιπόντες <τὰ σκευή> ἐν τῷ ἐρυμνῷ χωρίῳ ὡς εἰς μάχην παρεσκευασμένοι ἴοιμεν, ἴσως ἂν τὰ ἱερά προχωροίῃ ἡμῖν.» [6.4.22] ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ στρατιῶται ἀνέκραγον, ὡς οὐδὲν δέον εἰς τὸ

χωρίον ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ θύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα. καὶ πρόβατα μὲν οὐκέτι ἦν, βοῦς δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμάξης πριάμενοι ἐθύοντο· καὶ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνορος ἐδεήθη τοῦ Ἀρκάδος προθυμεῖσθαι, εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐγένοντο. [6.4.23] Νέων δὲ ἦν μὲν στρατηγὸς κατὰ τὸ Χειρισόφου μέρος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς εἶχον δεινῶς τῇ ἐνδεΐαι, βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι, εὐρών τινα ἄνθρωπον Ἡρακλεώτην, ὃς ἔφη κώμας ἐγγὺς εἰδέναι ὅθεν εἴη λαβεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐκήρυξε τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὡς ἡγεμόνος ἐσομένου. ἐξέρχονται δὴ σὺν δορατίοις καὶ ἄσκοις καὶ θυλάκοις καὶ ἄλλοις ἀγγείοις εἰς δισχιλίους ἀνθρώπους. [6.4.24] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ διεσπείροντο ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν, ἐπιπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Φαρναβάζου ἵππεις πρῶτοι· βεβοηθηκότες γὰρ ἦσαν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, βουλόμενοι σὺν τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀποκωλύσαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας μὴ ἔλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν· οὗτοι οἱ ἵππεις ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ μείον πεντακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνέφυγον. [6.4.25] ἐκ τούτου ἀπαγγέλλει τις ταῦτα τῶν ἀποφευγόντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐγεγένητο τὰ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, λαβὼν βοῦν ὑπὸ ἀμάξης (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα ἱερεῖα), σφαγιασάμενος ἐβοήθει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἅπαντες. [6.4.26] καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τοὺς λοιποὺς ἄνδρας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀφικνοῦνται. καὶ ἤδη μὲν ἀμφὶ ἡλίου δυσμὰς ἦν καὶ οἱ Ἑλληνες μάλ' ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο, καὶ ἐξαπίνης διὰ τῶν λασίων τῶν Βιθυνῶν τινες ἐπιγενόμενοι τοῖς προφύλαξι τοὺς μὲν κατέκαινον τοὺς δὲ ἐδίωξαν μέχρι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. [6.4.27] καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης εἰς τὰ ὄπλα πάντες ἔδραμον οἱ Ἑλληνες· καὶ διώκειν μὲν καὶ κινεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον νυκτὸς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι· δασέα γὰρ ἦν τὰ χωρία· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐνυκτέρευον φυλαττόμενοι ἱκανοῖς φύλαξι.

[6.5.1] τὴν μὲν νύκτα οὕτω διήγαγον· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον ἡγοῦντο· οἱ δὲ εἶποντο ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεύη. πρὶν δὲ ἀρίστου ὥραν εἶναι ἀπετάφρευον ἥ ἢ εἴσοδος ἦν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἀπεσταύρωσαν ἅπαν, καταλιπόντες τρεῖς πύλας. καὶ πλοῖον ἐξ Ἡρακλείας ἦκεν ἄλφιτα ἄγον καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ οἶνον. [6.5.2] πρῶι δ' ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν ἐθύετο ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ, καὶ γίγνεται τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἱερείου. καὶ ἤδη τέλος ἐχόντων τῶν ἱερῶν ὁρᾷ αἰετὸν αἴσιον ὁ μάντις Ἀρηξίων Παρράσιος, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κελεύει τὸν Ξενοφῶντα. [6.5.3] καὶ διαβάντες

τὴν τάφρον τὰ ὄπλα τίθενται, καὶ ἐκήρυξαν ἀριστήσαντας ἐξιέναι τοὺς στρατιώτας σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τὸν δὲ ὄχλον καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. [6.5.4] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐξήρισαν, Νέων δὲ οὐ· ἐδόκει γὰρ κάλλιστον εἶναι τοῦτον φύλακα καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέλειπον αὐτόν, αἰσχυρόμενοι μὴ ἐφέπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἐξιόντων, κατέλιπον αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἔμενον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπορεύοντο. [6.5.5] πρὶν δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια διεληλυθέναι ἐνέτυχον ἤδη νεκροῖς· καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ κέρατος ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους φανέντας νεκροὺς ἔθαπτον πάντα ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανε τὸ κέρας. [6.5.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἔθαψαν, προαγαγόντες καὶ τὴν οὐρὰν αὐθις ποιησάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀτάφων ἔθαπτον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁπόσους ἐπελάμβανεν ἡ στρατιά. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἦκον τὴν ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν, ἔνθα ἔκειντο ἀθρόοι, συνενεγκόντες αὐτοὺς ἔθαψαν. [6.5.7] ἤδη δὲ πέρα μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας προάγοντες τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω τῶν κωμῶν ἐλάμβανον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅ τι τις ὀρήγη ἐντὸς τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ ἐξαίφνης ὀρώσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑπερβάλλοντας κατὰ λόφους τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τεταγμένους ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἱππέας τε πολλοὺς καὶ πεζοὺς· καὶ γὰρ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ Ῥαθίνης ἦκον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ἔχοντες τὴν δύναμιν. [6.5.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ πολέμιοι, ἔστησαν ἀπέχοντες αὐτῶν ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου. ἐκ τούτου εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀρηξίων ὁ μάντις τῶν Ἑλλήνων σφαγιάζεται, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου καλὰ τὰ σφάγια. [6.5.9] ἔνθα δὴ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· «δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοί, ἐπιτάξασθαι τῇ φάλαγγι λόχους φύλακας ἵν' ἂν πού δέηι ὧσιν οἱ ἐπιβοηθήσοντες τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τεταραγμένοι ἐμπίπτωσιν εἰς τεταγμένους καὶ ἀκεραίους.» συνεδόκει ταῦτα πᾶσιν. [6.5.10] «ὅμεις μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, προηγεῖσθε τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὥς μὴ ἐσθήκωμεν, ἐπεὶ ὥφθημεν καὶ εἶδομεν τοὺς πολεμίους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤξω τοὺς τελευταίους λόχους καταχωρίσας ἥπερ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ.» [6.5.11] ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἤσυχoi προῆγον, ὁ δὲ τρεῖς ἀφελὼν τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἄνδρας τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐφέπεσθαι ἀπολιπόντας ὥς πλέθρον· Σαμόλας Ἀχαιὸς ταύτης ἤρχε τῆς τάξεως· τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἐχώρισεν ἔπεσθαι· Πυρρίας Ἀρκὰς ταύτης ἤρχε· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ· Φρασίας Ἀθηναῖος ταύτῃ ἐφειστήκει. [6.5.12] προϊόντες δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐπὶ νάπαι μεγάλῳ καὶ δυσπόρῳ, ἔστησαν

ἀγνοοῦντες εἰ διαβατέον εἴη τὸ νάπος. καὶ παρεγγυῶσι στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς παρίεναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἡγούμενον. [6.5.13] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν θαυμάσας ὃ τι τὸ ἴσχον εἴη τὴν πορείαν καὶ ταχὺ ἀκούων τὴν παρεγγύην, ἐλαύνει ἥι τάχιστα. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, λέγει Σοφαίνετος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι βουλῆς οὐκ ἄξιον εἴη εἰ διαβατέον ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον νάπος. [6.5.14] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν σπουδῇ ὑπολαβὼν ἔλεξεν· ἀλλ' ἴστε μὲν με, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδένα πω κίνδυνον προξενήσαντα ὑμῖν ἐθελοῦσιον· οὐ γὰρ δόξης ὀρῶ δεομένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀνδρείότητα, ἀλλὰ σωτηρίας. [6.5.15] νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἔχει· ἀμαχεῖ μὲν ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπελθεῖν· ἦν γὰρ μὴ ἡμεῖς ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὗτοι ἡμῖν ὁπότεν ἀπίωμεν ἔψονται καὶ ἐπιπεσοῦνται. [6.5.16] ὁρᾶτε δὴ πότερον κρεῖττον ἰέναι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας προβαλλομένους τὰ ὅπλα ἢ μεταβαλλομένους ὀπισθεν ἡμῶν ἐπιόντας τοὺς πολεμίους θεᾶσθαι. [6.5.17] ἴστε μέντοι ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀπιέναι ἀπὸ πολεμίων οὐδενὶ καλῶι ἔοικε, τὸ δὲ ἐφέπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς κακίοσι θάρρος ἐμποιεῖ. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἥδιον ἂν σὺν ἡμίσεσιν ἐπιόην ἢ σὺν διπλασίοις ἀποχωροίην. καὶ τούτους οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπιόντων μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὑμεῖς ἐλπίζετε δέξεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἀπιόντων δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι τολμήσουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι. [6.5.18] τὸ δὲ διαβάντας ὀπισθεν νάπος χαλεπὸν ποιήσασθαι μέλλοντας μάχεσθαι ἅρ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀρπάσαι ἄξιον; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἐγὼ βουλοίμην ἂν εὖπορα πάντα φαίνεσθαι ὥστε ἀποχωρεῖν· ἡμᾶς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χωρίου δεῖ διδάσκεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μὴ νικῶσι σωτηρία. [6.5.19] θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε καὶ τὸ νάπος τοῦτο εἶ τις μᾶλλον φοβερὸν νομίζει εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὧν διαπεπορεύμεθα χωρίων. πῶς γὰρ διαβατὸν τὸ πεδίον, εἰ μὴ νικήσομεν τοὺς ἱππέας; πῶς δὲ ἂ διεληλύθαμεν ὄρη, ἣν πελτασται τοσοῖδε ἐφέπωνται; [6.5.20] ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ σωθῶμεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, πόσον τι νάπος ὁ Πόντος; ἔνθα οὐτε πλοῖα ἔστι τὰ ἀπάζοντα οὐτε σῖτος ὧι θρεψόμεθα μένοντες, δεήσει δέ, ἦν θᾶπτον ἐκεῖ γενώμεθα, θᾶπτον πάλιν ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [6.5.21] οὐκοῦν νῦν κρεῖττον ἡριστηκότας μάχεσθαι ἢ αὐριον ἀναρίστους. ἄνδρες, τά τε ἱερὰ ἡμῖν καλὰ οἱ τε οἰωνοὶ αἴσιοι τά τε σφάγια κάλλιστα· ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὐ δεῖ ἔτι τούτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμᾶς πάντως εἶδον, ἡδέως δειπνήσαι οὐδ' ὅπου ἂν θέλωσι σκηνῆσαι. [6.5.22] ἐντεῦθεν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγε. καὶ ὃς ἡγεῖτο, παραγγείλας διαβαίνειν ἥι ἕκαστος ἐτύγχανε τοῦ νάπου ὧν· θᾶπτον γὰρ ἀθρόον ἐδόκει ἂν οὕτω πέραν γενέσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ εἰ κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ

νάπει ἦν ἐξεμηνύοντο. [6.5.23] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβησαν, παριῶν παρὰ τὴν φάλαγγα ἔλεγεν· «ἄνδρες, ἀναμιμνήσκεσθε ὅσας δὴ μάχας σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ὁμόσε ἰόντες νενικήκατε καὶ οἷα πάσχουσιν οἱ πολεμίους φεύγοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ἐννοήσατε ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐσμέν. [6.5.24] ἀλλ’ ἔπεσθε ἡγεμόνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ ἀλλήλους παρακαλεῖτε ὀνομαστί. ἡδὺ τοι ἀνδρεῖόν τι καὶ καλὸν νῦν εἰπόντα καὶ ποιήσαντα μνήμην ἐν οἷς ἐθέλει παρέχειν ἑαυτοῦ.» [6.5.25] ταῦτα παρελαύνων ἔλεγε καὶ ἅμα ὑφηγεῖτο ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκατέρωθεν ποιησάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. παρήγγελο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον ἔχειν, ἕως σημαῖνοι τῇ σάλπιγγι· ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς προσβολὴν καθέντας ἔπεσθαι βάδην καὶ μηδένα δρόμῳ διώκειν. ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρήει Ζεὺς σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς ἡγεμών. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὑπέμενον, νομίζοντες καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ χωρίον. [6.5.26] ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐπλησίαζον, ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Ἕλληνες πελτασταὶ ἔθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πρὶν τινα κελεύειν· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἀντίοι ὥρμησαν, οἳ θ’ ἵππεῖς καὶ τὸ στίφος τῶν Βιθυνῶν· καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πελταστὰς. [6.5.27] ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ ὑπηντίαζεν ἡ φάλαγξ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ταχὺ πορευομένη καὶ ἅμα ἡ σάλπιγξ ἐφθέγγετο καὶ ἐπαιάνιζον καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡλάλαζον καὶ ἅμα τὰ δόρατα καθίεσαν, ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι ἐδέξαντο οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ ἔφευγον. [6.5.28] καὶ Τιμασίῳ μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἵππεας ἐφείπετο, καὶ ἀπεκτίννυσαν ὅσουσπερ ἐδύναντο ὡς ὀλίγοι ὄντες. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων τὸ μὲν εὐάνθυμον εὐθὺς διεσπάρη, καθ’ ὃ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἵππεῖς ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ἄτε οὐ σφόδρα διωκόμενον ἐπὶ λόφου συνέστη. [6.5.29] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑπομένοντας αὐτούς, ἐδόκει ῥαῖιστόν τε καὶ ἀκινδυνότατον εἶναι ἰέναι ἤδη ἐπ’ αὐτούς. παιανίσαντες οὖν εὐθὺς ἐπέκειντο· οἱ δ’ οὐχ ὑπέμειναν. καὶ ἐνταῦθα οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδίωκον μέχρι τὸ δεξιὸν διεσπάρη· ἀπέθανον δὲ ὀλίγοι· τὸ γὰρ ἱππικὸν φόβον παρεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολὺ ὄν. [6.5.30] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ Ἕλληνες τότε Φαρναβάζου ἱππικὸν ἔτι συνεστηκὸς καὶ τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἵππεας πρὸς τοῦτο συναθροιζομένους καὶ ἀπὸ λόφου τινὸς καταθεωμένους τὰ γινόμενα, ἀπειρήκεσαν μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἰέον εἶναι οὕτως ὅπως δύναιτο, ὡς μὴ τεθαρρηκότες ἀναπαύσαιντο. [6.5.31] συνταξάμενοι δὴ πορεύονται. ἐντεῦθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἵππεῖς φεύγουσι κατὰ τοῦ πρानοῦς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἱππέων διωκόμενοι· νάπος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέχετο, ὃ οὐκ ἤιδεσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλὰ προαπετράποντο διώκοντες· ὁψὲ γὰρ ἦν. [6.5.32] ἐπανελθόντες δὲ ἐνθα

ἡ πρώτη συμβολή ἐγένετο, στησάμενοι τρόπαιον ἀπῆισαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν περὶ ἡλίου δυσμάς· στάδιοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἐξήκοντα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

[6.6.1] ἐντεῦθεν οἱ μὲν πολέμοι εἶχον ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἀπήγοντο καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὅποι ἐδύναντο προσωτάτω· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες προσέμενον μὲν Κλέανδρον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὡς ἦξοντα, ἐξιόντες δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας σὺν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐφέροντο ἀδεῶς πυροὺς καὶ κριθάς, οἶνον, ὄσπρια, μελίνας, σῦκα· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ εἶχεν ἡ χώρα πλὴν ἐλαίου. [6.6.2] καὶ ὁπότε μὲν καταμένονι τὸ στράτευμα ἀναπαυόμενον, ἐξῆν ἐπὶ λείαν ἰέναι, καὶ ἐλάμβανον <οἱ> ἐξιόντες· ὁπότε δὲ ἐξίοι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, εἴ τις χωρὶς ἀπελθὼν λάβοι τι, δημόσιον ἔδοξεν εἶναι. [6.6.3] ἤδη δὲ ἦν πάντων ἀφθονία· καὶ γὰρ ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνοῦντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων καὶ οἱ παραπλέοντες ἄσμενοι κατῆγον, ἀκούοντες ὡς οἰκίζοιτο πόλις καὶ λιμὴν εἶη. [6.6.4] ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἤδη οἱ πλησίον ὠκοῦν πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα, ἀκούοντες ὅτι οὗτος πολίξει τὸ χωρίον, ἐρωτῶντες ὅ τι δέοι ποιοῦντας φίλους εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἀπεδείκνυνεν αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατιώταις. [6.6.5] κὰν τούτῳ Κλέανδρος ἀφικνεῖται δύο τριήρεις ἔχων, πλοῖον δ' οὐδέν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἔξω ὄν ὅτε ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐπὶ λείαν τινὲς οἰχόμενοι ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ὄρος εἰλήφεσαν πρόβατα πολλά· ὀκνοῦντες δὲ μὴ ἀφαιρεθεῖεν τῷ Δεξιππῳ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἀπέδρα τὴν πεντηκόντορον ἔχων ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος, καὶ κελεύουσι διασώσαντα αὐτοῖς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, τὰ δὲ σφίσιν ἀποδοῦναι. [6.6.6] εὐθὺς δ' ἐκεῖνος ἀπελαύνει τοὺς περιεστῶτας τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ λέγοντας ὅτι δημόσια εἶη, καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ λέγει ἐλθὼν ὅτι ἀρπάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν. ὁ δὲ κελεύει τὸν ἀρπάζοντα ἄγειν πρὸς αὐτόν. [6.6.7] καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἦγέ τινα· περιτυχὼν δ' Ἀγασίας ἀφαιρεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ ὁ ἀγόμενος λοχίτης. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ παρόντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιχειροῦσι βάλλειν τὸν Δεξιππον, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν προδότην. ἔδρισαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τριηριτῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ἔφευγον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κλέανδρος δ' ἔφευγε. [6.6.8] Ξενοφῶν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ κατεκώλυόν τε καὶ τῷ Κλεάνδρῳ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶη πρᾶγμα, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόγμα αἴτιον εἶη τὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος ταῦτα γενέσθαι. [6.6.9] ὁ δὲ Κλέανδρος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεξιππου τε ἀνереθιζόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀχθεσθεὶς ὅτι ἐφοβήθη, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι ἔφη καὶ κηρύξειν μηδεμίαν πόλιν δέχεσθαι αὐτούς,

ὥς πολεμίους. ἦρχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. [6.6.10] ἐνταῦθα πονηρὸν ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, καὶ ἐδέοντο μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔφη γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκδώσει τὸν ἄρξαντα βάλλειν καὶ τὸν ἀφελόμενον. [6.6.11] ἦν δὲ ὃν ἐξήτιε Ἀγασίας διὰ τέλους φίλος τῷ Ξενοφῶντι· ἐξ οὗ καὶ διέβαλλεν αὐτὸν ὁ Δέξιππος. καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἐπειδὴ ἀπορία ἦν, συνήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔνιοι μὲν αὐτῶν παρ' ὀλίγον ἐποιοῦντο τὸν Κλέανδρον, τῷ δὲ Ξενοφῶντι οὐκ ἐδόκει φαῦλον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· [6.6.12] «ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν φαῦλον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχων τὴν γνώμην Κλέανδρος ἅπεισιν ὥσπερ λέγει. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγγὺς αἱ Ἑλληνίδες πόλεις· τῆς δὲ Ἑλλάδος Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεστήκασιν· ἱκανοὶ δὲ εἰσι καὶ εἷς ἕκαστος Λακεδαιμονίων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅ τι βούλονται διαπράττεσθαι. [6.6.13] εἰ οὖν οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς Βυζαντίου ἀποκλείσει, ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀρμοσταῖς παραγγελεῖ εἰς τὰς πόλεις μὴ δέχεσθαι ὥς ἀπιστοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἀνόμους ὄντας, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον οὗτος ὁ λόγος περὶ ἡμῶν ἦξει, χαλεπὸν ἔσται καὶ μένειν καὶ ἀποπλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἄρχουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ τὸν νῦν χρόνον. [6.6.14] οὐκ οὐκ οὔτε ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἕνεκα οὔτε δυοῖν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἄλλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειστέον ὅ τι ἂν κελεύωσι· καὶ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις ἡμῶν ὅθεν ἐσμέν πείθονται αὐτοῖς. [6.6.15] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν (καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω Δέξιππον λέγειν πρὸς Κλέανδρον ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἐποίησεν Ἀγασίας ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσα), ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἀπολύω καὶ ὑμᾶς τῆς αἰτίας καὶ Ἀγασίαν, ἂν αὐτὸς Ἀγασίας φήσῃ ἐμέ τι τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι, καὶ καταδικάζω ἐμαυτοῦ, εἰ ἐγὼ πετροβολίας ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς βιαίου ἐξάρχω, τῆς ἐσχάτης δίκης ἄξιος εἶναι, καὶ ὑφέξω τὴν δίκην. [6.6.16] φημί δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα ἄλλον αἰτιᾶται, χρῆναι ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν Κλεάνδρῳ κρῖναι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τῆς αἰτίας εἴητε. ὥς δὲ νῦν ἔχει, χαλεπὸν εἰ οἰόμενοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων οὐδ' ὅμοιοι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐσόμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰρξόμεθα ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.» [6.6.17] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστὰς εἶπεν Ἀγασίας· «ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμνυμι θεοὺς καὶ θεὰς ἥ μὴν μήτε με Ξενοφῶντα κελεύσαι ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα μήτε ἄλλον ὑμῶν μηδένα· ἰδόντι δὲ μοι ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀγόμενον τῶν ἐμῶν λοχιτῶν ὑπὸ Δεξίππου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὑμᾶς προδόντα, δεινὸν ἔδοξεν εἶναι· [6.6.18] καὶ

ἀφειλόμην, ὁμολογῶ. καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν μὴ ἐκδῶτέ με· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ Ξενοφῶν λέγει, παρασχίσω κρίναντι Κλεάνδρῳ ὃ τι ἂν βούληται ποιῆσαι· τούτου ἕνεκα μήτε πολεμεῖτε Λακεδαιμονίοις σήιξεσθέ τε ἀσφαλῶς ὅποι θέλει ἕκαστος. συμπέμψατε μέντοι μοι ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐλόμενοι πρὸς Κλεάνδρον οἵτινες, ἂν τι ἐγὼ παραλίπω, καὶ λέξουσιν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ πράξουσιν.» [6.6.19] ἐκ τούτου ἔδωκεν ἡ στρατιὰ οὐστινας βούλοιο προελόμενον ἰέναι. ὁ δὲ προεῖλετο τοὺς στρατηγούς. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Κλεάνδρον Ἀγασίας καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἀγασίου. [6.6.20] καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ στρατηγοί· «ἔπεμψεν ἡμᾶς ἡ στρατιὰ πρὸς σέ, ὦ Κλεάνδρε, καὶ κελεύουσί σε, εἴτε πάντας αἰτιάι, κρίναντα σέ αὐτὸν χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούληι, εἴτε ἓνα τινὰ ἢ δύο καὶ πλείους αἰτιάι, τούτους ἀξιούσι παρασχεῖν σοι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς κρίσιν. εἴ τι οὖν ἡμῶν τινα αἰτιάι, πάρεσμέν σοι ἡμεῖς· εἴ τι δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ, φράσον· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀπέσται ὅστις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλῃ πεῖθεσθαι.» [6.6.21] μετὰ ταῦτα παρελθὼν ὁ Ἀγασίας εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὦ Κλεάνδρε, ὁ ἀφελόμενος Δέξιππου ἄγοντος τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ παίειν κελεύσας Δέξιππον. [6.6.22] τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ὄντα, Δέξιππον δὲ οἶδα αἰρεθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄρχειν τῆς πεντηκοντόρου ἧς ἡιτησάμεθα παρὰ Τραπεζουντίων ἐφ' ὧτε πλοῖα συλλέγειν ὥς σωιζόμεθα, καὶ ἀποδράντα Δέξιππον καὶ προδόντα τοὺς στρατιώτας μεθ' ὧν ἐσώθη. [6.6.23] καὶ τοὺς τε Τραπεζουντίους ἀπεστερήκαμεν τὴν πεντηκόντορον καὶ κακοὶ δοκοῦμεν εἶναι διὰ τοῦτον, αὐτοί τε τὸ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀπολώλαμεν. ἤκουε γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ὡς ἄπορον εἶη πεζῇ ἀπιόντας τοὺς ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι καὶ σωθῆναι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. [6.6.24] τοῦτον οὖν τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἀφειλόμην. εἰ δὲ σὺ ἦγες ἢ ἄλλος τις τῶν παρὰ σοῦ, καὶ μὴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀποδράντων, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων ἐποίησα. νόμιζε δέ, ἂν ἐμὲ νῦν ἀποκτείνῃς, δι' ἄνδρα δειλόν τε καὶ πονηρὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν ἀποκτείνων.» [6.6.25] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλεάνδρος εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίῃ, εἰ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς εἶη· οὐ μέντοι ἔφη νομίζειν οὐδ' εἰ παμπόνηρος ἦν Δέξιππος βίαι χρῆναι πάσχειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ κριθέντα, ὥσπερ καὶ ὑμεῖς νῦν ἀξιούτε, τῆς δίκης τυχεῖν. [6.6.26] νῦν οὖν ἅπιτε καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ κελεύσω, πάρεστε πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν. αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὔτε τὴν στρατιὰν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα ἔτι, ἐπεὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. [6.6.27] ὁ δὲ ἀφαιρεθεὶς εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ, ὦ Κλεάνδρε, εἰ καὶ οἶει με ἀδικοῦντά τι ἄγεσθαι, οὔτε ἔπαιον

οὐδένα οὔτε ἔβαλλον, ἀλλ' εἶπον ὅτι δημόσια εἴη τὰ πρόβατα· ἦν γὰρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν δόγμα, εἴ τις ὁπότε ἡ στρατιὰ ἐξίοι ἰδίαί λήιζοιτο, δημόσια εἶναι τὰ ληφθέντα. [6.6.28] ταῦτα εἶπον· ἐκ τούτου με λαβὼν οὗτος ἦγεν, ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδεὶς, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ μέρος διασώσειε τοῖς ληισταῖς παρὰ τὴν ῥήτρην τὰ χρήματα.» πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν· «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ... εἶ, κατὰμενε, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ βουλευσώμεθα.» [6.6.29] ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἄμφι Κλέανδρον ἡρίστων· τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν συνήγαγε Ξενοφῶν καὶ συνεβούλευε πέμψαι ἄνδρας πρὸς Κλέανδρον παραιτησομένους περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. [6.6.30] ἐκ τούτου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πέμψαντας στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς καὶ Δρακόντιον τὸν Σπαρτιάτην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτήδαιοι εἶναι δεῖσθαι Κλεάνδρου κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀφείναι τὸν ἄνδρα. [6.6.31] ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν λέγει· «ἔχεις μὲν, ὦ Κλέανδρε, τοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σοι ὑφείτο ὃ τι ἐβούλου ποιῆσαι καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων. νῦν δέ σε αἰτοῦνται καὶ δέονται δοῦναι σφίσι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ μὴ κατακαίνειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν χρόνῳ περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐμοχθησάτην. [6.6.32] ταῦτα δέ σου τυχόντες ὑπισχνοῦνταί σοι ἀντὶ τούτων, ἦν βούληι ἡγείσθαι αὐτῶν καὶ ἦν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλωι ὧσιν, ἐπιδείξειν σοι καὶ ὥς κόσμιοί εἰσι καὶ ὥς ἱκανοὶ τῷ ἄρχοντι πειθόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ φοβεῖσθαι. [6.6.33] δέονται δέ σου καὶ τοῦτο, παραγενόμενον καὶ ἄρξαντα ἑαυτῶν πεῖραν λαβεῖν καὶ Δεξιίπου καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἄλλων οἷος ἕκαστός ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστοις νεῖμαι.» [6.6.34] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κλέανδρος· «ἀλλὰ ναὶ τὸ σιῶ, ἔφη, ταχύ τοι ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι. καὶ τὴν τε ἄνδρα ὑμῖν δίδωμι καὶ αὐτὸς παρέσομαι· καὶ ἦν οἱ θεοὶ παραδιδῶσιν, ἐξηγήσομαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. καὶ πολὺ οἱ λόγοι οὗτοι ἀντίοι εἰσὶν ἢ οὓς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐνίων ἤκουον ὥς τὸ στράτευμα ἀφίστατε ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων.» [6.6.35] ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες ἀπῆλθον, ἔχοντες τὸν ἄνδρα· Κλέανδρος δὲ ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ καὶ ξυνῆν Ξενοφῶντι φιλικῶς καὶ ξενίαν ξυνεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἑώρα αὐτοὺς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εὐτάκτως ποιοῦντας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐπεθύμει ἡγεμῶν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. [6.6.36] ἐπεὶ μέντοι θυομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερά, συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγούς εἶπεν· «ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ τελέθει τὰ ἱερά ἐξάγειν· ὑμεῖς μέντοι μὴ ἀθυμεῖτε τούτου ἕνεκα· ὑμῖν γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, δέδοται ἐκκομίσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας· ἀλλὰ πορεύεσθε. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴν ἐκεῖσε ἦκητε, δεξόμεθα ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα κάλλιστα.» [6.6.37] ἐκ τούτου

ἔδοξε τοῖς στρατιώταις δοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τὰ δημόσια πρόβατα· ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀπέδωκε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἀπέπλει. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαθέμενοι τὸν σῆτον ὃν ἦσαν συγκεκομισμένοι καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ εἰλήφεσαν ἐξεπορεύοντο διὰ τῶν Βιθυνῶν. [6.6.38] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐνέτυχον πορευόμενοι τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν, ὥστε ἔχοντές τι εἰς τὴν φιλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοῦμπαλιν ὑποστρέψαντας ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἔλαβον πολλὰ καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ πρόβατα· καὶ ἀφίκοντο ἐκταῖοι εἰς Χρυσόπολιν τῆς Καλχηδονίας, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμειναν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ λαφυροπωλοῦντες.

Βιβλίον ζ'

[7.1.1] [ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου ἔπραξαν οἱ Ἕλληνες μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι εἰς τὸν Πόντον ἀφίκοντο, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεζῇ ἐξιόντες καὶ ἐκπλέοντες ἐποιοῦν μέχρι ἔξω τοῦ στόματος ἐγένοντο ἐν Χρυσοπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται.]

[7.1.2] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Φαρνάβαζος φοβούμενος τὸ στράτευμα μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν στρατεῦνται, πέμψας πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον τὸν ναύαρχον (ὁ δ' ἔτυχεν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὢν), ἐδεῖτο διαβιβάσαι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πάντα ποιῆσιν αὐτῷ ὅσα δέοι. [7.1.3] καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος μετεπέμψατο τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ λοχαγοὺς εἰς Βυζάντιον, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο, εἰ διαβαῖεν, μισθοφορὰν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς στρατιώταις. [7.1.4] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ἔφασαν βουλευσάμενοι ἀπαγγελεῖν, Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀπαλλάξοιτο ἤδη ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ βούλοιο ἀποπλεῖν. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν συνδιαβάντα ἔπειτα οὕτως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ἔφη οὖν ταῦτα ποιῆσιν. [7.1.5] Σεύθης δὲ ὁ Θραῖξ πέμπει Μηδοσάδην καὶ κελεύει Ξενοφῶντα συμπροθυμεῖσθαι ὅπως διαβῇ τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ ἔφη αὐτῷ ταῦτα συμπροθυμηθέντι ὅτι οὐ μεταμελήσει. [7.1.6] ὁ δ' εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διαβήσεται· τούτου ἕνεκα μηδὲν τελείτω μήτε ἐμοὶ μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδενί· ἐπειδὴν δὲ διαβῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπαλλάξομαι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς διαμένοντας καὶ ἐπικαιρίους ὄντας προσφερέσθω ὥς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἀσφαλές.» [7.1.7] ἐκ τούτου διαβαίνουσι πάντες εἰς τὸ Βυζάντιον οἱ στρατιῶται. καὶ μισθὸν μὲν οὐκ ἐδίδου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος, ἐκήρυξε δὲ λαβόντας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὰ σκεῦη τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξιέναι, ὥς ἀποπέμψων τε ἅμα καὶ ἀριθμὸν ποιήσων. ἐνταῦθα οἱ στρατιῶται ἤχθοντο, ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον ἀργύριον ἐπισιτίζεσθαι εἰς τὴν πορείαν, καὶ ὀκνηρῶς συνεσκευάζοντο. [7.1.8] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν Κλεάνδρῳ τῷ ἀρμοστῇ ξένος γεγεννημένος προσελθὼν ἠσπάζετο αὐτὸν ὥς ἀποπλευσούμενος ἤδη. ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ λέγει· «μὴ ποιήσης ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔφη, αἰτίαν ἔξεις, ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν τινὲς ἤδη σὲ αἰτιῶνται ὅτι οὐ ταχὺ ἐξέρπει τὸ στράτευμα.» [7.1.9] ὁ δ' εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' αἴτιος μὲν ἔγωγε οὐκ εἰμὶ τούτου, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ ἐπισιτισμοῦ δεόμενοι διὰ τοῦτο ἀθυμοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον.» [7.1.10] «ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σοι συμβουλεύω

ἐξελθεῖν μὲν ὡς πορευσόμενον, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἔξω γένηται τὸ στράτευμα, τότε ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.» «ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἐλθόντες πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον διαπραξόμεθα. [7.1.11] οὕτως ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευεν οὕτω ποιεῖν καὶ ἐξίεναι τὴν ταχίστην συσκευασαμένους, καὶ προσανεῖπεν, ὃς ἂν μὴ παρῇ εἰς τὴν ἐξέτασιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅτι αὐτὸς αὐτὸν αἰτιάσεται. [7.1.12] ἐντεῦθεν ἐξῆσαν οἱ τε στρατηγοὶ πρῶτοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἄρδην πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγων ἔξω ἦσαν, καὶ Ἑτεόνικος εἰστήκει παρὰ τὰς πύλας ὡς ὅποτε ἔξω γένοιτο πάντες συγκλείσων τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβαλὼν. [7.1.13] ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἔλεγεν· «τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια, ἔφη, λαμβάνετε ἐκ τῶν Θραικίων κωμῶν· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτόθι πολλαὶ κριθαὶ καὶ πυροὶ καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιτήδεια· λαβόντες δὲ πορεύεσθε εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἐκεῖ δὲ Κυνίσκος ὑμῖν μισθοδοτήσκει.» [7.1.14] ἐπακούσαντες δὲ τινες τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῦτα, ἣ καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν τις διαγγέλλει εἰς τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν στρατηγοὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο περὶ τοῦ Σεύθου πότερα πολέμιος εἴη ἢ φίλος, καὶ πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὅρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης. [7.1.15] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα διελέγοντο οἱ στρατιῶται ἀναρπάσαντες τὰ ὄπλα θέουσι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ὡς πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσιόντες. ὁ δὲ Ἑτεόνικος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶδον προσθέοντας τοὺς ὀπλίτας, συγκλείουσι τὰς πύλας καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἐμβάλλουσιν. [7.1.16] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔκοπτον τὰς πύλας καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀδικώτατα πάσχοιεν ἐκβαλλόμενοι εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· κατασχίσειν τε τὰς πύλας ἔφασαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκόντες ἀνοίξουσιν. [7.1.17] ἄλλοι δὲ ἔθεον ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν τοῦ τεύχους ὑπερβαίνουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ ἐτύγχανον ἔνδον ὄντες τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ὀρῶσι τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις πράγματα, διακόπτοντες ταῖς ἀξίταις τὰ κλειθρα ἀναπετανύουσι τὰς πύλας, οἱ δ' εἰσπίπτουσιν. [7.1.18] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ὡς εἶδε τὰ γινόμενα, δέισας μὴ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τράποιτο τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἀνήκεστα κακὰ γένοιτο τῇ πόλει καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔθει καὶ συνεισπύπτει εἰς τὸν πυλῶν σὺν τῷ ὄχλῳ. [7.1.19] οἱ δὲ Βυζάντιοι ὡς εἶδον τὸ στράτευμα βίαι εἰσπύπτον, φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα, οἱ δὲ οἴκαδε, ὅσοι δὲ ἔνδον ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἔξω, οἱ δὲ καθεῖλκον τὰς τριήρεις, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι σῆζοντο, πάντες δὲ ὦοντο ἀπολωλέναι, ὡς ἐαλωκυίας τῆς πόλεως. [7.1.20] ὁ δὲ Ἑτεόνικος εἰς τὴν ἄκραν ἀποφεύγει. ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος καταδραμὼν ἐπὶ θάλατταν

ἐν ἀλιευτικῷ πλοίῳ περιέπλει εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ εὐθὺς μεταπέμπεται ἐκ Καλχηδόνης φρουρούς· οὐ γὰρ ἱκανοὶ ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει σχεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας. [7.1.21] οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ὡς εἶδον Ξενοφῶντα, προσπίπτουσι πολλοὶ αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσι· «νῦν σοι ἔξεστιν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι. ἔχεις πόλιν, ἔχεις τριήρεις, ἔχεις χρήματα, ἔχεις ἄνδρας τοσούτους. νῦν ἂν, εἰ βούλοιο, σύ τε ἡμᾶς ὀνήσαιο καὶ ἡμεῖς σὲ μέγαν ποιήσαιμεν.» [7.1.22] ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· «ἀλλ' εὖ γε λέγετε καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτα· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἐπιθυμεῖτε, θέσθε τὰ ὄπλα ἐν τάξει ὡς τάχιστα·» βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς κατηρεμίσαι· καὶ αὐτὸς τε παρηγγύα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευε παρεγγυᾶν [καὶ] τίθεσθαι τὰ ὄπλα. [7.1.23] οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ταττόμενοι οἱ τε ὀπλῖται ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ εἰς ὀκτὼ ἐγένοντο καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐπὶ τὸ κέρας ἐκάτερον παρεδεδραμήκεσαν. [7.1.24] τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστον ἐκτάξασθαι ἐστὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκῶν καὶ πεδινόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔκειτο τὰ ὄπλα καὶ κατηρεμίσθησαν, συγκαλεῖ ὁ Ξενοφῶν τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ λέγει τάδε. [7.1.25] «ὅτι μὲν ὀργίσεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, καὶ νομίζετε δεινὰ πάσχειν ἐξαπατῶμενοι οὐ θαυμάζω. ἦν δὲ τῷ θυμῷ χαριζώμεθα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς παρόντας τῆς ἐξαπάτης τιμωρησώμεθα καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν οὐδὲν αἰτίαν διαρπάσωμεν, ἐνθυμεῖσθε ἃ ἔσται ἐντεῦθεν. [7.1.26] πολέμιοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα ἀποδεδειγμένοι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἷος δὲ πόλεμος ἂν γένοιτο εἰκάζειν δὴ πάρεστιν, ἐορακότας καὶ ἀναμνησθέντας τὰ νῦν δὴ γεγεννημένα. [7.1.27] ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἔχοντες τριήρεις τὰς μὲν ἐν θαλάττῃ τὰς δ' ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ προσόδου οὔσης κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τε τῶν ἐνδήμων καὶ τῆς ὑπερορίας οὐ μείων χιλίων ταλάντων· ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν νήσων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πολλὰς ἔχοντες πόλεις καὶ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὅπου νῦν ἐσμεν, ἔχοντες κατεπολεμήθημεν οὕτως ὡς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. [7.1.28] νῦν δὲ δὴ τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων συμμάχων ὑπαρχόντων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκείνοις τότε ἦσαν σύμμαχοι πάντων προσγεγεννημένων, Τισσαφέρνους δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄλλων βαρβάρων πάντων πολεμίων ἡμῖν ὄντων, πολεμιωτάτου δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ὃν ἤλθομεν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ

ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυνάμεθα; τούτων δὴ πάντων ὁμοῦ ὄντων ἔστι τις οὕτως ἄφρων ὅστις οἶεται ἂν ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι; [7.1.29] μὴ πρὸς θεῶν μαινώμεθα μηδ' αἰσχροῶς ἀπολώμεθα πολέμιοι ὄντες καὶ ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν φίλοις τε καὶ οἰκείοις. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἰσι πάντες ταῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς στρατευσομέναις, καὶ δικαίως, εἰ βάρβαρον μὲν πόλιν οὐδεμίαν ἠεληήσαμεν κατασχεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα κρατοῦντες, Ἑλληνίδα δὲ εἰς ἣν πρώτην ἦλθομεν πόλιν, ταύτην ἐξαλαπάξομεν. [7.1.30] ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὐχομαι πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργυῖας γενέσθαι. καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ συμβουλεύω Ἑλλήνας ὄντας τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προεστηκόσι πειθομένους πειρᾶσθαι τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνησθε ταῦτα, ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἀδικουμένους τῆς γοῦν Ἑλλάδος μὴ στέρεσθαι. [7.1.31] καὶ νῦν μοι δοκεῖ πέμψαντας Ἀναξιβίῳ εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν βίαιον ποιήσοντες παρεληλύθαμεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα παρ' ὑμῶν ἀγαθόν τι εὐρίσκεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ δηλώσοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπατῶμενοι ἀλλὰ πειθόμενοι ἐξερχόμεθα.» [7.1.32] ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἰερώνυμόν τε τὸν Ἥλειον ἐροῦντα ταῦτα καὶ Εὐρύλοχον Ἀρκάδα καὶ Φιλήσιον Ἀχαιόν. οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ὤχοντο ἐροῦντες. [7.1.33] ἔτι δὲ καθημένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσέρχεται Κοιρατάδας Θηβαῖος, ὃς οὐ φεύγων τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιήκει ἀλλὰ στρατηγιῶν καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενος, εἴ τις ἢ πόλις ἢ ἔθνος στρατηγοῦ δέοιτο· καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ κάγαθὰ λήψοιντο· ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξιν ἔφη καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτά. [7.1.34] ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀναξίβιου ἅμα ἀπαγγελλούμενα (ἀπεκρίνατο γὰρ ὅτι πειθομένοις αὐτοῖς οὐ μεταμελήσει, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε οἴκοι τέλεσι ταῦτα ἀπαγγελεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς βουλεύσοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν ὃ τι δύναιτο ἀγαθόν), [7.1.35] ἐκ τούτου οἱ στρατιῶται τὸν τε Κοιρατάδαν δέχονται στρατηγὸν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆλθον. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδας συντίθεται αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν παρέσεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἔχων καὶ ἱερεῖα καὶ μάντιν καὶ σιτία καὶ ποτὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ. [7.1.36] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον, ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἔκλεισε τὰς πύλας καὶ ἐκήρυξεν ὃς ἂν ἀλῶι ἔνδον ὦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅτι πεπράσεται. [7.1.37] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Κοιρατάδας μὲν ἔχων τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὸν μάντιν ἦκε καὶ ἄλφιτα φέροντες εἶποντο αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἄνδρες καὶ οἶνον ἄλλοι εἴκοσι καὶ ἐλαῶν τρεῖς καὶ σκορόδων ἀνὴρ ὅσον ἐδύνατο μέγιστον φορτίον καὶ ἄλλος

κρομμύων. ταῦτα δὲ καταθέμενος ὡς ἐπὶ δάσμευσιν ἐθύετο. [7.1.38] Ξενοφῶν δὲ μεταπεμπάμενος Κλέανδρον ἐκέλευε διαπρᾶξαι ὅπως εἰς τὸ τεῖχος εἰσέλθοι καὶ ἀποπλεύσαι ἐκ Βυζαντίου. [7.1.39] ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Κλέανδρος, «μάλᾳ μόλις, ἔφη, διαπραξάμενος ἤκω» λέγειν γὰρ Ἀναξίβιον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον εἶη τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας πλησίον εἶναι τοῦ τείχους, Ξενοφῶντα δὲ ἔνδον· τοὺς Βυζαντίους δὲ στασιάζειν καὶ πονηροὺς εἶναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· «ὅμως δὲ εἰσιέναι, ἔφη, ἐκέλευεν, εἰ μέλλεις σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκπλεῖν.» [7.1.40] ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν ἀσπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας εἴσω τοῦ τείχους ἀπήγει σὺν Κλεάνδρῳ. ὁ δὲ Κοιρατάδας τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει οὐδὲ διεμέτρησεν οὐδὲν τοῖς στρατιώταις· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα εἰστήκει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ Κοιρατάδας ἐστεφανωμένος ὡς θύσων· προσελθὼν δὲ Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς καὶ Νέων ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος ἔλεγον Κοιρατάδᾳ μὴ θύειν, ὡς οὐχ ἡγησόμενον τῇ στρατιᾷ, εἰ μὴ δώσει τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [7.1.41] ὁ δὲ κελεύει διαμετρεῖσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν ἐνέδει αὐτῷ ὥστε ἡμέρας σῖτον ἐκάστωι γενέσθαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ἱερεῖα ἀπήγει καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπειπὼν.

[7.2.1] Νέων δὲ ὁ Ἀσιναῖος καὶ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Φιλῆσιος ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Ξανθικλῆς ὁ Ἀχαιὸς καὶ Τιμασίῳ ὁ Δαρδανεὺς ἐπέμενον ἐπὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ εἰς κώμας τῶν Θραικῶν προελθόντες τὰς κατὰ Βυζάντιον ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. [7.2.2] καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστασίαζον, Κλεάνωρ μὲν καὶ Φρυνίσκος πρὸς Σεύθην βουλόμενοι ἄγειν· ἔπειθε γὰρ αὐτούς, καὶ ἔδωκε τῷ μὲν ἵππον, τῷ δὲ γυναῖκα· Νέων δὲ εἰς Χερρόνησον, οἰόμενος, εἰ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις γένοιτο, παντὸς ἂν προεστάναι τοῦ στρατεύματος· Τιμασίῳ δὲ προυθυμεῖτο πέραν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πάλιν διαβῆναι, οἰόμενος ἂν οἴκαδε κατελθεῖν. [7.2.3] καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ταῦτα ἐβούλοντο. διατριβομένου δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν τὰ ὅπλα ἀποδιδόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς χώρους ἀπέπλεον ὡς ἐδύναντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις κατεμήνυντο. [7.2.4] Ἀναξίβιος δ' ἔχαιρε ταῦτα ἀκούων, διαφθειρόμενον τὸ στράτευμα· τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ὤιετο μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι Φαρναβάζῳ. [7.2.5] ἀποπλέοντι δὲ Ἀναξιβίῳ ἐκ Βυζαντίου συναντᾷ Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν Κυζίκῳ διάδοχος Κλεάνδρῳ Βυζαντίου ἀρμοστής· ἐλέγετο δὲ ὅτι καὶ ναύαρχος διάδοχος Πῶλος ὅσον οὐ παρεῖη ἤδη εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. [7.2.6] καὶ Ἀναξίβιος τῷ μὲν Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐπιστέλλει ὀπόσους ἂν εὕρη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τῶν Κύρου στρατιωτῶν ὑπολελειμμένους ἀποδόσθαι· ὁ

δὲ Κλέανδρος οὐδένα ἐπεπράκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐθεράπευεν οἰκτίρων καὶ ἀναγκάζων οἰκία δέχεσθαι Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ἐπεὶ ἦλθε τάχιστα, οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων ἀπέδοτο. [7.2.7] Ἀναξίβιος δὲ παραπλεύσας εἰς Πάριον πέμπει παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσθετο Ἀρίσταρχόν τε ἦκοντα εἰς Βυζάντιον ἄρμοσθην καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οὐκέτι ναυαρχοῦντα, Ἀναξιβίου μὲν ἡμέλησε, πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον δὲ διεπράττετο τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τοῦ Κύρου στρατεύματος ἅπερ πρὸς Ἀναξίβιον. [7.2.8] ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ἀναξίβιος καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα κελεύει πάσῃ τέχνῃ καὶ μηχανῇ πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ συνέχειν τε αὐτὸ καὶ συναθροίζειν τῶν διεσπαρμένων ὡς ἂν πλείστους δύνηται, καὶ παραγαγόντα εἰς τὴν Πέρινθον διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅτι τάχιστα· καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τριακόντορον καὶ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ ἄνδρα συμπέμπει κελεύσοντα τοὺς Περινθίους ὡς τάχιστα Ξενοφῶντα προπέμψαι τοῖς ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα. [7.2.9] καὶ ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν διαπλεύσας ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐδέξαντο ἠδέως καὶ εὐθὺς εἶποντο ἄσμενοι ὡς διαβησόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. [7.2.10] ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἀκούσας ἦκοντα πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ θάλατταν Μηδοσάδην ἐδεῖτο τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτῷ ὅ τι ὤιετο λέγων πείσειν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶόν τε εἶη τούτων γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὤιχετο. [7.2.11] οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἀφίκοντο εἰς Πέρινθον, Νέων μὲν ἀποσπάσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο χωρὶς ἔχων ὡς ὀκτακοσίους ἀνθρώπους· τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ Περινθίων ἦν. [7.2.12] μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἔπραττε περὶ πλοίων, ὅπως ὅτι τάχιστα διαβαῖεν. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος Ἀρίσταρχος <ὁ> ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἄρμοστής, ἔχων δύο τριήρεις, πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου τοῖς τε ναυκλήροις ἀπεῖπε μὴ διάγειν ἐλθὼν τε ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἶπε μὴ περαιοῦσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. [7.2.13] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἀναξίβιος ἐκέλευσε καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπεμψεν ἐνθάδε. πάλιν δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἔλεξεν· Ἀναξίβιος μὲν τοίνυν οὐκέτι ναύαρχος, ἐγὼ δὲ τῇδε ἄρμοστής· εἰ δέ τινα ὑμῶν λήψομαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, καταδύσω. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὤιχετο εἰς τὸ τεῖχος. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι μεταπέμπεται τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ λοχαγούς τοῦ στρατεύματος. [7.2.14] ἤδη δὲ ὄντων πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐξαγγέλλει τις τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι εἰ εἴσεισι, συλληφθήσεται καὶ ἢ αὐτοῦ τι πείσεται ἢ καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ

παραδοθήσεται. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν προπέμπεται, αὐτὸς δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι θῦσαί τι βούλοιο. [7.2.15] καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐθύετο εἰ παρεῖεν αὐτῶι οἱ θεοὶ πειρᾶσθαι πρὸς Σεύθην ἄγειν τὸ στράτευμα. ἑώρα γὰρ οὔτε διαβαίνειν ἀσφαλὲς ὄν τριήρεις ἔχοντος τοῦ κωλύσοντος, οὔτ' ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον ἐλθὼν κατακλεισθῆναι ἐβούλετο καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐν πολλῇ σπάνει πάντων γενέσθαι ἔνθα πείθεσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τῶι ἐκεῖ ἀρμοστῇ, τῶν δὲ ἐπιτηδείων οὐδὲν ἔμελλεν ἔξειν τὸ στράτευμα. [7.2.16] καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' εἶχεν· οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἦκοντες παρὰ τοῦ Ἀριστάρχου ἀπήγγελλον ὅτι νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι σφᾶς κελεύει, τῆς δείλης δὲ ἦκειν· ἔνθα καὶ δῆλη μᾶλλον ἐδόκει ἢ ἐπιβουλή. [7.2.17] ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ εἶναι αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι στρατεύματι ἀσφαλῶς πρὸς Σεύθην ἰέναι, παραλαβὼν Πολυκράτην τὸν Ἀθηναῖον λοχαγὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκάστου ἄνδρα πλὴν παρὰ Νέωνος ὧι ἕκαστος ἐπίστευεν ὦιχετο τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ Σεύθου στράτευμα ἐξήκοντα στάδια. [7.2.18] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν αὐτοῦ, ἐπιτυγχάνει πυροῖς ἐρήμοις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὦιετο μετακεχωρηκέναι ποι τὸν Σεύθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ θορύβου τε ἦισθετο καὶ σημαινόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν περὶ Σεύθην, κατέμαθεν ὅτι τούτου ἔνεκα τὰ πυρὰ κεκαυμένα εἶη τῶι Σεύθῃ πρὸ τῶν νυκτοφυλάκων, ὅπως οἱ μὲν φύλακες μὴ ὀρῶντο ἐν τῶι σκότει ὄντες μήτε ὀπόσοι μήτε ὅπου εἶεν, οἱ δὲ προσιόντες μὴ λανθάνοιεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ φῶς καταφανεῖς εἶεν· [7.2.19] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦισθετο, προπέμπει τὸν ἐρμηνέα ὄν ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων, καὶ εἰπεῖν κελεύει Σεύθῃ ὅτι Ξενοφῶν πάρεστι βουλόμενος συγγενέσθαι αὐτῶι. οἱ δὲ ἤροντο εἰ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. [7.2.20] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔφη οὗτος εἶναι, ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον· καὶ ὀλίγον ὕστερον παρῆσαν πελτασταὶ ὅσον διακόσιοι, καὶ παραλαβόντες Ξενοφῶντα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶι ἦγον πρὸς Σεύθην. [7.2.21] ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν τύρσει μάλα φυλαττόμενος, καὶ ἵπποι περὶ αὐτὴν κύκλῳ ἐγκεχαλινωμένοι· διὰ γὰρ τὸν φόβον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐχίλου τοὺς ἵππους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις ἐφυλάττετο. [7.2.22] ἐλέγετο γὰρ καὶ πρόσθεν Τήρης ὁ τούτου πρόγονος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ πολὺ ἔχων στράτευμα ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσαι καὶ τὰ σκευοφόρα ἀφαιρεθῆναι· ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Θυνοί, πάντων λεγόμενοι εἶναι μάλιστα νυκτὸς πολεμικώτατοι. [7.2.23] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰσελθεῖν Ξενοφῶντα ἔχοντα δύο οὖς βούλοιο. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἡσπάζοντο μὲν πρῶτον ἀλλήλους καὶ κατὰ τὸν Θράκιον νόμον κέρατα οἴνου προῦπινον· παρῆν δὲ καὶ

Μηδοσάδης τῷ Σεύθῃ, ὅσπερ ἐπρέσβευεν αὐτῷ πάντοσε. [7.2.24] ἔπειτα δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἤρχετο λέγειν· «ἔπεμψας πρὸς ἐμέ, ὦ Σεύθῃ, εἰς Καλχηδόνα πρῶτον Μηδοσάδην τουτονί, δεόμενός μου συμπροθυμηθῆναι διαβῆναι τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ ὑπισχνούμενός μοι, εἰ ταῦτα πράξαιμι, εὖ ποιήσεις, ὥς ἔφη Μηδοσάδης οὗτος.» [7.2.25] ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπήρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα εἶη. ὁ δ' ἔφη. «αὐθις ἦλθε Μηδοσάδης οὗτος ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ διέβην πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ Παρίου, ὑπισχνούμενος, εἰ ἄγοιμι τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς σέ, τᾶλλα τέ σε φίλωι μοι χρῆσασθαι καὶ ἀδελφῷ καὶ τὰ παρὰ θαλάττῃ μοι χωρία ὧν σὺ κρατεῖς ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ σοῦ.» [7.2.26] ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἤρετο τὸν Μηδοσάδην εἰ ἔλεγε ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα. «ἴθι νυν, ἔφη, ἀφήγησαι τούτῳ τί σοι ἀπεκρινάμην ἐν Καλχηδόνι πρῶτον.» [7.2.27] «ἀπεκρίνω ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα διαβήσοιτο εἰς Βυζάντιον καὶ οὐδὲν τούτου ἔνεκα δέοι τελεῖν οὔτε σοὶ οὔτε ἄλλῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ διαβαίης, ἀπιέναι ἔφησθα· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτως ὥσπερ σὺ ἔλεγες.» [7.2.28] «τί γὰρ ἔλεγον, ἔφη, ὅτε κατὰ Σηλυμβρίαν ἀφίκου;» «οὐκ ἔφησθα οἷόν τε εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰς Πέρινθον ἐλθόντας διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.» [7.2.29] «νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, πάρειμι καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ οὗτος Φρυνίσκος εἷς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ Πολυκράτης οὗτος εἷς τῶν λοχαγῶν, καὶ ἔξω εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ πιστότατος ἐκάστωι πλὴν Νέωνος τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ. [7.2.30] εἰ οὖν βούλει πιστοτέραν εἶναι τὴν πρᾶξιν, καὶ ἐκείνους κάλεσαι. τὰ δὲ ὄπλα σὺ ἐλθὼν εἰπέ, ὦ Πολύκρατες, ὅτι ἐγὼ κελεύω καταλιπεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ καταλιπὼν τὴν μάχαιραν εἵσιθι.» [7.2.31] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ ἂν ἀπιστήσειεν Ἀθηναῖον· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι συγγενεῖς εἶεν εἰδέναι καὶ φίλους εὖνους ἔφη νομίζειν. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον οὓς ἔδει, πρῶτον Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο Σεύθῃν ὃ τι δέοιτο χρῆσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ. [7.2.32] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὧδε. Μαισάδης ἦν πατήρ μοι, ἐκείνου δὲ ἦν ἀρχὴ Μελανδίται καὶ Θυνοὶ καὶ Τρανίμαι. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς χώρας, ἐπεὶ τὰ Ὀδρυσῶν πράγματα ἐνόσησεν, ἐκπεσὼν ὁ πατήρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀποθνήσκει νόσῳ, ἐγὼ δ' ἐξετράφην ὀρφανὸς παρὰ Μηδόκῳ τῷ νῦν βασιλεῖ. [7.2.33] ἐπεὶ δὲ νεανίσκος ἐγενόμην, οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ζῆν εἰς ἀλλοτρίαν τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων· καὶ ἐκαθεζόμεν ἐνδίφριος αὐτῷ ἰκέτης δοῦναί μοι ὁπόσους δυνατὸς εἶη ἄνδρας, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἡμᾶς εἴ τι δυνάμην κακὸν ποιοίην καὶ ζήτην μὴ εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου τράπεζαν ἀποβλέπων. [7.2.34] ἐκ τούτου μοι δίδωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους

οὓς ὑμεῖς ὄψεσθε ἐπειδὴν ἡμέρα γένηται. καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ζῶ τούτους ἔχων, ληιζόμενος τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πατρίαν χώραν. εἰ δέ μοι ὑμεῖς παραγένοισθε, οἶμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ραιδίως ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι. [7.2.35] «τί ἂν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺ δύναιο, εἰ ἔλθοιμεν, τῇ τε στρατιᾷ διδόναι καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς;» [7.2.36] λέξον, ἵνα οὗτοι ἀπαγγέλλωσιν. ὁ δ' ὑπέσχετο τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ κυζικηνόν, τῷ δὲ λοχαγῷ διμοιρίαν, τῷ δὲ στρατηγῷ τετραμοιρίαν, καὶ γῆν ὀπόσῃν ἂν βούλωνται καὶ ζεύγη καὶ χωρίον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ τετειχισμένον. [7.2.37] «ἐὰν δέ, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ταῦτα πειρώμενοι μὴ διαπράξωμεν, ἀλλὰ τις φόβος ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἦι, δέξῃ εἰς τὴν σεαυτοῦ, ἐὰν τις ἀπιέναι βούληται παρὰ σέ;» [7.2.38] ὁ δ' εἶπε· «καὶ ἀδελφούς γε ποιήσομαι καὶ ἐνδιφρίους καὶ κοινωνοὺς ἀπάντων ὧν ἂν δυνώμεθα κτᾶσθαι. σοὶ δέ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, καὶ θυγατέρα δώσω καὶ εἴ τις σοὶ ἔστι θυγάτηρ, ὠνήσομαι Θραικίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ Βισάνθην οἴκησιν δώσω, ὅπερ ἐμοὶ κάλλιστον χωρίον ἐστὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ.»

[7.3.1] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα καὶ δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἀπήλαννον· καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ἕκαστοι τοῖς πέμψασιν. [7.3.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος πάλιν ἐκάλει τοὺς στρατηγούς· τοῖς δ' ἔδοξε τὴν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρίσταρχον ὁδὸν εἶσαι, τὸ δὲ στράτευμα συγκαλέσαι. καὶ συνήλθον πάντες πλὴν οἱ Νέωνος· οὗτοι δὲ ἀπείχον ὥς δέκα στάδια. [7.3.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἀναστὰς Ξενοφῶν εἶπε τάδε. «ἄνδρες, διαπλεῖν μὲν ἔνθα βουλόμεθα Ἀρίσταρχος τριήρεις ἔχων κωλύει· ὥστε εἰς πλοῖα οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐμβαίνειν· οὗτος δὲ αὐτὸς κελεύει εἰς Χερρόνησον βίαι διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους πορεύεσθαι· ἣν δὲ κρατήσαντες τούτου ἐκεῖσε ἔλθωμεν, οὔτε πωλήσειν ἔτι ὑμᾶς φησιν ὥσπερ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, οὔτε ἐξαπατήσεσθαι ἔτι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ λήψεσθαι μισθόν, οὔτε περιόψεσθαι ἔτι ὥσπερ νυνὶ δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. [7.3.4] οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα λέγει· Σεύθης δὲ φησιν, ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἦτε, εὖ ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς. νῦν οὖν σκέψασθε πότερον ἐνθάδε μένοντες τοῦτο βουλευέσεσθε ἢ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπανελθόντες. [7.3.5] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ, ἐπεὶ ἐνθάδε οὔτε ἀργύριον ἔχομεν ὥστε ἀγοράζειν οὔτε ἄνευ ἀργυρίου ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐπανελθόντας εἰς τὰς κώμας ὅθεν οἱ ἥττους ἐῷσι λαμβάνειν, ἐκεῖ ἔχοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀκούοντας ὃ τι τις ἡμῶν δεῖται, αἰρεῖσθαι ὃ τι ἂν ἡμῖν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι. [7.3.6] καὶ ὅτῳ γε, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκεῖ, ἀράτω τὴν χεῖρα.» ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες.

«ἀπιόντες τοίνυν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθε, καὶ ἐπειδὴν παραγγέλλῃ τις, ἔπεσθε τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.» [7.3.7] μετὰ ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν μὲν ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἵποντο. Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλοι ἔπειθον ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅσον τριάκοντα στάδια προελήλυθεςαν, ἀπαντᾷ Σεύθης. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἰδὼν αὐτὸν προσελάσαι ἐκέλευσεν, ὅπως ὅτι πλείστων ἀκουόντων εἴποι αὐτῷ ἃ ἐδόκει συμφέρειν. [7.3.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· «ἡμεῖς πορευόμεθα ὅπου μέλλει ἔξιν τὸ στράτευμα τροφήν· ἐκεῖ δ' ἀκούοντες καὶ σοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ αἰρησόμεθα ἃ ἂν κράτιστα δοκῇ εἶναι. ἦν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡγήσῃ ὅπου πλεῖστά ἐστιν ἐπιτήδεια, ὑπὸ σοῦ νομοῦμεν ξενίζεσθαι.» [7.3.9] καὶ ὁ Σεύθης ἔφη· «ἀλλὰ οἶδα κώμας πολλὰς ἀθρόας καὶ πάντα ἐχούσας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀπεχούσας ἡμῶν ὅσον διελθόντες ἂν ἡδέως ἀριστήητε.» [7.3.10] «ἡγοῦ τοίνυν,» ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκοντο εἰς αὐτάς τῆς δείλης, συνῆλθον οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ εἶπε Σεύθης τοιάδε. «ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, δέομαι ὑμῶν στρατεύεσθαι σὺν ἐμοί, καὶ ὑπισχνοῦμαι ὑμῖν δώσειν τοῖς στρατιώταις κυζικηνόν, λοχαγοῖς δὲ καὶ στρατηγοῖς τὰ νομιζόμενα· ἔξω δὲ τούτων τὸν ἄξιον τιμήσω. σῖτα δὲ καὶ ποτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λαμβάνοντες ἔξετε· ὅποσα δ' ἂν ἀλίσκηται ἀξιώσω αὐτὸς ἔχειν, ἵνα ταῦτα διατιθέμενος ὑμῖν τὸν μισθὸν πορίζω. [7.3.11] καὶ τὰ μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ ἀποδιδράσκοντα ἡμεῖς ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν· ἂν δὲ τις ἀνθιστῇται, σὺν ὑμῖν πειρασόμεθα χειροῦσθαι.» [7.3.12] ἐπήρετο ὁ Ξενοφῶν· «πόσον δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἀξιώσεις συνέπεσθαί σοι τὸ στράτευμα;» ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· «οὐδαμῇ πλεῖον ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν, μείον δὲ πολλαχῇ.» [7.3.13] μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδίδοδο λέγειν τῷ βουλομένῳ· καὶ ἔλεγον πολλοὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὅτι παντὸς ἄξια λέγει Σεύθης· χειμῶν γὰρ εἴη καὶ οὔτε οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν τῷ τοῦτο βουλομένῳ δυνατόν εἴη, διαγενέσθαι τε ἐν φιλίαι οὐχ οἷόν τε, εἰ δέοι ὠνούμενους ζῆν, ἐν δὲ τῇ πολεμίαι διατρίβειν καὶ τρέφεσθαι ἀσφαλέστερον μετὰ Σεύθου ἢ μόνους, ὄντων ἀγαθῶν τοσούτων. εἰ δὲ μισθὸν προσλήψωιντο, εὖρημα ἐδόκει εἶναι. [7.3.14] ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· «εἴ τις ἀντιλέγει, λεγέτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπισηφιδῶ ταῦτα.» ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντέλεγεν, ἐπεψήφισε, καὶ ἔδοξε ταῦτα. εὐθὺς δὲ Σεύθῃ εἶπεν, ὅτι συστρατεύσονται αὐτῷ. [7.3.15] μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι κατὰ τάξεις ἐσκήνησαν, στρατηγούς δὲ καὶ λοχαγούς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον Σεύθης ἐκάλεσε, πλησίον κώμην ἔχων. [7.3.16] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ἦσαν ὥς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον παριόντες, ἦν τις Ἡρακλείδης

Μαρωνείτης· οὗτος προσίων ἐνὶ ἐκάστωι οὔστινας ὤιετο ἔχειν τι δοῦναι Σεύθῃ, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Παριανούς τινας, οἱ παρήσαν φιλίαν διαπραξόμενοι πρὸς Μήδοκον τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντες αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῇ γυναικί, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Μήδοκος μὲν ἄνω εἷη δώδεκα ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὁδόν, Σεύθῃς δ' ἐπεὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦτο εἴληφεν, ἄρχων ἔσοιτο ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ. [7.3.17] γείτων οὖν ὦν ἱκανώτατος ἔσται ὑμᾶς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν. ἦν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τούτῳι δώσετε ὃ τι ἄγετε· καὶ ἄμεινον ὑμῖν διακείσεται ἢ ἐὰν Μηδόκῳι τῷ πρόσω οἰκοῦντι διδῶτε. [7.3.18] τούτους μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔπειθεν. αὐθις δὲ Τιμασίῳνι τῷ Δαρδανεῖ προσελθὼν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσεν αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐκπώματα καὶ τάπιδας βαρβαρικός, ἔλεγεν ὅτι νομίζοιτο ὁπότε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσαι Σεύθῃς δωρεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τοὺς κληθέντας. οὗτος δ' ἦν μέγας ἐνθάδε γένηται, ἱκανὸς ἔσται σε καὶ οἴκαδε καταγαγεῖν καὶ ἐνθάδε πλούσιον ποιῆσαι. τοιαῦτα προυμνᾶτο ἐκάστωι προσίων. [7.3.19] προσελθὼν δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶντι ἔλεγε· «σὺ καὶ πόλεως μεγίστης εἶ καὶ παρὰ Σεύθῃ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα μέγιστόν ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρῃ ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχῃ λαμβάνειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον, καὶ χώραν· ἄξιον οὖν σοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατα τιμῆσαι Σεύθην. [7.3.20] εὖνους δέ σοι ὦν παραινῶ· εὖ οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὅσῳι ἂν μείζω τούτῳι δωρήσῃ, τοσούτῳι μείζω ὑπὸ τούτου ἀγαθὰ πείσῃ.» ἀκούων ταῦτα Ξενοφῶν ἠπόρει· οὐ γὰρ διεβεβήκει ἔχων ἐκ Παρίου εἰ μὴ παῖδα καὶ ὅσον ἐφόδιον. [7.3.21] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον τῶν τε Θραικῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν παρόντων καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ εἴ τις πρεσβεία παρῆν ἀπὸ πόλεως, τὸ δεῖπνον μὲν ἦν καθημένους κύκλῳ· ἔπειτα δὲ τρίποδες εἰσηνέχθησαν πᾶσιν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων, καὶ ἄρτοι ζυμῖται μεγάλοι προσπεπερονημένοι ἦσαν πρὸς τοῖς κρέασι. [7.3.22] μάλιστα δ' αἱ τράπεζαι κατὰ τοὺς ξένους αἰεὶ ἐτίθεντο· νόμος γὰρ ἦν – αἱ πρῶτος τοῦτο ἐποίει Σεύθῃς, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τοὺς ἐαυτῷ παρακειμένους ἄρτους διέκλα κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ ἐρρίπτει οἷς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, καὶ τὰ κρέα ὡσαύτως, ὅσον μόνον γεύσασθαι ἐαυτῷ καταλιπών. [7.3.23] καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν καθ' οὓς αἱ τράπεζαι ἔκειντο. Ἀρκὰς δὲ τις Ἀρύστας ὄνομα, φαγεῖν δεινός, τὸ μὲν διαρριπτεῖν εἷα χαίρειν, λαβὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν χεῖρα ὅσον τριχοίνικον ἄρτον καὶ κρέα θέμενος ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα ἐδεῖπνε. [7.3.24] κέρατα δὲ οἴνου περιέφερον, καὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο· ὁ δ' Ἀρύστας, ἐπεὶ παρ' αὐτὸν φέρων τὸ κέρας ὁ οἰνοχόος ἤκεν, εἶπεν

ιδὼν τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οὐκέτι δειπνοῦντα, «ἐκείνῳ, ἔφη, δός· [7.3.25] σχολάζει γὰρ ἤδη, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδέπω.» ἀκούσας Σεύθης τὴν φωνὴν ἠρώτα τὸν οἰνοχόον τί λέγει. ὁ δὲ οἰνοχόος εἶπεν· ἑλληνίζειν γὰρ ἠπίστατο. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο. [7.3.26] ἐπειδὴ δὲ προυχώρει ὁ πότος, εἰσῆλθεν ἀνὴρ Θραῖξ ἵππον ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ λαβὼν κέρας μεστὸν εἶπε· «προπίνω σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, καὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦτον δωροῦμαι, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ διώκων ὃν ἂν θέλῃς αἰρήσεις καὶ ἀποχωρῶν οὐ μὴ δείσης τὸν πολέμιον.» [7.3.27] ἄλλος παῖδα εἰσάγων οὕτως ἐδωρήσατο προπίνων, καὶ ἄλλος ἱμάτια τῇ γυναικί. καὶ Τιμασίων προπίνων ἐδωρήσατο φιάλην τε ἀργυρᾶν καὶ τάπιδά ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. [7.3.28] Γνήσιππος δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι ἀρχαῖος εἶη νόμος κάλλιστος τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας διδόναι τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆς ἕνεκα, τοῖς δὲ μὴ ἔχουσι διδόναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ἔχω σοι δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν. [7.3.29] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἠπορεῖτο τί ποιήσει· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγγανεν ὡς τιμώμενος ἐν τῷ πλησιαιτάτῳ δίφρῳ Σεύθῃ καθήμενος. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλείδης ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ τὸ κέρας ὀρέξαι τὸν οἰνοχόον. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν (ἤδη γὰρ ὑποπεπωκὼς ἐτύγγανεν) ἀνέστη θαρραλέως δεξάμενος τὸ κέρας καὶ εἶπεν· [7.3.30] «ἐγὼ δέ σοι, ὦ Σεύθῃ, δίδωμι ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς τούτους ἐταίρους φίλους εἶναι πιστοὺς, καὶ οὐδένα ἄκοντα, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἔτι ἐμοῦ σοι βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι. [7.3.31] καὶ νῦν ἄρῃσιν οὐδέν σε προσαιτοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ προῖεμένοι καὶ πονεῖν ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ προκινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες· μεθ' ὧν, ἂν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι, πολλὴν χώραν τὴν μὲν ἀπολήψῃ πατρίαν οὖσαν, τὴν δὲ κτήσῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ ἵππους, πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας καλὰς κτήσῃ, οὓς οὐ λήξεσθαι σε δεήσει, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ φέροντες παρέσονται πρὸς σέ δῶρα.» [7.3.32] ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης συνεξέπτε καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας. μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσῆλθον κέρασί τε οἷοις σημαίνουσιν αὐλοῦντες καὶ σάλπιγξιν ὠμοβοείαις ῥυθμούς τε καὶ οἶον μαγάδι σαλπίζοντες. [7.3.33] καὶ αὐτὸς Σεύθης ἀναστὰς ἀνέκραγέ τε πολεμικὸν καὶ ἐξήλατο ὥσπερ βέλος φυλαττόμενος μάλα ἐλαφρῶς. εἰσῆσαν δὲ καὶ γελωτοποιοί. [7.3.34] ὥς δ' ἦν ἥλιος ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς, ἀνέστησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ὥρα νυκτοφύλακας καθιστάναι καὶ σύνθημα παραδιδόναι. καὶ Σεύθην ἐκέλευον παραγγεῖλαι ὅπως εἰς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα μηδεὶς τῶν Θραϊκῶν εἴσεισι νυκτός· οἳ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Θραῖκες [ὑμῖν] καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ φίλοι. [7.3.35] ὥς δ' ἐξῆσαν, συνανέστη ὁ Σεύθης οὐδέν τι μεθύοντι ἐοικώς.

ἐξελθὼν δ' εἶπεν αὐτοὺς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκαλέσας· «ὦ ἄνδρες, οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἴσασί πω τὴν ἡμετέραν συμμαχίαν· ἦν οὖν ἔλθωμεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν φυλάξασθαι ὥστε μὴ ληφθῆναι ἢ παρασκευάσασθαι ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι, μάλιστ' ἂν λάβοιμεν καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρήματα.» [7.3.36] συνεπήνουν ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ὁ δ' εἶπε· «παρασκευασάμενοι ἀναμένετε· ἐγὼ δὲ ὁπότεν καιρὸς ἦι ἥξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀναλαβὼν ἡγήσομαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς.» [7.3.37] καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· «σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἴπερ νυκτὸς πορευσόμεθα, εἰ ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς νόμος κάλλιον ἔχει· μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πορείαις ἡγεῖται τοῦ στρατεύματος ὁποῖον ἂν ἀεὶ πρὸς τὴν χώραν συμφέρηι, ἐάν τε ὀπλιτικὸν ἐάν τε πελταστικὸν ἐάν τε ἰππικόν· νύκτωρ δὲ νόμος τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐστὶ τὸ βραδύτατον· [7.3.38] οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστα διασπᾶται τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ ἥκιστα λανθάνουσιν ἀποδιδράσκοντες ἀλλήλους· οἱ δὲ διασπασθέντες πολλάκις καὶ περιπίπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀγνοοῦντες κακῶς ποιοῦσι καὶ πάσχουσιν.» [7.3.39] εἶπεν οὖν Σεύθης· «ὀρθῶς λέγετε καὶ ἐγὼ τῷ νόμῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πείσομαι. καὶ ὑμῖν μὲν ἡγεμόνας δώσω τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους τῆς χώρας, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφέψομαι τελευταῖος τοὺς ἵππους ἔχων· ταχὺ γὰρ πρῶτος, ἂν δέηι, παρέσομαι.» σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν κατὰ τὴν συγγένειαν. ταῦτα εἰπόντες ἀνεπαύοντο. [7.3.40] ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας, παρῆν Σεύθης ἔχων τοὺς ἰππέας τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις. καὶ ἐπεὶ παρέδωκε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, οἱ μὲν ὀπλῖται ἡγοῦντο, οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ εἶποντο, οἱ δ' ἰππεῖς ὠπισθοφυλάκουν· [7.3.41] ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα ἦν, ὁ Σεύθης παρήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐπήνεσε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν νόμον. πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη νύκτωρ αὐτὸς καὶ σὺν ὀλίγοις πορευόμενος ἀποσπασθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἀπὸ τῶν πεζῶν· νῦν δ' ὥσπερ δεῖ ἄθροοι πάντες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φαινόμεθα. ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν περιμένετε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσασθε, ἐγὼ δὲ σκεψάμενός τι ἥξω. [7.3.42] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤλαυνε δι' ὄρους ὁδὸν τινα λαβὼν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς χιόνα πολλήν, ἐσκέψατο εἰ εἴη ἵχνη ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρόσω ἡγούμενα ἢ ἐναντία. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτριβῇ ἐώρα τὴν ὁδόν, ἦκε ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ ἔλεγεν· [7.3.43] «ἄνδρες, καλῶς ἔσται, ἦν θεὸς θέληι· τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λήσομεν ἐπιτεσόντες. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγήσομαι τοῖς ἵπποις, ὅπως ἂν τινα ἴδωμεν, μὴ διαφυγὼν σημήνηι τοῖς πολεμίοις· ὑμεῖς δ' ἔπεσθε· κἂν λειφθῆτε, τῷ στίβῳ τῶν ἵππων ἔπεσθε. ὑπερβάντες δὲ τὰ ὄρη

ἤξομεν εἰς κώμας πολλὰς τε καὶ εὐδαίμονας.» [7.3.44] ἤνίκα δ' ἦν μέσον ἡμέρας, ἤδη τε ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις καὶ κατιδὼν τὰς κώμας ἤκεν ἐλαύνων πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἔλεγεν· «ἀφήσω ἤδη καταθεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας. ἀλλ' ἔπεσθε ὡς ἂν δύνησθε τάχιστα, ὅπως ἐάν τις ὑφιστῇται, ἀλέξῃσθε.» [7.3.45] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν κατέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. καὶ ὃς ἤρετο· «τί καταβαίνεις ἐπεὶ σπεύδεις δεῖ;» «οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐμοῦ μόνου δέη· οἱ δὲ ὀπλῖται θάπτον δραμοῦνται καὶ ἡδιον, ἐάν καὶ ἐγὼ πεζὸς ἡγῶμαι.» [7.3.46] μετὰ ταῦτα ὤχετο, καὶ Τιμασίῳ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἔχων ἱππέας ὡς τετταράκοντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρηγγύησε τοὺς εἰς τριάκοντα ἔτη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν λόχων εὐζώνους. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτρόχαζε τούτους ἔχων, Κλεάνωρ δ' ἡγεῖτο τῶν ἄλλων. [7.3.47] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἦσαν, Σεύθης ἔχων ὅσον τριάκοντα ἱππέας προσελάσας εἶπε· «τάδε δὴ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἃ σὺ ἔλεγες· ἔχονται οἱ ἄνθρωποι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔρημοι οἱ ἱππεῖς οἵχονται μοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διώκων, καὶ δέδοικα μὴ συστάντες ἄθροοι που κακόν τι ἐργάσωνται οἱ πολέμιοι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καταμένειν τινὰς ἡμῶν· μεστὰί γάρ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων.» [7.3.48] «ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, σὺν οἷς ἔχω τὰ ἄκρα καταλήψομαι· σὺ δὲ Κλεάνωρα κέλευε διὰ τοῦ πεδίου παρατεῖναι τὴν φάλαγγα παρὰ τὰς κώμας.» ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν, συνηλίσθησαν ἀνδράποδα μὲν ὡς χίλια, βόες δὲ δισχίλιοι, πρόβατα ἄλλα μύρια. τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἠυλίσθησαν.

[7.4.1] τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι κατακαύσας ὁ Σεύθης τὰς κώμας παντελῶς καὶ οἰκίαν οὐδεμίαν λιπών, ὅπως φόβον ἐνθεῖη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷα πείσονται, ἂν μὴ πείθωνται, ἀπήιει πάλιν. [7.4.2] καὶ τὴν μὲν λείαν ἀπέπεμψε διατίθεσθαι Ἡρακλείδην εἰς Πέρινθον, ὅπως ἂν μισθὸς γένοιτο τοῖς στρατιώταις· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἀνὰ τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίον. [7.4.3] οἱ δ' ἐκλιπόντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὰ ὄρη. ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλὴ καὶ ψῦχος οὕτως ὥστε τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ ἐφέροντο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐπήγνυτο καὶ ὁ οἶνος ὁ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγείοις, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολλῶν καὶ ῥῖνες ἀπεκαίοντο καὶ ὦτα. [7.4.4] καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο οὗ ἕνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς ἀλωπεκᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ χειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας. [7.4.5] ἀφιεῖς δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σεύθης εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὴ καταβήσονται οἰκήσοντες καὶ πείσονται, ὅτι κατακαύσει καὶ τούτων τὰς κώμας καὶ τὸν σῖτον, καὶ ἀπολοῦνται

τῷ λιμῷ. ἐκ τούτου κατέβαινον καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες καὶ πρεσβύτεροι· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος κώμας ἠϋλίζοντο. [7.4.6] καὶ ὁ Σεύθης καταμαθὼν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τοὺς νεωτάτους λαβόντα συνεπισπέσθαι. καὶ ἀναστάντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν εἰς τὰς κώμας. καὶ οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐξέφυγον· πλησίον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ὄρος· ὅσους δὲ ἔλαβε κατηκόντισεν ἀφειδῶς Σεύθης. [7.4.7] Ἐπισθένης δ' ἦν τις Ὀλύνθιος παιδεραστής, ὃς ἰδὼν παῖδα καλὸν ἠβάσκοντα ἄρτι πέλτην ἔχοντα μέλλοντα ἀποθνήσκειν, προσδραμὼν Ξενοφῶντα ἰκέτευε βοηθῆσαι παιδί καλῷ. [7.4.8] καὶ ὃς προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ δεῖται μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τοῦ Ἐπισθένου διηγεῖται τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι λόχον ποτὲ συνελέξατο σκοπῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ εἴ τινες εἶεν καλοί, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός. [7.4.9] ὁ δὲ Σεύθης ἤρετο· «ἦ καὶ θέλοις ἄν, ὦ Ἐπίσθενες, ὑπὲρ τούτου ἀποθανεῖν;» ὁ δ' ὑπερανатеΐνας τὸν τράχηλον, «παῖε, ἔφη, εἰ κελεύει ὁ παῖς καὶ μέλλει χάριν εἰδέναι.» [7.4.10] ἐπήρετο ὁ Σεύθης τὸν παῖδα εἰ παΐσειεν αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου. οὐκ εἶα ὁ παῖς, ἀλλ' ἰκέτευε μηδέτερον κατακαίνειν. ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἐπισθένης περιλαβὼν τὸν παῖδα εἶπεν· «ῶρα σοι, ὦ Σεύθη, περὶ τοῦδέ μοι διαμάχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ μεθήσω τὸν παῖδα.» [7.4.11] ὁ δὲ Σεύθης γελῶν ταῦτα μὲν εἶα· ἔδοξε δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτοῦ αὐλισθῆναι, ἵνα μηδ' ἐκ τούτων τῶν κωμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τρέφοντο. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑποκαταβάς ἐσκήνου, ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἔχων τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἀνωτάτῳ κώμῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θραιξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν. [7.4.12] ἐκ τούτου ἡμέραι τ' οὐ πολλαὶ διετρίβοντο καὶ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους Θρᾷκες καταβαίνοντες πρὸς τὸν Σεύθην περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ ὀμήρων διεπράττοντο. καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐλθὼν ἔλεγε τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι ἐν πονηροῖς σκηνοῖεν καὶ πλησίον εἶεν οἱ πολέμοι· ἥδιόν τ' ἂν ἔξω αὐλίζεσθαι ἔφη ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς στεγνοῖς, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἔδειξεν ὀμήρους παρόντας αὐτῶν. [7.4.13] ἐδέοντο δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ Ξενοφῶντος καταβαίνοντές τινες τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους συμπράξαι σφίσι τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ δ' ὠμολόγει καὶ θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευε καὶ ἡγγυᾶτο μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κακὸν πείσεσθαι πειθομένους Σεύθῃ. οἱ δ' ἄρα ταῦτ' ἔλεγον κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα. [7.4.14] ταῦτα μὲν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν νύκτα ἐπιτίθενται ἐλθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους οἱ Θυνοί. καὶ ἡγεμῶν μὲν ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐκάστης τῆς οἰκίας· χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως τὰς οἰκίας σκότους ὄντος

ἀνευρίσκειν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ οἰκίαι κύκλοι περισταύρωντο μεγάλοις σταυροῖς τῶν προβάτων ἔνεκα. [7.4.15] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὰς θύρας ἐκάστου τοῦ οἰκήματος, οἱ μὲν εἰσηκόντιζον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς σκυτάλοις ἔβαλλον, ἃ ἔχειν ἔφασαν ὡς ἀποκόψοντες τῶν δοράτων τὰς λόγχας, οἱ δ' ἐνεπίμπρασαν, καὶ Ξενοφῶντα ὀνομαστὶ καλοῦντες ἐξίοντα ἐκέλευον ἀποθνήσκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ ἔφασαν κατακαυθήσεσθαι αὐτόν. [7.4.16] καὶ ἤδη τε διὰ τοῦ ὀρόφου ἐφαίνετο πῦρ, καὶ ἐντεθωρακισμένοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἔνδον ἦσαν ἀσπίδας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ κράνη ἔχοντες, καὶ Σίλανὸς Μακίστιος ἐτῶν ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκπηδῶσιν ἐσπασμένοι τὰ ξίφη καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων σκηνωμάτων. [7.4.17] οἱ δὲ Θραῖκες φεύγουσιν, ὥσπερ δὴ τρόπος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ὅπισθεν περιβαλλόμενοι τὰς πέλτας· καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεραλλομένων τοὺς σταυροὺς ἐλήφθησάν τινες κρεμασθέντες ἐνεχομένων τῶν πελτῶν τοῖς σταυροῖς· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπέθανον ἀμαρτόντες τῶν ἐξόδων· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐδίωκον ἔξω τῆς κώμης. [7.4.18] τῶν δὲ Θυνῶν ὑποστραφέντες τινὲς ἐν τῷ σκότει τοὺς παρατρέχοντας παρ' οἰκίαν καιομένην ἠκόντιζον εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ σκότους· καὶ ἔτρωσαν Ἰερώνυμόν τε καὶ Εὐδοέα λοχαγὸν καὶ Θεογένην Λοκρὸν λοχαγόν· ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς· κατεκαύθη μέντοι καὶ ἐσθῆς τινων καὶ σκευή. [7.4.19] Σεύθης δὲ ἦκε βοηθῶν σὺν ἑπτὰ ἱππεῦσι τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ τὸν σαλπικτὴν ἔχων τὸν Θράκιον. καὶ ἐπείπερ ἦσθετο, ὅσον περ χρόνον ἐβοήθει, τοσοῦτον καὶ τὸ κέρας ἐφθέγγετο αὐτῶι· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο φόβον συμπαρέσχε τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν, ἐδεξιουτὸ τε καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι οἶοιτο τεθνεῶτας πολλοὺς εὐρήσειν. [7.4.20] ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ξενοφῶν δεῖται τοὺς ὁμήρους τε αὐτῶι παραδοῦναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, εἰ βούλεται, συστρατεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, αὐτὸν ἐᾶσαι. [7.4.21] τῇ οὖν ὑστεραίᾳ παραδίδωσιν ὁ Σεύθης τοὺς ὁμήρους, πρεσβυτέρους ἄνδρας ἤδη, τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡς ἔφασαν, τῶν ὀρεινῶν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχεται σὺν τῇ δυνάμει. ἤδη δὲ εἶχε καὶ τριπλασίαν δύναμιν ὁ Σεύθης· ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἀκούοντες ἃ πράττει ὁ Σεύθης πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι. [7.4.22] οἱ δὲ Θυνοὶ ἐπεὶ εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ πελταστάς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππείας, καταβάντες ἰκέτευον σπείσασθαι, καὶ πάντα ὁμολόγουν ποιήσειν καὶ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευον. [7.4.23] ὁ δὲ Σεύθης καλέσας τὸν Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεδείκνυν ἃ λέγοιεν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔφη σπείσασθαι, εἰ Ξενοφῶν βούλοιτο τιμωρήσασθαι αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. [7.4.24] ὁ

δ' εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' ἔγωγε ἱκανὴν νομίζω καὶ νῦν δίκην ἔχειν, εἰ οὗτοι δοῦλοι ἔσονται ἀντ' ἐλευθέρων.» συμβουλευεῖν μέντοι ἔφη αὐτῷ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους κακόν τι ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ γέροντας οἴκοι ἔαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ πάντες δὴ προσωμολόγουν.

[7.5.1] ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου [ἀρχαίου τινός]. [7.5.2] καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἐνταῦθα ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν τῆς λείας παρῆν. καὶ Σεύθης ἐξαγαγὼν ζεύγη ἡμιονικὰ τρία (οὐ γὰρ ἦν πλείω), τὰ δ' ἄλλα βοεικὰ, καλέσας Ξενοφῶντα ἐκέλευε λαβεῖν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διανεῖμαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς. [7.5.3] Ξενοφῶν δὲ εἶπεν· «ἐμοὶ τοίνυν ἀρκεῖ καὶ αὐθις λαβεῖν· τούτοις δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δωροῦ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠκολούθησαν καὶ λοχαγοῖς.» [7.5.4] καὶ τῶν ζευγῶν λαμβάνει ἓν μὲν Τιμασίων ὁ Δαρδανεύς, ἓν δὲ Κλεάνωρ ὁ Ὀρχομένιος, ἓν δὲ Φρυνίσκος ὁ Ἀχαιός· τὰ δὲ βοεικὰ ζεύγη τοῖς λοχαγοῖς κατεμερίσθη. τὸν δὲ μισθὸν ἀποδίδωσιν ἐξεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ μηνὸς εἴκοσι μόνον ἡμερῶν· ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐ πλέον ἐμπολήσαι. [7.5.5] ὁ οὖν Ξενοφῶν ἀχθεσθεὶς εἶπεν ἐπομόσας· «δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐχ ὥς δεῖ κηδεσθαι Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκίδου, ἦκες ἂν φέρων πλήρη τὸν μισθὸν καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μὴ ἄλλως ἐδύναω, καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ σαντοῦ ἱμάτια.» [7.5.6] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἠχθέσθη τε καὶ ἔδεισε μὴ ἐκ τῆς Σεύθου φιλίας ἐκβληθεῖν, καὶ ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας Ξενοφῶντα διέβαλλε πρὸς Σεύθην. [7.5.7] οἱ μὲν δὴ στρατιῶται Ξενοφῶντι ἐνεκάλουν ὅτι οὐκ εἶχον τὸν μισθόν· Σεύθης δὲ ἤχθετο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐντόνως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀπῆται τὸν μισθόν. [7.5.8] καὶ τέως μὲν αἰεὶ ἐμέμνητο ὥς, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπέλθῃ, παραδώσει αὐτῷ Βισάνθην καὶ Γάνον καὶ Νέον τεῖχος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου οὐδενὸς ἔτι τούτων ἐμέμνητο. ὁ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ τοῦτο διεβεβλήκει ὥς οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶη τεῖχῃ παραδιδόναι ἀνδρὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντι. [7.5.9] ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ξενοφῶν ἐβουλεύετο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τοῦ ἔτι ἄνω στρατεύεσθαι· ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης εἰσαγαγὼν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς πρὸς Σεύθην λέγειν τε ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ἦττον σφεῖς ἀγάγοιεν τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ Ξενοφῶν, τὸν τε μισθὸν ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς ἐντὸς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἔκπλεων παρέσεσθαι δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐκέλευε. [7.5.10] καὶ ὁ Τιμασίων εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν πέντε μηνῶν μισθὸς μέλλῃ εἶναι στρατευσαίμην ἂν ἄνευ Ξενοφῶντος.» καὶ ὁ Φρυνίσκος καὶ ὁ

Κλεάνωρ συνωμολόγουν τῷ Τιμασίωνι. [7.5.11] ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Σεύθης ἐλοιδορεῖ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ὅτι οὐ παρεκάλει καὶ Ξενοφῶντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρακαλοῦσιν αὐτὸν μόνον. ὁ δὲ γνούς τοῦ Ἡρακλείδου τὴν πανουργίαν ὅτι βούλοιο αὐτὸν διαβάλλειν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγούς, παρέρχεται λαβὼν τοὺς τε στρατηγούς πάντας καὶ τοὺς λοχαγούς. [7.5.12] καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπέισθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θραικῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλαὶ ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἀμπολυ τῆς θαλάττης. [7.5.13] καὶ Θραικες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας ὀρισάμενοι τὰ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι λήιζονται· τέως δὲ ἔλεγον πρὶν ὀρίσασθαι ἀρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνήσκειν. [7.5.14] ἐνταῦθα ἠύρισκοντο πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι, καὶ τᾶλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῆσαν πάλιν. [7.5.15] ἔνθα δὴ Σεύθης εἶχε στράτευμα ἤδη πλέον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ· ἐκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρουσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους κατεβέβηκεσαν καὶ οἱ αἰεὶ πειθόμενοι συνεστρατεύοντο. κατηυλίσθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυμβρίας ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῆς θαλάττης. [7.5.16] καὶ μισθὸς μὲν οὐδεὶς πω ἐφαίνετο· πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα οἱ τε στρατιῶται παγγαλέπως εἶχον ὃ τε Σεύθης οὐκέτι οἰκείως διέκειτο, ἀλλ' ὅποτε συγγενέσθαι αὐτῷ βουλόμενος ἔλθοι, πολλαὶ ἤδη ἀσχολίαι ἐφαίνοντο.

[7.6.1] ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ σχεδὸν ἤδη δύο μηνῶν ὄντων ἀφικνεῖται Χαρμῖνός τε ὁ Λάκων καὶ Πολύνικος παρὰ Θίβρωνος, καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ στρατεῦσθαι ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνην, καὶ Θίβρων ἐκπέπλευκεν ὡς πολεμήσων, καὶ δεῖται ταύτης τῆς στρατιᾶς καὶ λέγει ὅτι δαρεικὸς ἐκάστωι ἔσται μισθὸς τοῦ μηνός, καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς διμοῖρία, τοῖς δὲ στρατηγοῖς τετραμοῖρία. [7.6.2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ὁ Ἡρακλείδης πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσι λέγει τῷ Σεύθῃ ὅτι κάλλιστόν τι γεγένηται· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέονται τοῦ στρατεύματος, σὺ δὲ οὐκέτι δέη· ἀποδιδούς δὲ τὸ στράτευμα χαριῇ αὐτοῖς, σὲ δὲ οὐκέτι ἀπαιτήσουσι τὸν μισθόν, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάξονται ἐκ τῆς χώρας. [7.6.3] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κελεύει παράγειν· καὶ ἐπεὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἤκουσιν, ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ στράτευμα ἀποδίδωσι, φίλος τε

καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι βούλεται, καλεῖ τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξένια· καὶ ἐξένιζε μεγαλοπρεπῶς. Ξενοφῶντα δὲ οὐκ ἐκάλει, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν οὐδένα. [7.6.4] ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τίς ἀνὴρ εἶη Ξενοφῶν ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εἶη οὐ κακός, φιλοστρατιώτης δέ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρόν ἐστιν αὐτῶι. καὶ οἱ εἶπον· «ἀλλ’ ἢ δημαγωγεῖ ὁ ἀνὴρ τοὺς ἄνδρας;» καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, «πάνυ μὲν οὖν,» ἔφη. [7.6.5] «ἄρ’ οὖν, ἔφασαν, μὴ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐναντιώσεται τῆς ἀπαγωγῆς;» «ἀλλ’ ἦν ὑμεῖς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, συλλέξαντες αὐτοὺς ὑπόσχησθε τὸν μισθόν, ὀλίγον ἐκείνῳ προσχόντες ἀποδραμοῦνται σὺν ὑμῖν.» [7.6.6] «πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν συλλεγεῖεν;» «αὖριον ὑμᾶς, ἔφη ὁ Ἡρακλείδης, πρῶι ἄξομεν πρὸς αὐτούς· καὶ οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπειδὰν ὑμᾶς ἴδωσιν, ἄσμενοι συνδραμοῦνται.» αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα οὕτως ἔληξεν.

[7.6.7] τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα τοὺς Λάκωνας Σεύθης τε καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ συλλέγεται ἡ στρατιά. τῷ δὲ Λάκωνε ἐλεγέτην ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις δοκεῖ πολεμεῖν Τισσαφέρνει τῷ ὑμᾶς ἀδικήσαντι· ἦν οὖν ἦτε σὺν ἡμῖν, τόν τε ἐχθρόν τιμωρήσεσθε καὶ δαρεικὸν ἕκαστος οἶσει τοῦ μηνὸς ὑμῶν, λοχαγὸς δὲ τὸ διπλοῦν, στρατηγὸς δὲ τὸ τετραπλοῦν. [7.6.8] καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄσμενοί τε ἤκουσαν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνίσταται τις τῶν Ἀρκάδων τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος κατηγορήσων. παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σεύθης βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τίπραχθήσεται, καὶ ἐν ἐπηκόῳι εἰστήκει ἔχων ἐρμηνέα. [7.6.9] ξυνίει δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Ἑλληνιστὶ τὰ πλεῖστα. ἔνθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρκάς· «ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὧ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ πάλαι ἂν ἤμεν παρ’ ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφῶν ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πείσας ἀπήγαγεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἡμεῖς μὲν τὸν δεινὸν χειμῶνα στρατευόμενοι καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐδὲν πεπαύμεθα· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἡμετέρους πόνοὺς ἔχει· καὶ Σεύθης ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἰδία πεπλούτικεν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἀποστερεῖ τὸν μισθόν· [7.6.10] ὥστε [ὃ γε πρῶτος λέγων] ἐγὼ μὲν εἰ τοῦτον ἴδοιμι καταλευσθέντα καὶ δόντα δίκην ὧν ἡμᾶς περιεῖλκε, καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἔχειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπονημένοις ἄχθεσθαι.» μετὰ τοῦτον ἄλλος ἀνέστη ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [7.6.11] «ἀλλὰ πάντα μὲν ἄρα ἀνθρωπον ὄντα προσδοκᾷν δεῖ, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ὑφ’ ὑμῶν αἰτίας ἔχω ἐν ᾧ πλείστην προθυμίαν ἐμαυτῷ γε δοκῶ συνειδέναι περὶ ὑμᾶς παρεσχημένος. ἀπετραπόμην μὲν γε ἤδη οἴκαδε ὠρμημένος, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὔτοι πυνθανόμενος ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀκούων ἐν ἀπόροις εἶναι ὥς ὠφελήσων εἴ τι δυναίμην.

[7.6.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦλθον, Σεύθου τουτουὶ πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος καὶ πολλὰ ὑπισχνουμένου μοι, εἰ πείσαιμι ὑμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησα ποιεῖν, ὥς αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. ἦγον δὲ ὅθεν ὠϊόμην τάχιστ' ἂν ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβῆναι. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ βέλτιστα ἐνόμιζον ὑμῖν εἶναι καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδιδεν βουλομένους. [7.6.13] ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀρίσταρχος ἐλθὼν σὺν τριήρεσιν ἐκώλυε διαπλεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τούτου, ὅπερ εἰκὸς δήπου ἦν, συνέλεξα ὑμᾶς, ὅπως βουλευσαίμεθα ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. [7.6.14] οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες μὲν Ἀριστάρχου ἐπιτάττοντος ὑμῖν εἰς Χερρόνησον πορεύεσθαι, ἀκούοντες δὲ Σεύθου πείθοντος ἑαυτῶι συστρατεύεσθαι, πάντες μὲν ἐλέγετε σὺν Σεύθῃ ιέναι, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσασθε ταῦτα. τί οὖν ἐγὼ ἐνταῦθα ἡδίκησα ἀγαγὼν ὑμᾶς ἔνθα πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει; [7.6.15] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ψεύδεσθαι ἥρξατο Σεύθης περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, εἰ μὲν ἐπαινῶ αὐτόν, δικαίως ἂν με καὶ αἰτιώσθε καὶ μισοῖτε· εἰ δὲ πρόσθεν αὐτῶι πάντων μάλιστα φίλος ὢν νῦν πάντων διαφορώτατός εἰμι, πῶς ἂν ἔτι δικαίως ὑμᾶς αἰρούμενος ἀντὶ Σεύθου ὑφ' ὑμῶν αἰτίαν ἔχοιμι περὶ ὧν πρὸς τοῦτον διαφέρομαι; [7.6.16] ἀλλ' εἵποιτ' ἂν ὅτι ἔξεστι καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχοντα παρὰ Σεύθου τεχνάζειν. οὐκοῦν δῆλον τοῦτό γέ ἐστιν, εἵπερ ἐμοὶ ἐτέλει τι Σεύθης, οὐχ οὕτως ἐτέλει δήπου ὥς ὧν τε ἐμοὶ δοίη στέροιτο καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀποτείσειεν, ἀλλ' οἶμαι, εἰ ἐδίδου, ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐδίδου ὅπως ἐμοὶ δοὺς μείον μὴ ἀποδοίῃ ὑμῖν τὸ πλεόν. [7.6.17] εἰ τοίνυν οὕτως ἔχειν οἴεσθε, ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ματαίαν ταύτην τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν πράττητε αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι Σεύθης, εἰ ἔχω τι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπαιτήσῃ με, καὶ ἀπαιτήσῃ μέντοι δικαίως, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιῶ τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτῶι ἐφ' ἣ ἐδωροδόκουν. [7.6.18] ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ μοι δοκῶ δεῖν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔχειν· ὁμνῶ γὰρ ὑμῖν θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ πάσας μηδ' ἃ ἐμοὶ ἰδία ὑπέσχετο Σεύθης ἔχειν· πάρεστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀκούων σύννοιδέ μοι εἰ ἐπιorkῶ. [7.6.19] ἵνα δὲ μᾶλλον θαυμάσητε, συνεπόμενυμι μηδὲ ἃ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ ἔλαβον εἰληφέναι, μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ ὅσα τῶν λοχαγῶν ἔνιοι. [7.6.20] καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν; ὦιμην, ἄνδρες, ὅσω, μᾶλλον συμφέροιμι τούτῳ τὴν τότε πενίαν, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν φίλον ποιήσεσθαι, ὅποτε δυνασθεῖη. ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τε αὐτὸν ὀρῶ εὖ πράττοντα καὶ γινώσκω δὴ αὐτοῦ τὴν γνώμην. [7.6.21] εἵποι δὴ τις ἂν, οὐκουν αἰσχύνῃ οὕτω μώρως ἐξαπατῶμενος; ναὶ μὰ Δία ἡισχνόμην μέντ' ἂν, εἰ ὑπὸ πολεμίου γε ὄντος ἐξηπατήθην· φίλῳ δὲ ὄντι ἐξαπατᾶν αἰσχίον μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. [7.6.22] ἐπεὶ εἴ γε

πρὸς φίλους ἐστὶ φυλακή, πᾶσαν οἶδα ἡμᾶς φυλαξαμένους ὥς μὴ παρασχεῖν τούτῳ πρόφασιν δικαίαν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι ἡμῖν ἃ ὑπέσχετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδίκησαμεν τοῦτον οὐδὲν οὔτε κατεβλακεύσαμεν τὰ τούτου οὐδὲ μὴν κατεδειλιάσαμεν οὐδὲν ἐφ' ὃ τι ἡμᾶς οὗτος παρεκάλεσεν. [7.6.23] ἀλλά, φαίητε ἄν, ἔδει τὰ ἐνέχυρα τότε λαβεῖν, ὥς μὴδ' εἰ ἐβούλετο ἐδύνατο ἐξαπατᾶν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούσατε ἃ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἶπον τούτου ἐναντίον, εἰ μὴ μοι παντάπασιν ἀγνώμονες ἐδοκεῖτε εἶναι ἢ λίαν εἰς ἐμὲ ἀχάριστοι. [7.6.24] ἀναμνήσθητε γὰρ ἐν ποίοις τισὶ πράγμασιν ὄντες ἐτυχάνετε, ἐξ ὧν ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ ἀνήγαγον πρὸς Σεύθην. οὐκ εἰς μὲν Πέρινθον προσῆτε [πόλιν], Ἀρίσταρχος δ' ὑμᾶς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐκ εἶα εἰσιέναι ἀποκλείσας τὰς πύλας; ὑπαίθριοι δ' ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετε, μέσος δὲ χειμῶν ἦν, ἀγορᾷ δὲ ἐχρήσθε σπάνια μὲν ὀρῶντες τὰ ὦνια, σπάνια δ' ἔχοντες ὅτων ὠνήσεσθε, ἀνάγκη δὲ ἦν μένειν ἐπὶ Θράκης; [7.6.25] τριήρεις γὰρ ἐφορμοῦσαι ἐκώλυον διαπλεῖν· εἰ δὲ μένοι τις, ἐν πολεμίαι εἶναι, ἔνθα πολλοὶ μὲν ἵππεῖς ἦσαν ἐναντίοι, [7.6.26] πολλοὶ δὲ πελτασταί, ἡμῖν δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν ἦν ὡς ἄνθρωποι μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὰς κώμας ἴσως ἂν ἐδυνάμεθα σῖτον λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν τι ἄφθονον, ὅτῳ δὲ διώκοντες ἂν ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἢ πρόβατα κατελαμβάνομεν οὐκ ἦν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἵππικὸν οὔτε πελταστικὸν ἔτι ἐγὼ συνεστηκὸς κατέλαβον παρ' ὑμῖν. [7.6.27] εἰ οὖν ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἀνάγκῃ ὄντων ὑμῶν μὴδ' ὄντιναοῦν μισθὸν προσαιτήσας Σεύθην σύμμαχον ὑμῖν προσέλαβον, ἔχοντα καὶ ἵππεας καὶ πελταστὰς ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδεῖσθε, ἢ κακῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν ὑμῖν βεβουλεῦσθαι πρὸ ὑμῶν; [7.6.28] τούτων γὰρ δήπου κοινωνήσαντες καὶ σῖτον ἀφθονώτερον ἐν ταῖς κώμας ἠύρισκετε διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τοὺς Θρᾷκας κατὰ σπουδὴν μᾶλλον φεύγειν, καὶ προβάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων μᾶλλον μετέσχετε. [7.6.29] καὶ πολέμιον οὐκέτι οὐδένα ἐωρῶμεν ἐπειδὴ τὸ ἵππικὸν ἡμῖν προσεγένετο· τέως δὲ θαρραλέως ἡμῖν ἐφείποντο οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἵππικῶι καὶ πελταστικῶι κωλύοντες μῆδαμῃ κατ' ὀλίγους ἀποσκεδαννυμένους τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθονώτερα ἡμᾶς πορίζεσθαι. [7.6.30] εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προστετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδαμῇ οἶεσθε χρῆναι ζῶντα ἐμὲ ἀνεῖναι; [7.6.31] νῦν δὲ δὴ πῶς ἀπέρχεσθε; οὐ διαχειμάσαντες μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, περιττὸν δ' ἔχοντες τοῦτο εἴ τι ἐλάβετε παρὰ Σεύθου; τὰ γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων ἐδαπανᾶτε. καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντες οὔτε ἄνδρας ἐπέιδετε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντας οὔτε

ζῶντας ἀπεβάλετε. [7.6.32] εἰ δέ τι καλὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ βαρβάρους ἐπέπρακτο ὑμῖν, οὐ καὶ ἐκεῖνο σὼν ἔχετε καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνοις νῦν ἄλλην εὐκλειαν προσειλήφατε καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Θρᾷκας ἐφ' οὓς ἐστρατεύσασθε κρατήσαντες; ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς φημι δικαίως ἂν ὧν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε τούτων τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὡς ἀγαθῶν. [7.6.33] καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα τοιαῦτα. ἄγετε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ σκέψασθε ὡς ἔχει. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅτε μὲν πρότερον ἀπῆια οἴκαδε, ἔχων μὲν ἔπαινον πολὺν πρὸς ὑμῶν ἀπεπορευόμεν, ἔχων δὲ δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εὐκλειαν. ἐπιστευόμεν δὲ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν με ἔπεμπον πάλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. [7.6.34] νῦν δὲ ἀπέρχομαι πρὸς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ὑφ' ὑμῶν διαβεβλημένος, Σεύθῃ δὲ ἀπηχθημένος ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὃν ἡλιζον εὖ ποιήσας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποστροφὴν καὶ ἐμοὶ καλὴν καὶ παισίν, εἰ γένοιτο, καταθήσεσθαι. [7.6.35] ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἀπήχθημαί τε πλεῖστα καὶ ταῦτα πολὺν κρεῖττοσιν ἐμαυτοῦ, πραγματευόμενός τε οὐδὲ νῦν πω πέπαυμαι ὅ τι δύναμαι ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν, τοιαύτην ἔχετε γνώμην περὶ ἐμοῦ. [7.6.36] ἀλλ' ἔχετε μὲν με οὔτε φεύγοντα λαβόντες οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκοντα· ἦν δὲ ποιήσητε ἃ λέγετε, ἵστε ὅτι ἄνδρα κατακεκονότες ἔσεσθε πολλὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸ ὑμῶν ἀγρυπνήσαντα, πολλὰ δὲ σὺν ὑμῖν πονήσαντα καὶ κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μέρει καὶ παρὰ τὸ μέρος, θεῶν δ' ἵλεων ὄντων καὶ τρόπαια βαρβάρων πολλὰ δὴ σὺν ὑμῖν στησάμενον, ὅπως δέ γε μηδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολέμιοι γένησθε, πᾶν ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς διατεινόμενον. [7.6.37] καὶ γὰρ οὖν νῦν ὑμῖν ἔξεστιν ἀνεπιλήπτως πορεύεσθαι ὅπῃ ἂν ἔλησθε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅτε πολλὴ ὑμῖν εὐπορία φαίνεται, καὶ πλεῖτε ἔνθα δὴ ἐπεθυμεῖτε πάλαι, δέονται τε ὑμῶν οἱ μέγιστον δυνάμενοι, μισθὸς δὲ φαίνεται, ἡγεμόνες δὲ ἡκουσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ κράτιστοι νομιζόμενοι εἶναι, νῦν δὴ καιρὸς ὑμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς τάχιστα ἐμὲ κατακαίνειν; [7.6.38] οὐ μὴν ὅτε γε ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις ἤμεν, ὧ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρα ἐμὲ ἐκαλεῖτε καὶ αἰεὶ ὡς εὐεργέτου μεμνήσεσθαι ὑπισχεῖσθε. οὐ μέντοι ἀγνώμονες οὐδὲ οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ νῦν ἦκοντες ἐφ' ὑμᾶς· ὥστε, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδὲ τούτοις δοκεῖτε βελτίονες εἶναι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες περὶ ἐμέ.» ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

[7.6.39] Χαρμῖνος δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀναστὰς εἶπεν· «οὐ τὼ σιώ, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὐ δικαίως δοκεῖτε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ χαλεπαίνειν· ἔχω γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι. Σεύθης γὰρ ἐρωτῶντος ἐμοῦ

[7.6.40] ἀναστὰς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Εὐρύλοχος Λουσιιάτης Ἀρκὰς εἶπεν· «καὶ δοκεῖ γέ μοι, ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτο ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἡμῶν στρατηγῆσαι, παρὰ Σεύθου ἡμῖν τὸν μισθὸν ἀναπρᾶξαι ἢ ἐκόντος ἢ ἄκοντος, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν.» [7.6.41] Πολυκράτης δὲ Ἀθηναῖος εἶπεν ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος· «ὅρῳ γε μὴν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ Ἡρακλείδην ἐνταῦθα παρόντα, ὃς παραλαβὼν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ἡμεῖς ἐπονήσαμεν, ταῦτα ἀποδόμενος οὔτε Σεύθῳ ἀπέδωκεν οὔτε ἡμῖν τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κλέψας πέπαται. ἦν οὖν σωφρονῶμεν, ἐξόμεθα αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὗτός γε, ἔφη, Θραῖξ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' Ἑλλήν ὢν Ἑλλήνας ἀδικεῖ.»

[7.6.42] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλείδης μάλα ἐξεπλάγῃ· καὶ προσελθὼν τῷ Σεύθῃ λέγει· «ἡμεῖς ἦν σωφρονῶμεν, ἅπιμεν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐπικρατείας.» καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ὦιχοντο ἀπελαύνοντες εἰς τὸ ἐαυτῶν στρατόπεδον. [7.6.43] καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης πέμπει Ἀβροζέλμην τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ἐρμηνέα πρὸς Ξενοφῶντα καὶ κελεύει αὐτὸν καταμεῖναι παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἔχοντα χιλίους ὀπλίτας, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖται αὐτῷ ἀποδώσειν τὰ τε χωρία τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ ποιησάμενος λέγει ὅτι ἀκήκοε Πολυνίκου ὥς εἰ ὑποχείριος ἔσται Λακεδαιμονίοις, σαφῶς ἀποθανοῖτο ὑπὸ Θίβρωνος. [7.6.44] ἐπέστελλον δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὥς διαβεβλημένος εἴη καὶ φυλάττεσθαι δέοι. ὁ δὲ ἀκούων ταῦτα δύο ἱερεῖα λαβὼν ἐθύετο τῷ Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πότερά οἱ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶη μένειν παρὰ Σεύθῃ ἐφ' οἷς Σεύθης λέγει ἢ ἀπιέναι σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι. ἀναιρεῖ αὐτῷ ἀπιέναι.

[7.7.1] ἐντεῦθεν Σεύθης μὲν ἀπεστρατοπεδεύσατο προσωπέρῳ· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐσκήνησαν εἰς κώμας ὅθεν ἔμελλον πλεῖστα ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἥξειν. αἱ δὲ κῶμαι αὗται ἦσαν δεδομέναι ὑπὸ Σεύθου Μηδοσάδῃ. [7.7.2] ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Μηδοσάδης δαπανώμενα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαλεπῶς ἔφερε· καὶ λαβὼν ἄνδρα Οδρύσην δυνατώτατον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταβεβηκότων καὶ ἱππέας ὅσον τριάκοντα ἔρχεται καὶ προκαλεῖται Ξενοφῶντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος. καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τινὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων προσέρχεται. [7.7.3] ἔνθα δὲ λέγει Μηδοσάδης· «ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τὰς ἡμετέρας κώμας πορθοῦντες. προλέγομεν οὖν ὑμῖν,

ἐγὼ τε ὑπὲρ Σεύθου καὶ ὅδε ἀνὴρ παρὰ Μηδόκου ἦκων τοῦ ἄνω βασιλέως, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ποιῆτε κακῶς τὴν ἡμετέραν χώραν, ὥς πολεμίους ἀλεξόμεθα.»

[7.7.4] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν τοιαῦτα λέγοντι καὶ ἀποκρίνασθαι χαλεπὸν· τούτου δ' ἔνεκα τοῦ νεανίσκου λέξω, ἵν' εἰδῇ οἱοί τε ὑμεῖς ἐστε καὶ οἱοὶ ἡμεῖς. [7.7.5] ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, πρὶν ὑμῖν φίλοι γενέσθαι ἐπορευόμεθα διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας ὅποι ἐβουλόμεθα, ἣν μὲν ἐθέλοιμεν πορθοῦντες, [7.7.6] ἣν δὲ θέλοιμεν καίοντες, καὶ σὺ ὁπότε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔλθοις πρεσβεύων, ἠυλίξου τότε παρ' ἡμῖν οὐδένα φοβούμενος τῶν πολέμιων· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἦτε εἰς τήνδε τὴν χώραν, ἢ εἰ ποτε ἔλθοιτε, ὥς ἐν κρειττόνων χώραι ἠυλίξεσθε ἐγκεχαλινωμένοις τοῖς ἵπποις. [7.7.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν φίλοι ἐγένεσθε καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς σὺν θεοῖς ἔχετε τήνδε τὴν χώραν, νῦν δὴ ἐξελαύνετε ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἣν παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐχόντων κατὰ κράτος, παρελάβετε· ὥς γὰρ αὐτὸς οἴσθα, οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνειν. [7.7.8] καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδ' ἐναυλισθῆναι ὅσον δύνασαι ἐπιτρέπεις. [7.7.9] καὶ ταῦτα λέγων οὔτε θεοὺς αἰσχύνῃ οὔτε τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς νῦν μὲν σε ὀρᾷ πλουτοῦντα, πρὶν δὲ ἡμῖν φίλον γενέσθαι ἀπὸ ληιστείας τὸν βίον ἔχοντα, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφησθα. [7.7.10] ἀτὰρ τί καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγεις ταῦτα; ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι ἄρχω, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἷς ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε τὸ στράτευμα ἀπαγαγεῖν οὐδὲν ἐμὲ παρακαλέσαντες, ὃ θαυμαστότατοι, ὅπως ὥσπερ ἀπηχθανόμην αὐτοῖς ὅτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἦγον, οὕτω καὶ χαρισαίμην νῦν ἀποδιδούς.»

[7.7.11] ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Ὀδρύσης, εἶπεν· «ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ Μηδόσαδες, κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύομαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἀκούων ταῦτα. καὶ εἰ μὲν πρόσθεν ἠπιστάμην, οὐδ' ἂν συνηκολούθησά σοι· καὶ νῦν ἄπειμι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Μήδοκός με ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπαινοίη, εἰ ἐξελαύνοιμι τοὺς εὐεργέτας.» [7.7.12] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήλανε καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἄλλοι ἵππεῖς πλὴν τεττάρων ἢ πέντε. ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης (ἐλύπει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἡ χώρα πορθουμένη), ἐκέλευε τὸν Ξενοφῶντα καλέσαι τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ. [7.7.13] καὶ ὃς λαβὼν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους προσῆλθε τῷ Χαρμίνῳ καὶ Πολυνίκῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι καλεῖ αὐτοὺς Μηδοσάδης προερῶν ἅπερ αὐτῷ, ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας. [7.7.14] οἴομαι ἂν οὖν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς ἀπολαβεῖν τῇ στρατιᾷ τὸν

ὀφειλόμενον μισθόν, εἰ εἶποιτε ὅτι δεδέσθαι ὑμῶν ἡ στρατιὰ συναναπρᾶξαι τὸν μισθὸν ἢ παρ' ἐκόντος ἢ παρ' ἄκοντος Σεύθου, καὶ ὅτι τούτων τυχόντες προθύμως ἂν συνέπεσθαι ὑμῖν φασί· καὶ ὅτι δίκαια ὑμῖν δοκοῦσι λέγειν· καὶ ὅτι ὑπέσχεσθε αὐτοῖς τότε ἀπιέναι ὅταν τὰ δίκαια ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται. [7.7.15] ἀκούσαντες οἱ Λάκωνες ταῦτα ἔφασαν ἐρεῖν καὶ ἄλλα ὅποια ἂν δύνωνται κράτιστα· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε Χαρμῖνος· «εἰ μὲν σύ τι ἔχεις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, πρὸς ἡμᾶς λέγειν, εἰ δὲ μή, ἡμεῖς πρὸς σὲ ἔχομεν.» [7.7.16] ὁ δὲ Μηδοσάδης μάλα δὴ ὑφειμένως· «ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν λέγω, ἔφη, καὶ Σεύθης τὰ αὐτά, ὅτι ἀξιοῦμεν τοὺς φίλους ἡμῖν γεγεννημένους μὴ κακῶς πάσχειν ὑφ' ὑμῶν. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν τούτους κακῶς ποιῆτε ἡμᾶς ἤδη ποιεῖτε· ἡμέτεροι γάρ εἰσιν.» [7.7.17] «ἡμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφασαν οἱ Λάκωνες, ἀπίοιμεν ἂν ὁπότε τὸν μισθὸν ἔχοιεν οἱ ταῦτα ὑμῖν καταπράξαντες· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐρχόμεθα μὲν καὶ νῦν βοηθήσοντες τούτοις καὶ τιμωρησόμενοι ἄνδρας οἱ τούτους παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἠδίκησαν. ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς τοιοῦτοι ἦτε, ἐνθὲνδε ἀρξόμεθα τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνειν.» [7.7.18] ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· «ἐθέλοιτε ἂν τούτοις, ὦ Μηδόσαδες, ἐπιτρέψαι, ἐπειδὴ φίλους ἔφατε εἶναι ὑμῖν, ἐν ὧν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐσμέν, ὁπότερ' ἂν ψηφίσωνται, εἴθ' ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπιέναι εἴθ' ἡμᾶς;» [7.7.19] ὁ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔφη· ἐκέλευε δὲ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ Λάκωνε ἐλθεῖν παρὰ Σεύθην περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ, καὶ οἶεσθαι ἂν Σεύθην πεῖσαι· εἰ δὲ μή, Ξενοφῶντα σὺν αὐτῷ πέμπειν, καὶ συμπράξειν ὑπισχνεῖτο. ἐδεῖτο δὲ τὰς κόμας μὴ καίειν.

[7.7.20] ἐντεῦθεν πέμπουσι Ξενοφῶντα καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι. ὁ δὲ ἐλθὼν λέγει πρὸς Σεύθην· «οὐδὲν ἀπαιτήσων, ὦ Σεύθη, πάρειμι, ἀλλὰ διδάξων, ἦν δύνωμαι, [7.7.21] ὥς οὐ δικαίως μοι ἠχθέσθης ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπήτητον σε προθύμως ἃ ὑπέσχου αὐτοῖς· σοὶ γὰρ ἔγωγε οὐχ ἦττον ἐνόμιζον σύμφορον εἶναι ἀποδοῦναι ἢ ἐκείνοις ἀπολαβεῖν. [7.7.22] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἶδα μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰς τὸ φανερόν σε τούτους καταστήσαντας, ἐπεὶ γε βασιλέα σε ἐποίησαν πολλῆς χώρας καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὥστε οὐχ οἷόν τέ σοι λανθάνειν οὔτε ἦν τι καλὸν οὔτε ἦν τι αἰσχρὸν ποιήσης. [7.7.23] τοιούτῳ δὲ ὄντι ἀνδρὶ μέγα μὲν μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι μὴ δοκεῖν ἀχαρίστως ἀποπέμψασθαι ἄνδρας εὐεργέτας, μέγα δὲ εὖ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἐξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον μηδαμῶς ἄπιστον σαυτὸν καταστήσαι ὅ τι λέγοις. [7.7.24] ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν

ἀπίστων ματαίους καὶ ἀδυνάτους καὶ ἀτίμους τοὺς λόγους
πλανωμένους· οἱ δ' ἂν φανεροὶ ᾧσιν ἀλήθειαν ἀσκοῦντες, τούτων οἱ
λόγοι, ἦν τι δέωνται, οὐδὲν μείον δύνανται ἀνύσασθαι ἢ ἄλλων ἡ
βία· ἦν τέ τινας σωφρονίζειν βούλονται, γινώσκω τὰς τούτων
ἀπειλὰς οὐχ ἥττον σωφρονιζούσας ἢ ἄλλων τὸ ἤδη κολάζειν· ἦν τέ
τῇ τι ὑπισχνῶνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν μείον διαπράττονται ἢ
ἄλλοι παραχρῆμα διδόντες· [7.7.25] ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ καὶ σὺ τί
προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες. οἶσθ' ὅτι οὐδέν· ἀλλὰ
πιστευθεὶς ἀληθεύσειν ἃ ἔλεγες ἐπῆρας τοσοῦτους ἀνθρώπους
συστρατεύεσθαι τε καὶ κατεργάσασθαι σοι ἀρχὴν οὐ τριάκοντα
μόνον ἀξίαν τάλαντων, ὅσα οἶονται δεῖν οὗτοι νῦν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ
πολλαπλασίον. [7.7.26] οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον τὸ πιστεῦεσθαι, τὸ
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σοι κατεργασάμενον, τούτων τῶν χρημάτων
πιπράσκεται. [7.7.27] ἴθι δὴ ἀναμνήσθητι πῶς μέγα ἡγοῦ τότε
καταπρᾶξις ἃ νῦν καταστρεψάμενος ἔχεις. ἐγὼ μὲν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἡῤῥω
ἂν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα μᾶλλον σοι καταπραχθῆναι ἢ πολλαπλάσια
τούτων τῶν χρημάτων γενέσθαι. [7.7.28] ἐμοὶ τοίνυν μείζον βλάβος καὶ
αἴσχιον δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ταῦτα νῦν μὴ κατασχεῖν ἢ τότε μὴ λαβεῖν,
ὅσωιπερ χαλεπώτερον ἐκ πλουσίου πένητα γενέσθαι ἢ ἀρχὴν μὴ
πλουτῆσαι, καὶ ὅσωι λυπηρότερον ἐκ βασιλέως ιδιώτην φανῆναι ἢ
ἀρχὴν μὴ βασιλεῦσαι. [7.7.29] οὐκοῦν ἐπίστασαι μὲν ὅτι οἱ νῦν σοι
ὑπήκοοι γενόμενοι οὐ φιλαίᾳ τῇ σῇ ἐπείσθησαν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἄρχεσθαι
ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ, καὶ ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖεν ἂν πάλιν ἐλευθέροι γίγνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ
τις αὐτοὺς φόβος κατέχοι. [7.7.30] ποτέρως οὖν οἶει μᾶλλον ἂν
φοβεῖσθαι τε αὐτοὺς καὶ σωφρονεῖν τὰ πρὸς σέ, εἰ ὁρᾶῖεν σοι τοὺς
στρατιώτας οὕτω διακειμένους ὥς νῦν τε μένοντας ἂν, εἰ σὺ
κελεύοις, αὐθὶς τ' ἂν ταχὺ ἐλθόντας, εἰ δέοι, ἄλλους τε τούτων περὶ
σοῦ ἀκούοντας πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ ταχὺ ἂν σοι ὁπότε βούλοιο
παραγενέσθαι, ἢ εἰ καταδοξάσειαν μήτ' ἂν ἄλλους σοι ἐλθεῖν δι'
ἀπιστίαν ἐκ τῶν νῦν γεγενημένων τούτους τε αὐτοῖς εὐνουστέρους
εἶναι ἢ σοί; [7.7.31] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ πλήθει γε ἡμῶν λειφθέντες ὑπεῖξάν
σοι, ἀλλὰ προστατῶν ἀπορία. οὐκοῦν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο κίνδυνος μὴ
λάβωσι προστάτας αὐτῶν τινας τούτων οἱ νομίζουσιν ὑπὸ σοῦ
ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ καὶ τούτων κρείττονας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐὰν μὲν
οἱ στρατιῶται ὑπισχνῶνται προθυμότερον αὐτοῖς συστρατεύσεσθαι,
ἂν τὰ παρὰ σοῦ νῦν ἀναπράξωσιν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τὸ
δεῖσθαι τῆς στρατιᾶς συναινέσωσιν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα. [7.7.32] ὅτι γε μὴν οἱ

νῦν ὑπὸ σοὶ Θραῖκες γενόμενοι πολὺ ἂν προθυμότερον ἴοιεν ἐπὶ σε ἢ
σὺν σοὶ οὐκ ἄδηλον· σοῦ μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦντος δουλεία ὑπάρχει
αὐτοῖς, κρατουμένου δέ σου ἐλευθερία. [7.7.33] εἰ δὲ καὶ τῆς χώρας
προνοεῖσθαι ἥδη τι δεῖ ὡς σῆς οὔσης, ποτέρως ἂν οἶει ἀπαθῆ κακῶν
μᾶλλον αὐτὴν εἶναι, εἰ οὗτοι οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπολαβόντες ἃ
ἐγκαλοῦσιν εἰρήνην καταλιπόντες οἴχονται, ἢ εἰ οὗτοί τε μένοιεν ὡς
ἐν πολεμίαι σὺ τε ἄλλους πειρῶιο πλέονας τούτων ἔχων
ἀντιστρατοπεδεύεσθαι δεομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων; [7.7.34] ἀργύριον δὲ
ποτέρως ἂν πλεόν ἀναλωθεῖη, εἰ τούτοις τὸ ὀφειλόμενον ἀποδοθεῖη,
ἢ εἰ ταῦτά τε ὀφείλοιντο ἄλλους τε κρείττονας δέοι σε μισθοῦσθαι;
[7.7.35] ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἡρακλείδῃ, ὡς πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐδήλου, πάμπολυ δοκεῖ
τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον εἶναι. ἢ μὴν πολὺ γέ ἐστιν ἔλαττον νῦν σοὶ καὶ
λαβεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἢ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς σὲ δέκατον
τούτου μέρος. [7.7.36] οὐ γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ὀρίζων τὸ πολὺ καὶ τὸ
ὀλίγον, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις τοῦ τε ἀποδιδόντος καὶ λαμβάνοντος. σοὶ δὲ
νῦν ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσοδος πλείων ἔσται ἢ ἔμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα
πάντα ἃ ἐκέκτησο. [7.7.37] ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σεύθῃ, ταῦτα ὡς φίλου ὄντος
σου προυνοοῦμην, ὅπως σὺ τε ἄξιος δοκοῖης εἶναι ὧν οἱ θεοὶ σοὶ
ἔδωκαν ἀγαθῶν ἐγὼ τε μὴ διαφθαρεῖν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ. [7.7.38] εὖ γὰρ
ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἐγὼ οὗτ' ἂν ἐχθρὸν βουλόμενος κακῶς ποιῆσαι
δυνηθεῖν σὺν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ οὗτ' ἂν εἴ σοι πάλιν βουλοίμην
βοηθῆσαι, ἱκανὸς ἂν γενοίμην. οὕτω γὰρ πρὸς με ἡ στρατιὰ
διάκειται. [7.7.39] καίτοι αὐτόν σε μάρτυρα σὺν θεοῖς εἰδόσι ποιοῦμαι
ὅτι οὔτε ἔχω παρὰ σοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις οὐδὲν οὔτε ἥτιςσα
πώποτε εἰς τὸ ἴδιον τὰ ἐκείνων οὔτε ἃ ὑπέσχου μοι ἀπῆιτησα· [7.7.40]
ὁμνυμι δέ σοι μηδὲ ἀποδιδόντος δέξασθαι ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
ἔμελλον τὰ ἑαυτῶν συναπολαμβάνειν. αἰσchrὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ
διαπεπρᾶχθαι, τὰ δ' ἐκείνων περιδεῖν κακῶς ἔχοντα ἄλλως τε καὶ
τιμώμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. [7.7.41] καίτοι Ἡρακλείδῃ γε λῆρος πάντα
δοκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ ἀργύριον ἔχειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ
Σεύθῃ, οὐδὲν νομίζω ἀνδρὶ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι
κτῆμα οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ γενναιότητος.
[7.7.42] ὁ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔχων πλουτεῖ μὲν ὄντων φίλων πολλῶν, πλουτεῖ δὲ
ἄλλων βουλομένων γενέσθαι, καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττων ἔχει τοὺς
συνησθησομένους, ἐὰν δέ τι σφαλῇ, οὐ σπανίζει τῶν βοηθησόντων.
[7.7.43] ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων κατέμαθες ὅτι σοὶ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς
φίλος ἦν, μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων δύνασαι τοῦτο γινῶναι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς

τῶν στρατιωτῶν λόγους πάντας κατανόησον· παρῆσθα γὰρ καὶ ἤκουες ἃ ἔλεγον οἱ ψέγειν ἐμὲ βουλόμενοι. [7.7.44] κατηγοροῦν γάρ μου πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥς σὲ περὶ πλείονος ποιοίμην ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐνεκάλουν ἐμοὶ ὥς μᾶλλον μέλει μοι ὅπως τὰ σὰ καλῶς ἔχοι ἢ ὅπως τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἔφασαν δέ με καὶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. [7.7.45] καίτοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα πότερον οἶει αὐτοὺς κακόνοιάν τινα ἐνιδόντας μοι πρὸς σὲ αἰτιᾶσθαι με ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ ἢ προθυμίαν πολλὴν περὶ σὲ κατανόησαντας; [7.7.46] ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους νομίζειν εὖνοιαν δεῖν ἀποδείκνυσθαι τούτῳ παρ' οὗ ἂν δῶρά τις λαμβάνῃ. σὺ δὲ πρὶν μὲν ὑπηρετῆσαι τί σοι ἐμὲ ἐδέξω ἡδέως καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ ξενίοις καὶ ὅσα ἔσοιτο ὑπισχνούμενος οὐκ ἐνεπίμπλασο· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπραξας ἃ ἐβούλου καὶ γεγένησαι ὅσον ἐγὼ ἐδυνάμην μέγιστος, νῦν οὕτω με ἄτιμον ὄντα ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις τολμᾷς περιορᾶν; [7.7.47] ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι σοι δόξει ἀποδοῦναι πιστεύω καὶ τὸν χρόνον διδάξῃ σε καὶ αὐτόν γέ σε οὐχὶ ἀνέξεσθαι τοὺς σοὶ προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν ὀρῶντά σοι ἐγκαλοῦντας. δέομαι οὖν σου, ὅταν ἀποδιδῶς, προθυμῆσθαι ἐμὲ παρὰ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοιοῦτον ποιῆσαι οἷόνπερ καὶ παρέλαβες.»

[7.7.48] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Σεύθης κατηράσατο τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ μὴ πάλαι ἀποδεδόσθαι τὸν μισθόν· καὶ πάντες Ἡρακλείδην τοῦτον ὑπόπτευσαν εἶναι· «ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, οὔτε διενόηθην πώποτε ἀποστερῆσαι ἀποδώσω τε.» [7.7.49] ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Ξενοφῶν· «ἐπεὶ τοίνυν διανοῇ ἀποδιδόναι, νῦν ἐγὼ σου δέομαι δι' ἐμοῦ ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν με διὰ σὲ ἀνομοίως ἔχοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ νῦν τε καὶ ὅτε πρὸς σὲ ἀφικόμεθα.» [7.7.50] ὁ δ' εἶπεν· «ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἔσει δι' ἐμὲ ἀτιμότερος ἂν τε μένης παρ' ἐμοὶ χιλίους μόνους ὀπλίτας ἔχων, ἐγὼ σοι τά τε χωρία ἀποδώσω καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ὑπεσχόμην.» [7.7.51] ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπε· «ταῦτα μὲν ἔχειν οὕτως οὐχ οἷόν τε· ἀπόπεμπε δὲ ἡμᾶς.» «καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σεύθης, καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν γέ σοι οἶδα ὄν παρ' ἐμοὶ μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι.» [7.7.52] ὁ δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν· «ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν σὴν πρόνοιαν ἐπαινῶ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μένειν οὐχ οἷόν τε· ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐγὼ ἐντιμότερος ᾶ, νόμιζε καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι.» [7.7.53] ἐντεῦθεν λέγει Σεύθης· «ἀργύριον μὲν οὐκ ἔχω ἀλλ' ἢ μικρόν τι, καὶ τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι, τάλαντον· βοῦς δὲ ἑξακοσίους καὶ πρόβατα εἰς τετρακισχίλια καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ταῦτα λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε ὁμήρους προσλαβὼν ἄπιθι.» [7.7.54] γελάσας ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπεν· «ἦν οὖν μὴ ἐξικνῆται ταῦτ'

εἰς τὸν μισθόν, τίνος τάλαντον φήσω ἔχειν; ἄρ' οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνόν μοί ἐστιν, ἀπιόντα γε ἄμεινον φυλάττεσθαι πέτρους; ἦκουες δὲ τὰς ἀπειλάς.» τότε μὲν δὴ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.

[7.7.55] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίαι ἀπέδωκέ τε αὐτοῖς ἃ ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοὺς ἑλῶντας συνέπεμψεν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τέως μὲν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ Ξενοφῶν οἴχοιτο ὡς Σεύθην οἰκήσων καὶ ἃ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ ληγόμενος· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον, ἤσθησαν καὶ προσέθεον. [7.7.56] Ξενοφῶν δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε Χαρμῖνόν τε καὶ Πολύνικον· «ταῦτα, ἔφη, σέσωσται δι' ὑμᾶς τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραδίδωμι αὐτὰ ἐγὼ ὑμῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ διαθέμενοι διάδοτε τῇ στρατιᾷ.» οἱ μὲν οὖν παραλαβόντες καὶ λαφυροπώλας καταστήσαντες ἐπώλουν, καὶ πολλὴν εἶχον αἰτίαν. [7.7.57] Ξενοφῶν δὲ οὐ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ φανερός ἦν οἴκαδε παρασκευαζόμενος· οὐ γάρ πω ψῆφος αὐτῷ ἐπῆκτο Ἀθήνησι περὶ φυγῆς. προσελθόντες δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδέοντο μὴ ἀπελθεῖν πρὶν ἀπαγάγοι τὸ στράτευμα καὶ Θίβρωνι παραδοίῃ.

[7.8.1] ἐντεῦθεν διέπλευσαν εἰς Λάμψακον, καὶ ἀπαντᾷ τῷ Ξενοφῶντι Εὐκλείδης μάντις Φλειάσιος ὁ Κλεαγόρου υἱὸς τοῦ τὰ ἐντοίχια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος. οὗτος συνήδετο τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ὅτι ἐσέσωστο, καὶ ἡρώτα αὐτὸν πόσον χρυσίον ἔχοι. [7.8.2] ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐπομόσας εἶπεν ἥ μὴν ἔσεσθαι μηδὲ ἐφόδιον ἱκανὸν οἴκαδε ἀπιόντι, εἰ μὴ ἀπόδοιτο τὸν ἵππον καὶ ἃ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν εἶχεν. [7.8.3] ὁ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐπίστευεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπεμψαν Λαμψακηνοὶ ξένια τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἔθυε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, παρεστήσατο τὸν Εὐκλείδην· ἰδὼν δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ὁ Εὐκλείδης εἶπεν ὅτι πείθοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ εἶναι χρήματα. «ἀλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι κἂν μέλλῃ ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι, φαίνεται τι ἐμπόδιον, ἂν μηδὲν ἄλλο, σὺ σαυτῷ.» συνωμολόγει ταῦτα ὁ Ξενοφῶν. [7.8.4] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· «ἐμπόδιος γάρ σοι ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μειλίχιός ἐστι», καὶ ἐπήρετο εἰ ἤδη θύσειεν, «ὥσπερ οἴκοι, ἔφη, εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὀλοκαυτεῖν.» ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἐξ ὅτου ἀπεδήμησε τεθυκέναι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. συνεβούλευσεν οὖν αὐτῷ θύεσθαι καθὰ εἰώθει, καὶ ἔφη συνοίσειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον. [7.8.5] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίαι Ξενοφῶν προσελθὼν εἰς Ὀφρύνιον ἐθύετο καὶ ὠλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει. [7.8.6] καὶ ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφικνεῖται Βίων καὶ Ναυσικλείδης χρήματα δώσοντες τῷ στρατεύματι, καὶ ξενοῦνται τῷ Ξενοφῶντι καὶ ἵππον ὃν ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἀπέδοτο πεντήκοντα δαρεικῶν, ὑποπτεύοντες αὐτὸν δι' ἔνδειαν πεπρακέναι, ὅτι ἦκουον

αὐτὸν ἦδεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ, λυσάμενοι ἀπέδοσαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν οὐκ ἠθελον ἀπολαβεῖν. [7.8.7] ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Τρωιάδος, καὶ ὑπερβάντες τὴν Ἰδην εἰς Ἄντανδρον ἀφικνοῦνται πρῶτον, εἶτα παρὰ θάλατταν πορευόμενοι [τῆς Ἀσίας] εἰς Θήβης πεδίον. [7.8.8] ἐντεῦθεν δι' Ἀδραμυττίου καὶ Κερτωνοῦ ὁδεύσαντες εἰς Καΐκου πεδίον ἐλθόντες Πέργαμον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ξενοῦται Ξενοφῶν Ἑλλάδι τῇ Γογγύλου τοῦ Ἑρετριέως γυναικὶ καὶ Γοργίωνος καὶ Γογγύλου μητρί. [7.8.9] αὕτη δ' αὐτῷ φράζει ὅτι Ἀσιδάτης ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· τοῦτον ἔφη αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι τῆς νυκτὸς σὺν τριακοσίοις ἀνδράσι, λαβεῖν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα· εἶναι δὲ πολλά. ταῦτα δὲ καθηγησομένους ἔπεμψε τὸν τε αὐτῆς ἀνεψιὸν καὶ Δαφναγόραν, ὃν περὶ πλείστου ἐποίειτο. [7.8.10] ἔχων οὖν ὁ Ξενοφῶν τούτους παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἐθύετο. καὶ Βασίας ὁ Ἥλειος μάντις παρὼν εἶπεν ὅτι κάλλιστα εἴη τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀλώσιμος εἴη. [7.8.11] δειπνήσας οὖν ἐπορεύετο τοὺς τε λοχαγοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα φίλους λαβὼν καὶ .. πιστοὺς γεγεννημένους διὰ παντός, ὅπως εὖ ποιῆσαι αὐτούς. συνεξέρχονται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι βιασάμενοι εἰς ἑξακοσίους· οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀπήλαινον, ἵνα μὴ μεταδοῖεν τὸ μέρος, ὥς ἐτοίμων δὴ χρημάτων. [7.8.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, τὰ μὲν πέριξ ὄντα ἀνδράποδα τῆς τύρσιος καὶ χρήματα τὰ πλείστα ἀπέδρα αὐτοὺς παραμελοῦντας, ὥς τὸν Ἀσιδάτην αὐτὸν λάβοιεν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου. [7.8.13] πυργομαχοῦντες δὲ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο λαβεῖν τὴν τύρσιν (ὕψηλὴ γάρ ἦν καὶ μεγάλη καὶ προμαχεῶνας καὶ ἄνδρας πολλοὺς καὶ μαχίμους ἔχουσα), διορύττειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὸν πύργον. [7.8.14] ὁ δὲ τοῖχος ἦν ἐπ' ὀκτῶ πλίνθων γήινων τὸ εὖρος. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωρόρυκτο· καὶ ὥς τὸ πρῶτον διεφάνη, ἐπάταξεν ἔνδοθεν βουπόρῳ τις ὀβελίσκῳ διαμπερὲς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ ἐγγυτάτω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐκτοξεύοντες ἐποίουν μὴδὲ παριέναι ἔτι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι. [7.8.15] κεκραγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πυρσευόντων ἐκβοηθοῦσιν Ἰταμένης μὲν ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἐκ Κομανίας δὲ ὀπλίται Ἀσύριοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ἱππεῖς καὶ οὗτοι βασιλέως μισθοφόροι ὥς ὀγδοήκοντα, καὶ ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ Παρθενίου, ἄλλοι δ' ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν πλησίον χωρίων καὶ ἱππεῖς. [7.8.16] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὥρα ἦν σκοπεῖν πῶς ἔσται ἡ ἀφοδος· καὶ λαβόντες ὅσοι ἦσαν βόες καὶ πρόβατα ἤλαινον καὶ ἀνδράποδα ἐντὸς πλαισίου ποιησάμενοι, οὐ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔτι προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυγὴ εἴη ἢ

ἄφοδος, εἰ καταλιπόντες τὰ χρήματα ἀπίοιεν, καὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι θρασύτεροι εἶεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἄθυμότεροι· νῦν δὲ ἀπῆισαν ὡς περὶ τῶν χρημάτων μαχούμενοι. [7.8.17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα Γογγύλος ὀλίγους μὲν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικειμένους, ἐξέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς βίαι τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, βουλόμενος μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἔργου· συνεβοήθει δὲ καὶ Προκλῆς ἐξ Ἀλισάρνης καὶ Τευθρανίας ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου. [7.8.18] οἱ δὲ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἤδη ἐπιέζοντο ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων καὶ σφενδονῶν, πορευόμενοι κύκλῳ, ὅπως τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοιεν πρὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων, μόλις διαβαίνουσι τὸν Κάρκασον ποταμόν, τετρωμένοι ἐγγὺς οἱ ἡμίσεις. [7.8.19] ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγασίας ὁ Στυμφάλιος λοχαγὸς τιτρώσκεται, τὸν πάντα χρόνον μαχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ διασπίζονται ἀνδράποδα ὡς διακόσια ἔχοντες καὶ πρόβατα ὅσον θύματα. [7.8.20] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐξάγει νύκτωρ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως ὅτι μακροτάτην ἔλθοι τῆς Λυδίας, εἰς τὸ μὴ διὰ τὸ ἐγγὺς εἶναι φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφυλακτεῖν. [7.8.21] ὁ δὲ Ἀσιδάτης ἀκούσας ὅτι πάλιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τεθυμένος εἶη ὁ Ξενοφῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἦξοι, ἐξαυλίζεται εἰς κώμας ὑπὸ τὸ Παρθένιον πόλισμα ἐχούσας. [7.8.22] ἐνταῦθα οἱ περὶ Ξενοφῶντα συντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ πρότερα ἱερὰ ἀπέβη. [7.8.23] ἔπειτα πάλιν ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Πέργαμον. ἐνταῦθα τὸν θεὸν ἠσπάσατο Ξενοφῶν· συνέπραπτον γὰρ καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥστ' ἐξαίρετα λαβεῖν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ζεύγη καὶ τᾶλλα· ὥστε ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ἄλλον ἤδη εὖ ποιεῖν. [7.8.24] ἐν τούτῳ Θίβρων παραγενόμενος παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ συμμείζας τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐπολέμει πρὸς Τισσαφέρην καὶ Φαρνάβαζον.

[7.8.25] [ἄρχοντες δὲ οἶδε τῆς βασιλέως χώρας ὅσῃν ἐπῆλθομεν. Λυδίας Ἀρτίμας, Φρυγίας Ἀρτακάμας, Λυκαονίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας Μιθραδάτης, Κιλικίας Σύννεσις, Φοινίκης καὶ Ἀραβίας Δέρνης, Συρίας καὶ Ἀσσυρίας Βέλεσος, Βαβυλῶνος Ῥωπάρας, Μηδίας Ἀρβάκας, Φασιανῶν καὶ Ἑσπεριτῶν Τιρίβαζος· Καρδοῦχοι δὲ καὶ Χάλυβες καὶ Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Μάκρωνες καὶ Κόλχοι καὶ Μοσσύνοικοι καὶ Κοῖτοι καὶ Τιβαρηνοὶ αὐτόνομοι· Παφλαγονίας Κορύλας, Βιθυνῶν Φαρνάβαζος, τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ Θραικῶν Σεύθης. [7.8.26] ἀριθμὸς συμπάσης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως

σταθμοὶ διακόσιοι δεκαπέντε, παρασάγγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πενήκοντα, στάδια τρισμύρια τετρακισχίλια διακόσια πενήκοντα πέντε. χρόνου πλῆθος τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ καταβάσεως ἑνιαυτὸς καὶ τρεῖς μῆνες.]

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Βιβλίον η΄

Βιβλίον α'

[1.1.1] Ἐννοιά ποθ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο ὅσαι δημοκρατίαι κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλως πως βουλομένων πολιτεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν δημοκρατίαι, ὅσαι τ' αὖ μοναρχίαι, ὅσαι τε ὀλιγαρχίαι ἀνήγηνται ἤδη ὑπὸ δῆμων, καὶ ὅσοι τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ ταχὺ πάνπαν κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ κἂν ὅποσονοῦν χρόνον ἄρχοντες διαγέγονται, θαυμάζονται ὡς σοφοί τε καὶ εὐτυχεῖς ἄνδρες γεγενημένοι. πολλοὺς δ' ἐδοκοῦμεν καταμεμαθηκέναι καὶ ἐν ἰδίῳ οἴκοις τοὺς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ πλείονας οἰκέτας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ πάνν ὀλίγους, καὶ ὁμῶς οὐδὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τούτοις πάνν τι δυναμένους χρῆσθαι πειθομένοις τοὺς δεσπότης. [1.1.2] ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνενοοῦμεν ὅτι ἄρχοντες μὲν εἰσι καὶ οἱ βουκόλοι τῶν βοῶν καὶ οἱ ἵπποφορβοὶ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ καλούμενοι νομεῖς ὧν ἂν ἐπιστατῶσι ζώων εἰκότως ἂν ἄρχοντες τούτων νομίζοντο· πάσας τοίνυν ταύτας τὰς ἀγέλας ἐδοκοῦμεν ὁρᾶν μᾶλλον ἐθελούσας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νομεῦσιν ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ἄρχουσι. πορεύονται τε γὰρ αἱ ἀγέλαι ἢ ἂν αὐτὰς εὐθύνωσιν οἱ νομεῖς, νέμονταί τε χωρία ἐφ' ὅποια ἂν αὐτὰς ἐπάγωσιν, ἀπέχονται τε ὧν ἂν αὐτὰς ἀπείργωσι· καὶ τοῖς καρποῖς τοίνυν τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἑῷσι τοὺς νομέας χρῆσθαι οὕτως ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ βούλωνται. ἔτι τοίνυν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἀγέλην ἡισθήμεθα συστᾶσαν ἐπὶ τὸν νομέα οὔτε ὡς μὴ πείθεσθαι οὔτε ὡς μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τῷ καρπῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεπώτεραί εἰσιν αἱ ἀγέλαι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις ἢ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τε καὶ ὠφελουμένοις ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ἄνθρωποι δὲ ἐπ' οὐδένας μᾶλλον συνίστανται ἢ ἐπὶ τούτους οὓς ἂν αἰσθῶνται ἄρχειν αὐτῶν ἐπιχειροῦντας. [1.1.3] ὅτε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐνεθυμούμεθα, οὕτως ἐγγινώσκομεν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀνθρώπων πεφυκότη πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ῥᾶιον εἶη ζώων ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνενοήσαμεν ὅτι Κῦρος ἐγένετο Πέρσης, ὃς παμπόλλους μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐκτήσατο πειθομένους αὐτῷ, παμπόλλας δὲ πόλεις, πάμπολλα δὲ ἔθνη, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡναγκαζόμεθα μετανοεῖν μὴ οὔτε τῶν ἀδυνάτων οὔτε τῶν χαλεπῶν ἔργων ἢ τὸ ἀνθρώπων ἄρχειν, ἢν τις ἐπισταμένως τοῦτο πράττηι. Κύρῳ γοῦν ἴσμεν ἐθελήσαντας πείθεσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἀπέχοντας παμπόλλων ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μνηῶν, τοὺς δὲ οὐδ' ἑωρακότας πώποτ' αὐτόν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εὖ εἰδότας ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἴδοιεν, καὶ ὁμῶς ἤθελον αὐτῷ ὑπακούειν. [1.1.4]

καὶ γάρ τοι τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν πατρίους ἀρχὰς παρειληφότων καὶ τῶν δι' ἑαυτῶν κτησαμένων, ὥσθ' ὁ μὲν Σκύθης καίπερ παμπόλλων ὄντων Σκυθῶν ἄλλου μὲν οὐδενὸς δύναιτ' ἂν ἔθνους ἐπάρξαι, ἀγαπῶν δ' ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἔθνους ἄρχων διαγένοιτο, καὶ ὁ Θραῖξ Θραικῶν καὶ ὁ Ἰλλυριὸς Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ὡσαύτως ἔθνη ἀκούομεν τὰ γοῦν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν αὐτόνομα εἶναι [λέγεται] καὶ λελύσθαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· Κῦρος δὲ παραλαβὼν ὡσαύτως οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἔθνη αὐτόνομα ὄντα ὀρμηθεὶς σὺν ὀλίγῃ Περσῶν στρατιᾷ ἐκόντων μὲν ἡγήσατο Μήδων, ἐκόντων δὲ Ὑρκανίων, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Σύρους, Ἀσσυρίους, Ἀραβίους, Καππαδόκας, Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους, Λυδοὺς, Κᾶρας, Φοίνικας, Βαβυλωνίους, ἤρξε δὲ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ Κιλικίων, ὡσαύτως δὲ Σακῶν καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαγαδιδῶν, καὶ ἄλλων δὲ παμπόλλων ἐθνῶν, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, ἐπῆρξε δὲ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καταβάς δ' ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ Κυπρίων καὶ Αἰγυπτίων. [1.1.5] καὶ τοίνυν τούτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἤρξεν οὔτε αὐτῷ ὁμογλώττων ὄντων οὔτε ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ὁμως ἐδυνάσθη ἐφικέσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην γῆν τῷ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ φόβῳ, ὥστε καταπλῆξαι πάντας καὶ μηδένα ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐδυνάσθη δὲ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν τοσαύτην τοῦ [πάντας] αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ὥστε ἀεὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ ἀξιοῦν κυβερνᾶσθαι, ἀνηρτήσατο δὲ τοσαῦτα φύλα ὅσα καὶ διελθεῖν ἔργον ἐστίν, ὅποι ἂν ἄρξηται τις πορεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων, ἦν τε πρὸς ἑὸν ἦν τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν τε πρὸς ἄρκτον ἦν τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. [1.1.6] ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ ὡς ἄξιον ὄντα θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐσκεννάμεθα τίς ποτ' ὦν γενεὰν καὶ ποῖαν τινὰ φύσιν ἔχων καὶ ποῖαι τινὶ παιδευθεὶς παιδεῖαι τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχεῖν ἀνθρώπων. ὅσα οὖν καὶ ἐπυθόμεθα καὶ ἡισθῆσθαι δοκοῦμεν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ταῦτα πειρασόμεθα διηγήσασθαι.

[1.2.1] Πατρὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται γενέσθαι Καμβύσου Περσῶν βασιλέως· ὁ δὲ Καμβύσης οὗτος τοῦ Περσείδων γένους ἦν· οἱ δὲ Περσεῖδαι ἀπὸ Περσέως κλήζονται· μητρὸς δὲ ὁμολογεῖται Μανδάνης γενέσθαι· ἡ δὲ Μανδάνη αὕτη Ἀστυάγους ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων γενομένου βασιλέως. φύναι δὲ ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται καὶ αἰδεταί ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν δὲ φιλανθρωπότατος καὶ φιλομαθέστατος καὶ φιλοτιμιότατος, ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον ἀνατλήναι, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομεῖναι τοῦ

ἐπαινέσθαι ἔνεκα. [1.2.2] φύσιν μὲν δὴ τῆς μορφῆς καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοιαύτην ἔχων διαμνημονεύεται· ἐπαιδεύθη γε μὴν ἐν Περσῶν νόμοις· οὗτοι δὲ δοκοῦσιν οἱ νόμοι ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐπιμελούμενοι οὐκ ἔνθενπερ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσιν ἄρχονται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ πλείσται πόλεις ἀφείσαι παιδεύειν ὅπως τις ἐθέλει τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας, καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὅπως ἐθέλουσι διάγειν, ἔπειτα προστάττουσιν αὐτοῖς μὴ κλέπτειν μηδὲ ἀρπάειν, μὴ βία εἰς οἰκίαν παρίεναι, μὴ παίειν ὃν μὴ δίκαιον, μὴ μοιχεύειν, μὴ ἀπειθεῖν ἄρχοντι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡσαύτως· ἦν δέ τις τούτων τι παραβαίνει, ζημίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν. [1.2.3] οἱ δὲ Περσικοὶ νόμοι προλαβόντες ἐπιμέλονται ὅπως τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται οἱ πολῖται οἷοι πονηροῦ τινος ἢ αἰσχροῦ ἔργου ἐφίεσθαι. ἐπιμέλονται δὲ ὧδε. ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ καλουμένη, ἔνθα τὰ τε βασιλεια καὶ τᾶλλα ἀρχεῖα πεποῖται. ἐντεῦθεν τὰ μὲν ὦνια καὶ οἱ ἀγοραῖοι καὶ αἱ τούτων φωναὶ καὶ ἀπειροκαλῖαι ἀπελήλανται εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ὥς μὴ μιγνύηται ἡ τούτων τύρβη τῇ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων εὐκοσμία. [1.2.4] διήρηται δὲ αὕτη ἡ ἀγορὰ [ἡ περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα] τέτταρα μέρη· τούτων δ' ἔστιν ἓν μὲν παισίν, ἓν δὲ ἐφήβοις, ἄλλο τελείοις ἀνδράσιν, ἄλλο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὰ στρατεύσιμα ἔτη γεγονόσι. νόμῳ δ' εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν χώρας ἕκαστοι τούτων πάρεσιν, οἱ μὲν παῖδες ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ οἱ τέλειοι ἄνδρες, οἱ δὲ γεραιτέροι ἡνίκ' ἂν ἐκάστωι προχωρῇ, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὺς δεῖ παρεῖναι. οἱ δὲ ἔφηβοι καὶ κοιμῶνται περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα σὺν τοῖς γυμνητικοῖς ὅπλοις πλὴν τῶν γεγαμηκότων· οὗτοι δὲ οὔτε ἐπιζητοῦνται, ἦν μὴ προρρηθῇ παρεῖναι, οὔτε πολλάκις ἀπείναι καλόν. [1.2.5] ἄρχοντες δ' ἐφ' ἐκάστωι τούτων τῶν μερῶν εἰσι δώδεκα· δώδεκα γὰρ καὶ Περσῶν φυλαὶ διήρηνται. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παισίν ἐκ τῶν γεραιτέρων ἡρημένοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἂν δοκῶσι τοὺς παῖδας βελτίστους ἀποδεικνύναι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἐκ τῶν τελείων ἀνδρῶν οἱ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐφήβους βελτίστους δοκῶσι παρέχειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν οἱ ἂν δοκῶσι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τὰ τεταγμένα ποιοῦντας καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης ἀρχῆς· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων προστάται ἡρημένοι, οἱ προστατεύουσιν ὅπως καὶ οὗτοι τὰ καθήκοντα ἀποτελῶσιν. ἃ δὲ ἐκάστη ἡλικία προστέτακται ποιεῖν διηγησόμεθα, ὥς μᾶλλον δηλὸν γένηται ἥ ἐπιμέλονται ὥς ἂν βέλτιστοι εἶεν οἱ πολῖται. [1.2.6] οἱ μὲν δὴ παῖδες εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτῶντες διάγουσι μανθάνοντες δικαιοσύνην· καὶ

λέγουσιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἔρχονται ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν ὅτι γράμματα μαθησόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν διατελοῦσι τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας δικάζοντες αὐτοῖς. γίνεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ παισὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ ἀνδράσιν ἐγκλήματα καὶ κλοπῆς καὶ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀπάτης καὶ κακολογίας καὶ ἄλλων οἷων δὴ εἰκός. οὓς δ' ἂν γνῶσι τούτων τι ἀδικοῦντας, τιμωροῦνται. [1.2.7] κολάζουσι δὲ καὶ ὃν ἂν ἀδίκως ἐγκαλοῦντα εὐρίσκωσι. δικάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκλήματος οὗ ἕνεκα ἄνθρωποι μισοῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους μάλιστα, δικάζονται δὲ ἥκιστα, ἀχαριστίας, καὶ ὃν ἂν γνῶσι δυνάμενον μὲν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ ἀποδιδόντα δέ, κολάζουσι καὶ τοῦτον ἰσχυρῶς. οἶονται γὰρ τοὺς ἀχαρίστους καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἂν μάλιστα ἀμελῶς ἔχειν καὶ περὶ γονέας καὶ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους. ἔπεσθαι δὲ δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῇ ἀχαριστίᾳ ἢ ἀναισχυντίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεμών. [1.2.8] διδάσκουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ σωφροσύνην· μέγα δὲ συμβάλλεται εἰς τὸ μανθάνειν σωφρονεῖν αὐτοὺς ὅτι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ὁρῶσιν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν σωφρόνως διάγοντας. διδάσκουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους πειθομένους τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἰσχυρῶς. διδάσκουσι δὲ καὶ ἐγκράτειαν γαστρὸς καὶ ποτοῦ· μέγα δὲ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο συμβάλλεται ὅτι ὁρῶσι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὐ πρόσθεν ἀπιόντας γαστρὸς ἕνεκα πρὶν ἂν ἀφῶσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὅτι οὐ παρὰ μητρὶ σιτοῦνται οἱ παῖδες, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὅταν οἱ ἄρχοντες σημήνωσι. φέρονται δὲ οἴκοθεν σῖτον μὲν ἄρτον, ὄψον δὲ κάρδαμον, πιεῖν δέ, ἣν τις διψηῇ, κῶθωνα, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρύσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μανθάνουσι καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. μέχρι μὲν δὴ ἕξ ἢ ἑπτακαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἀπὸ γενεᾶς οἱ παῖδες ταῦτα πράττουσιν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐξέρχονται. [1.2.9] οὗτοι δ' αὖ οἱ ἔφηβοι διάγουσιν ὧδε. δέκα ἔτη ἀφ' οὗ ἂν ἐκ παίδων ἐξέλθωσι κοιμῶνται μὲν περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα, ὥσπερ προειρηκάμεν, καὶ φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς πόλεως καὶ σωφροσύνης· δοκεῖ γὰρ αὕτη ἢ ἡλικία μάλιστα ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι· παρέχουσι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν χρῆσθαι ἣν τι δέωνται ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν δέηι, πάντες μένουσι περὶ τὰ ἀρχεῖα· ὅταν δὲ ἐξίη βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ θήραν, ἐξάγει τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῆς φυλακῆς· ποιεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πολλάκις τοῦ μηνός. ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐξιόντας τόξα καὶ παρὰ τὴν φαρέτραν ἐν κολεῳι κοπίδα ἢ σάγαριν, ἔτι δὲ γέρρον καὶ παλτὰ δύο, ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἀφεῖναι, τῷ δ', ἂν δέηι, ἐκ

χειρὸς χρῆσθαι. [1.2.10] διὰ τοῦτο δὲ δημοσίαι τοῦ θηρᾶν ἐπιμέλονται, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἡγεμὼν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς καὶ αὐτός τε θηρᾶι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖται ὅπως ἂν θηρῶσιν, ὅτι ἀληθεστάτη αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι αὕτη ἡ μελέτη τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ γὰρ πρῶι ἀνίστασθαι ἐθίζει καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάληη ἀνέχεσθαι, γυμνάζει δὲ καὶ ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ δρόμοις, ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ τοξεῦσαι θηρίον καὶ ἀκοντίσαι ὅπου ἂν παραπίπτῃ. καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δὲ πολλάκις ἀνάγκη θήγεσθαι ὅταν τι τῶν ἀλκίμων θηρίων ἀνθιστῇται· παίειν μὲν γὰρ δῆπου δεῖ τὸ ὁμόσε γιγνόμενον, φυλάξασθαι δὲ τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον· ὥστε οὐ ράδιον εὐρεῖν τί ἐν τῇ θήρῃ ἄπεστι τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ παρόντων. [1.2.11] ἐξέρχονται δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἄριστον ἔχοντες πλέον μὲν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός, τῶν παίδων, τᾶλλα δὲ ὅμοιον. καὶ θηρῶντες μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἀριστήσαιεν, ἣν δέ τι δεήσῃ ἢ θηρίου ἔνεκα ἐπικαταμεῖναι ἢ ἄλλως ἐθελήσῃσι διατρίβειν περὶ τὴν θήραν, τὸ οὖν ἄριστον τοῦτο δειπνήσαντες τὴν ὑστεραίαν αὐτὴν θηρῶσι μέχρι δείπνου, καὶ μίαν ἄμφω τούτῳ τὴν ἡμέραν λογίζονται, ὅτι μιᾷς ἡμέρας σῖτον δαπανῶσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦσι τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι ἔνεκα, ἵν' ἐάν τι καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ δεήσῃ, δύνωνται ταῦτό ποιεῖν. καὶ ὅσον δὲ τοῦτο ἔχουσιν οἱ τηλικούτοι ὅ τι ἂν θηράσωσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, τὸ κάρδαμον. εἰ δέ τις αὐτοὺς οἶεται ἢ ἐσθίειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν κάρδαμον μόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ἢ πίνειν ἀηδῶς, ὅταν ὕδωρ πίνωσιν, ἀναμνησθήτω πῶς μὲν ἡδὺ μᾶζα καὶ ἄρτος πεινῶντι φαγεῖν, πῶς δὲ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ πιεῖν διψῶντι. [1.2.12] αἱ δ' αὖ μένουσαι φυλαὶ διατρίβουσι μελετῶσαι τὰ τε ἄλλα ἃ παῖδες ὄντες ἔμαθον καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ διαγωνιζόμενοι ταῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους διατελοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δημόσιοι τούτων ἀγῶνες καὶ ἄθλα προτίθεται· ἐν ἧ δ' ἂν τῶν φυλῶν πλεῖστοι ὥσι δαημονέστατοι καὶ ἀνδρικότατοι καὶ εὐπιστότατοι, ἐπαινοῦσιν οἱ πολῖται καὶ τιμῶσιν οὐ μόνον τὸν νῦν ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις αὐτοὺς παῖδας ὄντας ἐπαίδευσε. χρῶνται δὲ τοῖς μένουσι τῶν ἐφήβων αἱ ἀρχαί, ἣν τι ἢ φρουρῆσαι δεήσῃ ἢ κακούργους ἐρευνῆσαι ἢ ληιστὰς ὑποδραμεῖν ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι ὅσα ἰσχύος ἢ τάχους ἔργα ἐστί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔφηβοι πράττουσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, ἐξέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας. [1.2.13] ἀφ' οὗ δ' ἂν ἐξέλθῃσι χρόνου οὗτοι αὖ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διάγουσιν ὧδε. πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ οἱ ἔφηβοι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς χρῆσθαι, ἣν τι δέηι ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὅσα φρονούντων τε ἤδη ἔργα ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι δυναμένων. ἣν δὲ ποι δέηι

στρατεύεσθαι, τόξα μὲν οἱ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένοι οὐκέτι ἔχοντες οὐδὲ παλὰ στρατεύονται, τὰ δὲ ἀγγέμαχα ὄπλα καλούμενα, θώρακά τε περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις καὶ γέρον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ, οἷον περ γράφονται οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχοντες, ἐν δὲ τῇ δεξιᾷ μάχαιραν ἢ κοπίδα. καὶ αἱ ἀρχαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι ἐκ τούτων καθίστανται πλὴν οἱ τῶν παίδων διδάσκαλοι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη διατελέσωσιν, εἶψαν μὲν ἂν οὗτοι πλεον τι γεγονότες ἢ τὰ πεντήκοντα ἔτη ἀπὸ γενεᾶς· ἐξέρχονται δὲ τηνικαῦτα εἰς τοὺς γεραίτερους ὄντας τε καὶ καλουμένους. [1.2.14] οἱ δ' αὖ γεραίτεροι οὗτοι στρατεύονται μὲν οὐκέτι ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οἴκοι δὲ μένοντες δικάζουσι τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια πάντα. καὶ θανάτου δὲ οὗτοι κρίνουσι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὗτοι πάσας αἰροῦνται· καὶ ἢν τις ἢ ἐν ἐφήβοις ἢ ἐν τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἐλλίπῃ τι τῶν νομίμων, φαίνουσι μὲν οἱ φύλαρχοι ἕκαστοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ἀκούσαντες ἐκκρίνουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἐκκριθεὶς ἄτιμος διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.

[1.2.15] Ἵνα δὲ σαφέστερον δηλωθῇ πᾶσα ἡ Περσῶν πολιτεία, μικρὸν ἐπάνειμι· νῦν γὰρ ἐν βραχυτάτῳ ἂν δηλωθῇ διὰ τὰ προειρημένα. λέγονται μὲν γὰρ Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι· τούτων δ' οὐδεὶς ἀπελήλαται νόμῳ τιμῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξεστι πᾶσι Πέρσαις πέμπειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παῖδας εἰς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης διδασκαλεῖα. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δυνάμενοι τρέφειν τοὺς παῖδας ἀργοῦντας πέμπουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ δυνάμενοι οὐ πέμπουσιν. οἱ δ' ἂν παιδευθῶσι παρὰ τοῖς δημοσίοις διδασκάλοις, ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις νεανισκεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ μὴ διαπαιδευθεῖσιν οὕτως οὐκ ἔξεστιν. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις διατελέσωσι τὰ νόμιμα ποιοῦντες, ἔξεστι τούτοις εἰς τοὺς τελείους ἄνδρας συναλίζεσθαι καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν, οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ διαγένωνται ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις, οὐκ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τοὺς τελείους. οἱ δ' ἂν αὖ ἐν τοῖς τελείοις διαγένωνται ἀνεπίληπτοι, οὗτοι τῶν γεραιτέρων γίνονται. οὕτω μὲν δὴ οἱ γεραίτεροι διὰ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἐληλυθότες καθίστανται· καὶ ἡ πολιτεία αὕτη, ἣ οἶονται χρώμενοι βέλτιστοι ἂν εἶναι. [1.2.16] καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι ἐμμέναι μαρτύρια καὶ τῆς μετρίας διαίτης αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐκπονεῖσθαι τὴν δίαitan. αἰσχροὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Πέρσαις καὶ τὸ πτύειν καὶ τὸ ἀπομύττεσθαι καὶ τὸ φύσης μεστοὺς φαίνεσθαι, αἰσχροὺς δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἰόντα ποι φανερόν γενέσθαι ἢ τοῦ οὐρῆσαι ἕνεκα ἢ καὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τοιούτου. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ διαίτῃ μετρίᾳ ἐχρῶντο καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκπονοῦντες

ἀνήλiskon, ὥστε ἄλληι πι ἀποχωρεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κατὰ πάντων Περσῶν ἔχομεν λέγειν· οὗ δ' ἕνεκα ὁ λόγος ὠρμήθη, νῦν λέξομεν τὰς Κύρου πράξεις ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ παιδός.

[1.3.1] Κῦρος γὰρ μέχρι μὲν δώδεκα ἐτῶν ἢ ὀλίγωι πλέον ταύτη τῇ παιδεῖαι ἐπαιδεύθη, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡλικῶν διαφέρων ἐφαίνετο καὶ εἰς τὸ ταχὺ μανθάνειν ἃ δέοι καὶ εἰς τὸ καλῶς καὶ ἀνδρείως ἕκαστα ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου μετεπέμψατο Ἀστυάγης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτῆς· ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἐπεθύμει, ὅτι ἤκουεν αὐτὸν καλὸν κάγαθὸν εἶναι. ἔρχεται δὲ αὐτῇ τε ἡ Μανδάνη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν Κῦρον τὸν υἱὸν ἔχουσα. [1.3.2] ὥς δὲ ἀφίκετο τάχιστα καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Ἀστυάγην τῆς μητρὸς πατέρα ὄντα, εὐθὺς οἶα δὴ παῖς φύσει φιλόστοργος ὢν ἡσπάζετό τε αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις πάλαι συντεθραμμένος καὶ πάλαι φιλῶν ἀσπάζοιτο, καὶ ὁρῶν δὴ αὐτὸν κεκοσμημένον καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑπογραφῇ καὶ χρώματος ἐντρίβει καὶ κόμαις προσθέτοις, ἃ δὴ νόμιμα ἦν ἐν Μῆδοις· ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα Μηδικὰ ἐστὶ, καὶ οἱ πορφυροὶ χιτῶνες καὶ οἱ κἀνδυες καὶ οἱ στρεπτοὶ οἱ περὶ τῇ δέρῃ καὶ τὰ ψέλια τὰ περὶ ταῖς χερσίν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς οἴκοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολὺ καὶ ἐσθῆτες φαυλότεραι καὶ δίαται εὐτελέστεραι· ὁρῶν δὴ τὸν κόσμον τοῦ πάππου, ἐμβλέπων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν· ὦ μητερ, ὥς καλὸς μοι ὁ πάππος. ἐρωτώσης δὲ αὐτὸν, τῆς μητρὸς πότερος καλλίων αὐτῷ δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὁ πατήρ ἢ οὗτος ἀπεκρίνατο ἄρα ὁ Κῦρος· ὦ μητερ, Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μῆδων μέντοι ὅσων ἐώρακα ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολὺ οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος. [1.3.3] ἀντασπαζόμενος δὲ ὁ πάππος αὐτὸν καὶ στολὴν καλὴν ἐνέδυσσε καὶ στρεπτοῖς καὶ ψελίοις ἐτίμα καὶ ἐκόσμει, καὶ εἴ ποι ἐξελαύνει, ἐφ' ἵππου χρυσοχαλίνου περιῆγεν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰώθε πορεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἅτε παῖς ὢν καὶ φιλόκαλος καὶ φιλότιμος ἤδετο τῇ στολῇ, καὶ ἱπεύειν μανθάνων ὑπερέχαιρεν· ἐν Πέρσαις γὰρ διὰ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι καὶ τρέφειν ἵππους καὶ ἱπεύειν ἐν ὀρεινῇ οὔσῃ τῇ χώρῃ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἵππον πάνυ σπάνιον ἦν. [1.3.4] δειπνῶν δὲ δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης σὺν τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ, βουλόμενος τὸν παῖδα ὥς ἡδιστα δειπνεῖν, ἵνα ἦττον τὰ οἴκαδε ποθοίῃ, προσῆγεν αὐτῷ καὶ παροψίδας καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐμβάμματα καὶ βρώματα. τὸν δὲ Κῦρόν φασι λέγειν· ὦ πάππε, ὅσα πράγματα ἔχεις ἐν τῷ δειπνῶν, εἰ ἀνάγκη σοι ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ λεκάρια ταῦτα διατείνειν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἀπογεύεσθαι τούτων τῶν παντοδαπῶν βρωμάτων. Τί δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐ γὰρ πολὺ σοι

δοκεῖ εἶναι κάλλιον τόδε τὸ δεῖπνον τοῦ ἐν Πέρσαις; τὸν δὲ Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποκρίνασθαι [λέγεται]· Οὐκ, ὦ πάππε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀπλουστέρα καὶ εὐθυτέρα παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν· ἡμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ κρέα εἰς τοῦτο ἄγει, ὑμεῖς δὲ εἰς μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ ἡμῖν σπεύδετε, πολλοὺς δὲ τινὰς ἐλιγμοὺς ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανώμενοι μόλις ἀφικνεῖσθε ὅποι ἡμεῖς πάλαι ἤκομεν. [1.3.5] Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, οὐκ ἀχθόμενοι ταῦτα περιπλανώμεθα· γευόμενος δὲ καὶ σύ, ἔφη, γνώσῃ ὅτι ἡδέα ἐστίν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σέ, φάναι τὸν Κῦρον, ὁρῶ, ὦ πάππε, μυσαιπτόμενον ταῦτα τὰ βρώματα. καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην ἐπερέσθαι· Καὶ τί νι δὴ σὺ τεκμαιρόμενος, ὦ παῖ, λέγεις; Ὅτι σε, φάναι, ὁρῶ, ὅταν μὲν τοῦ ἄρτου ἄψῃ, εἰς οὐδὲν τὴν χεῖρα ἀποψώμενον, ὅταν δὲ τούτων τινὸς θίγης, εὐθὺς ἀποκαθαίρει τὴν χεῖρα εἰς τὰ χειρόμακτρα, ὡς πάννυ ἀχθόμενος ὅτι πλέα σοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐγένετο. [1.3.6] πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν· Εἰ τοίνυν οὕτω γινώσκεις, ὦ παῖ, ἀλλὰ κρέα γε εὐωχοῦ, ἵνα νεανίας οἴκαδε ἀπέλθῃς. ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντα πολλὰ αὐτῷ παραφέρειν καὶ θήρεια καὶ τῶν ἡμέρων. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρα πολλὰ τὰ κρέα, εἰπεῖν· Ἥ καὶ δίδως, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, πάντα ταῦτά μοι τὰ κρέα ὅ τι ἂν βούλωμαι αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι; Νῆ Δία, φάναι, ὦ παῖ, ἔγωγέ σοι. [1.3.7] ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κῦρον λαβόντα τῶν κρεῶν διαδιδόναι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν πάππον θεραπευταῖς, ἐπιλέγοντα ἐκάστωι· Σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο ὅτι προθύμως με ἱππεύειν διδάσκεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μοι παλτὸν ἔδωκας· νῦν γὰρ τοῦτ' ἔχω· σοὶ δ' ὅτι τὸν πάππον καλῶς θεραπεύεις, σοὶ δ' ὅτι μου τὴν μητέρα τιμᾷς· τοιαῦτα ἐποίει, ἕως διεδίδου πάντα ἃ ἔλαβε κρέα. [1.3.8] Σάκαι δέ, φάναι τὸν Ἀστυάγην, τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, ὃν ἐγὼ μάλιστα τιμῶ, οὐδὲν δίδως; ὁ δὲ Σάκας ἄρα καλὸς τε ὢν ἐτύχανε καὶ τιμὴν ἔχων προσάγειν τοὺς δεομένους Ἀστυάγους καὶ ἀποκωλύειν οὓς μὴ καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοίη εἶναι προσάγειν. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐπερέσθαι προπετῶς ὡς ἂν παῖς μηδέπω ὑποπτήσσω· Διὰ τί δὴ, ὦ πάππε, τοῦτον οὕτω τιμᾷς; καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην σκώψαντα εἰπεῖν· Οὐχ ὁραῖς, φάναι, ὡς καλῶς οἰνοχοεῖ καὶ εὐσχημόνως; οἱ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων οἰνοχόοι κομψῶς τε οἰνοχοοῦσι καὶ καθαρείως ἐγγέουσι καὶ διδόασιν τοῖς τρισὶ δακτύλοις ὀχοῦντες τὴν φιάλην καὶ προσφέρουσιν ὡς ἂν ἐνδοῖεν τὸ ἔκπωμα εὐληπτότατα τῷ μέλλοντι πίνειν. [1.3.9] Κέλευσον δὴ, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, τὸν Σάκαν καὶ ἐμοὶ δοῦναι τὸ ἔκπωμα, ἵνα καγὼ καλῶς σοι πινεῖν ἐγγέας ἀνακτήσωμαί σε, ἣν δύνωμαι. καὶ τὸν κελεῦσαι δοῦναι.

λαβόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω μὲν δὴ εὖ κλύσαι τὸ ἔκπωμα ὥσπερ τὸν Σάκαν ἑώρα, οὕτω δὲ στήσαντα τὸ πρόσωπον σπουδαίως καὶ εὐσχημόνως πως προσενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐνδοῦναι τὴν φιάλην τῷ πάππῳ ὥστε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ πολὺν γέλῳτα παρασχεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κῦρον ἐκγελάσαντα ἀναπηδῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ φιλοῦντα ἅμα εἰπεῖν· ὦ Σάκα, ἀπόλωλας· ἐκβαλῶ σε ἐκ τῆς τιμῆς· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, φάναι, σοῦ κάλλιον οἰνοχοήσω καὶ οὐκ ἐκτίομαι αὐτὸς τὸν οἶνον. οἱ δ' ἄρα τῶν βασιλέων οἰνοχόοι, ἐπειδὴν διδῶσι τὴν φιάλην, ἀρύσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῷ κυάθῳ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα ἐγγεάμενοι καταρροφοῦσι, τοῦ δὴ εἰ φάρμακα ἐγγέοιεν μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς. [1.3.10] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐπισκώπτων, Καὶ τί δή, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τᾶλλα μιμούμενος τὸν Σάκαν οὐ κατερρόφησας τοῦ οἴνου; Ὅτι, ἔφη, νῆ Δία ἐδεδοίκεν μὴ ἐν τῷ κρατῆρι φάρμακα μεμιγμένα εἶη. καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰστίσας σὺ τοὺς φίλους ἐν τοῖς γενεθλίοις, σαφῶς κατέμαθον φάρμακα ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγγέαντα. Καὶ πῶς δὴ σὺ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, κατέγνων; Ὅτι νῆ Δί' ὑμᾶς ἑώρων καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς σώμασι σφαλλομένους. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἂ οὐκ ἔατε ἡμᾶς τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐποιεῖτε. πάντες μὲν γὰρ ἅμα ἐκεκράγειτε, ἐμανθάνετε δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων, ἥιδετε δὲ καὶ μάλα γελοίως, οὐκ ἀκροώμενοι δὲ τοῦ αἰδοντος ὠμνύετε ἄριστα αἰδεῖν· λέγων δὲ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ῥώμην, ἔπειτ' εἰ ἀνασταίητε ὀρχησόμενοι, μὴ ὅπως ὀρχεῖσθαι ἐν ῥυθμῳ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὀρθοῦσθαι ἐδύνασθε. ἐπελέλησθε δὲ παντάπασιν σύ τε ὅτι βασιλεὺς ἦσθα, οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὅτι σὺ ἄρχων. τότε γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε καὶ πρῶτον κατέμαθον ὅτι τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἡ ἰσηγῳρία ὃ ὑμεῖς τότε ἐποιεῖτε· οὐδέποτε γοῦν ἐσιωπᾶτε. [1.3.11] καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει· Ὁ δὲ σὸς πατήρ, ὦ παῖ, πίνων οὐ μεθύσκειται; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ πῶς ποιεῖ; Διψῶν παύεται, ἄλλο δὲ κακὸν οὐδὲν πάσχει· οὐ γάρ, οἶμαι, ὦ πάππε, Σάκας αὐτῷ οἰνοχοεῖ. καὶ ἡ μήτηρ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τί ποτε σὺ, ὦ παῖ, τῷ Σάκῃ οὕτω πολεμεῖς; τὸν δὲ Κῦρον εἰπεῖν· Ὅτι νῆ Δία, φάναι, μισῶ αὐτὸν· πολλάκις γάρ με πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐπιθυμοῦντα προσδραμεῖν οὗτος ὁ μιαιώτατος ἀποκωλύει. ἀλλ' ἰκετεύω, φάναι, ὦ πάππε, δός μοι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἄρξαι αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸν Ἀστυάγην εἰπεῖν· Καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄρξαις αὐτοῦ; καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι· Στάς ἂν ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐπὶ τῇ εἰσόδῳ, ἔπειτα ὁπότε βούλοιτο παριέναι ἐπ' ἄριστον, λέγοιμι' ἂν ὅτι οὐπω δυνατόν τῳ ἀρίστῳ ἐντυχεῖν· σπουδάζει γὰρ πρὸς τινὰς· εἴθ' ὁπότε ἦκοι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, λέγοιμι' ἂν ὅτι λούται· εἰ δὲ πάνυ σπουδάζοι

φαγεῖν, εἵποιμ' ἂν ὅτι παρὰ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν· ἕως παρατείναιμι τοῦτον ὥσπερ οὗτος ἐμέ παρατείνει ἀπὸ σοῦ κωλύων. [1.3.12] τοσαύτας μὲν αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίας παρεῖχεν ἐπὶ τῷ δεῖπνῳ· τὰς δ' ἡμέρας, εἴ τινος αἰσθοίτο δεόμενον ἢ τὸν ἀάππον ἢ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφόν, χαλεπὸν ἦν ἄλλον φθάσαι τοῦτο ποιήσαντα· ὃ τι γὰρ δύναίτο ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερέχαιρεν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος.

[1.3.13] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ Μανδάνη παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπιοῦσα πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐδεῖτο αὐτῆς ὁ Ἀστυάγης καταλιπεῖν τὸν Κῦρον. ἡ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι βούλοίτο μὲν ἅπαντα τῷ πατρὶ χαρίζεσθαι, ἄκοντα μέντοι τὸν παῖδα χαλεπὸν εἶναι νομίζειν καταλιπεῖν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης λέγει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον· [1.3.14] ὦ παῖ, ἦν μένης παρ' ἐμοί, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρ' ἐμέ εισόδου σοι οὐ Σάκας ἄρξει, ἀλλ' ὁπότεν βούλῃ εἰσιέναι ὡς ἐμέ, ἐπὶ σοὶ ἔσται· καὶ χάριν σοι εἴσομαι ὅσῳ ἂν πλεονάκις εἰσίῃς ὡς ἐμέ. ἔπειτα δὲ ἵπποις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρήσῃ καὶ ἄλλοις ὅποσους ἂν βούλῃ, καὶ ὁπότεν ἀπίῃς, ἔχων ἅπει οὓς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλῃς. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν τῷ δεῖπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ μετρίως σοι δοκοῦν ἔχειν ὁποῖαν βούλῃ ὁδὸν πορεύσῃ. ἔπειτα τά τε νῦν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία δίδωμί σοι καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ συλλέξω, ἃ σὺ ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἱππεύειν μάθῃς, διώξῃ, καὶ τοξεύων καὶ ἀκοντίζων καταβαλεῖς ὥσπερ οἱ μεγάλοι ἄνδρες. καὶ παῖδας δέ σοι ἐγὼ συμπαίστορας παρέξω, καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα ἂν βούλῃ λέγων πρὸς ἐμέ οὐκ ἀτυχήσεις. [1.3.15] ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἡ μήτηρ διηρώτα τὸν Κῦρον πότερον βούλοίτο μένειν ἢ ἀπιέναι. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ εἶπεν ὅτι μένειν βούλοίτο. ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς διὰ τί εἰπεῖν λέγεται· Ὅτι οἴκοι μὲν τῶν ἡλίκων καὶ εἰμὶ καὶ δοκῶ κράτιστος εἶναι, ὧ μῆτερ, καὶ ἀκοντίζων καὶ τοξεύων, ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἷδ' ὅτι ἱππεύων ἡττων εἰμὶ τῶν ἡλίκων· καὶ τοῦτο εὖ ἴσθι, ὧ μῆτερ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐμέ πάνυ ἀν1ᾱι. ἦν δὲ με καταλίπῃς ἐνθάδε καὶ μάθω ἱππεύειν, ὅταν μὲν ἐν Πέρσαις ὧ, οἷμαί σοι ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πεζικὰ ραϊδίως νικήσῃς, ὅταν δ' εἰς Μήδους ἔλθω, ἐνθάδε πειράσομαι τῷ πάππῳ ἀγαθὼν ἱππέων κράτιστος ὢν ἱππεὺς συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ. τὴν δὲ μητέρα εἰπεῖν· [1.3.16] Τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην, ὧ παῖ, πῶς μαθήσῃ ἐνθάδε ἐκεῖ ὄντων σοι τῶν διδασκάλων; καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φάναι· Ἀλλ', ὧ μῆτερ, ἀκριβῶς ταῦτά γε οἶδα. Πῶς σὺ οἴσθα; τὴν Μανδάνην εἰπεῖν. Ὅτι, φάναι, ὁ διδάσκαλός με ὡς ἤδη ἀκριβοῦντα τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἄλλοις καθίστη δικάζειν. καὶ τοῖνυν, φάναι, ἐπὶ μιᾷ ποτε δίκηι πληγὰς ἔλαβον ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς

δικάσας. [1.3.17] ἦν δὲ ἡ δίκη τοιαύτη. παῖς μέγας μικρὸν ἔχων χιτῶνα παῖδα μικρὸν μέγαν ἔχοντα χιτῶνα ἐκδύσας αὐτὸν τὸν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκεῖνον ἡμφίεσε, τὸν δ' ἐκείνου αὐτὸς ἐνέδου. ἐγὼ οὖν τούτοις δικάζων ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι ἀμφοτέροις τὸν ἀρμόττοντα ἐκάτερον χιτῶνα ἔχειν. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ με ἔπαισεν ὁ διδάσκαλος, λέξας ὅτι ὁπότε μὲν τοῦ ἀρμόττοντος εἶην κριτῆς, οὕτω δέοι ποιεῖν, ὁπότε δὲ κρῖναι δέοι ποτέρου ὁ χιτῶν εἴη, τοῦτ' ἔφη σκεπτέον εἶναι τίς κτῆσις δικαία ἐστί, πότερα τὸ βίαι ἀφελόμενον ἔχειν ἢ τὸ ποιησάμενον ἢ πριάμενον κεκτῆσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ [ἔφη] τὸ μὲν νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἄνομον βίαιον, σὺν τῷ νόμῳ ἐκέλευεν ἀεὶ τὸν δικαστὴν τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθαι. οὕτως ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ μῆτερ, τά γε δίκαια παντάπασιν ἤδη ἀκριβῶς· ἦν δέ τι ἄρα προσδέωμαι, ὁ πάππος με, ἔφη, οὗτος ἐπιδιδάσκει. [1.3.18] Ἄλλ' οὐ ταῦτά, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, παρὰ τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις δίκαια ὁμολογεῖται. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν Μήδοις πάντων ἑαυτὸν δεσπότην πεποιήκεν, ἐν Πέρσαις δὲ τὸ ἴσον ἔχειν δίκαιον νομίζεται. καὶ ὁ σὸς πρῶτος πατὴρ τὰ τεταγμένα μὲν ποιεῖ τῇ πόλει, τὰ τεταγμένα δὲ λαμβάνει, μέτρον δὲ αὐτῷ οὐχ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος ἐστίν. ὅπως οὖν μὴ ἀπολῇ μαστιγούμενος, ἐπειδὰν οἴκοι ἦις, ἂν παρὰ τούτου μαθὼν ἥκηις ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τὸ τυραννικόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ πλέον οἶεσθαι χρῆναι πάντων ἔχειν. Ἄλλ' ὁ γε σὸς πατήρ, εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, δεινότερός ἐστιν, ὦ μῆτερ, διδάσκειν μείον ἢ πλέον ἔχειν· ἢ οὐχ ὁραῖς, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ Μήδους ἅπαντας δεδίδαχεν αὐτοῦ μείον ἔχειν; ὥστε θάρρει, ὡς ὁ γε σὸς πατήρ οὐτ' ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐτ' ἐμὲ πλεονεκτεῖν μαθόντα ἀποπέμψει.

[1.4.1] Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ πολλὰ ἐλάλει ὁ Κῦρος· τέλος δὲ ἡ μὲν μήτηρ ἀπῆλθε, Κῦρος δὲ κατέμεινε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτρέφετο. καὶ ταχὺ μὲν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις συνεκέκρατο ὥστε οἰκείως διακεῖσθαι, ταχὺ δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἀνήρητο, προσίων καὶ ἔνδηλος ὢν ὅτι ἡσπάζετο αὐτῶν τοὺς υἱεῖς, ὥστε εἴ τι τοῦ βασιλέως δέοιντο, τοὺς παῖδας ἐκέλευον τοῦ Κῦρου δεῖσθαι διαπράξασθαι σφίσιν, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὅ τι δέοιντο αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες, διὰ τὴν φιланθρωπίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο διαπράττεσθαι, [1.4.2] καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὅ τι δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ὁ Κῦρος οὐδὲν ἐδύνατο ἀντέχειν μὴ οὐ χαρίζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀσθενήσαντος αὐτοῦ οὐδέποτε ἀπέλειπε τὸν πάππον οὐδὲ κλαίων ποτὲ ἐπαύετο, ἀλλὰ δῆλος ἦν πᾶσιν ὅτι ὑπερεφοβεῖτο μὴ οἱ ὁ πάππος ἀποθάνῃ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκ νυκτὸς εἴ τις δέοιτο Ἀστυάγης, πρῶτος ἡισθάνετο Κῦρος καὶ πάντων ἀοκνότατα ἀνεπήδα ὑπηρετήσων ὅ τι

οἷοιτο χαριεῖσθαι, ὥστε παντάπασιν ἀνεκτῆσατο τὸν Ἀστυάγην.

[1.4.3] Καὶ ἦν μὲν ἴσως πολυλογώτερος, ἅμα μὲν διὰ τὴν παιδείαν, ὅτι ἡναγκάζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ διδόναι λόγον ὧν ἐποίει καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἄλλων, ὁπότε δικάζοι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλομαθῆς εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀεὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀνθρώπα πῶς ἔχοντα τυγχάνοι, καὶ ὅσα αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐρωτῶιτο, διὰ τὸ ἀγχίνους εἶναι ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνετο, ὥστ' ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡ πολυλογία συνελέγετο αὐτῶν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν σώματι, ὅσοι νέοι ὄντες μέγεθος ἔλαβον, ὁμῶς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ νεαρὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ κατηγορεῖ τὴν ὀλιγοετίαν, οὕτω καὶ Κύρου ἐκ τῆς πολυλογίας οὐ θράσος διεφαίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀπλότης καὶ φιλοστοργία, ὥστ' ἐπεθύμει ἂν τις ἔτι πλείω αὐτοῦ ἀκούειν ἢ σιωπῶντι παρεῖναι.

[1.4.4] Ὡς δὲ προῆγεν αὐτὸν ὁ χρόνος σὺν τῷ μεγέθει εἰς ὥραν τοῦ πρόσηβον γενέσθαι, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τοῖς μὲν λόγοις μανοτέροις ἐχρήτο καὶ τῇ φωνῇ ἡσυχαιτέραι, αἰδοῦς δ' ἐνεπίμπλατο ὥστε καὶ ἐρυθραίνεσθαι ὁπότε συντυγχάνοι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ τὸ σκυλακῶδες τὸ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσπίπτειν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως προπετὲς εἶχεν. οὕτω δὴ ἡσυχαιέτερος μὲν ἦν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς συνουσίαις πάμπαν ἐπίχαρις. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα διαγωνίζονται πολλάκις ἥλικες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐχ ἃ κρείττων ἦιδει ὧν, ταῦτα προυκαλεῖτο τοὺς συνόντας, ἀλλ' ἅπερ εὔ ἦιδει ἑαυτὸν ἦττονα ὄντα, ἐξῆρχε, φάσκων κάλλιον αὐτῶν ποιήσειν, καὶ κατῆρχεν ἤδη ἀναπηδῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἢ διατοξενσόμενος ἢ διακοντιούμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων οὐπω πάνυ ἔποχος ὧν, ἡττώμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα ἐγέλα. [1.4.5] ὥς δ' οὐκ ἀπεδίδρασκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἡττᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν ὃ ἡττῶιτο, ἀλλ' ἐκαλινδεῖτο ἐν τῷ πειρᾶσθαι αὐθις βέλτιον ποιεῖν, ταχὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο τῇ ἵππικῇ τοῖς ἡλιξί, ταχὺ δὲ παρήγει διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν τοῦ ἔργου, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἀνηλώκει διώκων καὶ βάλλων καὶ κατακαίνων, ὥστε ὁ Ἀστυάγης οὐκέτ' εἶχεν αὐτῷ συλλέγειν θηρία. καὶ ὁ Κύρος αἰσθόμενος ὅτι βουλόμενος οὐ δύναιτό οἱ ζῶντα πολλὰ παρέχειν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὦ πάππε, τί σε δεῖ θηρία ζητοῦντα πράγματ' ἔχειν; ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἐμὲ ἐκπέμπῃς ἐπὶ θήραν σὺν τῷ θείῳ, νομῶ ὅσα ἂν ἴδω θηρία, ἐμοὶ ταῦτα τρέφεσθαι. [1.4.6] ἐπιθυμῶν δὲ σφόδρα ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν οὐκέτι ὁμοίως λιπαρεῖν ἐδύνατο ὥσπερ παῖς ὧν, ἀλλ' ὀκνηρότερον προσήει. καὶ ἃ πρόσθεν τῷ Σάκαι ἐμέμφετο ὅτι οὐ παρίει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πάττον, αὐτὸς ἤδη Σάκος ἑαυτῷ ἐγίγνετο· οὐ γὰρ προσήει, εἰ μὴ ἴδοι εἰ

καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τοῦ Σάκα ἐδεῖτο πάντως σημαίνειν αὐτῷ ὅποτε ἐγγωροίη [καὶ ὅποτε καιρὸς εἴη]· ὥστε ὁ Σάκας ὑπερεφίλει ἤδη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες.

[1.4.7] Ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν ἔγνω ὁ Ἀστυάγης σφόδρα αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμοῦντα ἔξω θηρᾶν, ἐκπέμπει αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ θείῳ καὶ φύλακας συμπέμπει ἐφ' ἵππων πρεσβυτέρους, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχωριῶν φυλάττοιεν αὐτὸν καὶ εἰ τῶν ἀγρίων τι φανείη θηρίων. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος τῶν ἐπομένων προθύμως ἐπυνθάνετο ποίοις οὐ χρή θηρίοις πελάζειν καὶ ποῖα χρή θαρροῦντα διώκειν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ἄρκτοι τε πολλοὺς ἤδη πλησιάσαντας διέφθειραν καὶ κάπροι καὶ λέοντες καὶ παρδάλεις, αἱ δὲ ἔλαφοι καὶ δορκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι οἶες καὶ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ ἄγριοι ἀσινεῖς εἰσιν. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, τὰς δυσχωρίας ὅτι δέοι φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ τὰ θηρία· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἤδη αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἵπποις κατακρημνισθῆναι. [1.4.8] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πάντα ταῦτα ἐμάνθανε προθύμως· ὥς δὲ εἶδεν ἔλαφον ἐκπηδήσασαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὢν ἤκουσεν ἐδίωκεν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὁρᾶν ἢ ὄπηι ἔφευγε. καὶ πῶς διαπηδῶν αὐτῷ ὁ ἵππος πίπτει εἰς γόνατα, καὶ μικροῦ κάκεῖνον ἐξετραχίλισεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐπέμεινεν ὁ Κῦρος μόλις πῶς, καὶ ὁ ἵππος ἐξάνεστη. ὥς δ' εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἦλθεν, ἀκοντίσας καταβάλλει τὴν ἔλαφον, καλόν τι χρῆμα καὶ μέγα. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ ὑπερέχαιρεν· οἱ δὲ φύλακες προσελάσαντες ἐλοιδοροῦν αὐτὸν [καὶ ἔλεγον] εἰς οἶον κίνδυνον ἔλθοι, καὶ ἔφασαν κατερεῖν αὐτοῦ. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος εἰστήκει καταβεβηκῶς, καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα ἡνιάτο. ὥς δ' ἦισθετο κραυγῆς, ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ὥσπερ ἐνθουσιῶν, καὶ ὥς εἶδεν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντίου κάπρον προσφερόμενον, ἀντίος ἐλαύνει καὶ διατεινόμενος εὐστόχως βάλλει εἰς τὸ μέτωπον καὶ κατέσχε τὸν κάπρον. [1.4.9] ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἤδη καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτῷ ἐλοιδορεῖτο, τὴν θρασύτητα ὁρῶν. ὁ δ' αὐτοῦ λοιδορουμένου ὅμως ἐδεῖτο ὅσα αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, ταῦτα ἐᾶσαι εἰσκομίσαντα δοῦναι τῷ πάππῳ. τὸν δὲ θεῖον εἰπεῖν φασιν· Ἄλλ' ἦν αἰσθηται ὅτι ἐδίωκες, οὐ σοὶ μόνον λοιδορήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμοί, ὅτι σε εἶων. Καὶ ἦν βούλῃται, φάναι αὐτόν, μαστιγωσάτω, ἐπειδάν γε ἐγὼ δῶ αὐτῷ. καὶ σύγε, ὅ τι βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ θεῖε, τιμωρησάμενος τοῦτο ὅμως χάρισάι μοι. καὶ ὁ Κναζάρης μέντοι τελευτῶν εἶπε· Ποίει ὅπως βούλει· σὺ γὰρ νῦν γε ἡμῶν ἔοικας βασιλεὺς εἶναι. [1.4.10] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος εἰσκομίσας τὰ θηρία ἐδίδου τε τῷ πάππῳ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ταῦτα θηράσειεν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ τὰ

ἀκόντια ἐπεδείκνυ μὲν οὐ, κατέθηκε δὲ ἡματωμένα ὅπου ὤιετο τὸν πάππον ὄψεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ἄρα εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, δέχομαι μὲν ἔγωγε ἡδέως ὅσα σὺ δίδως, οὐ μέντοι δέομαί γε τούτων οὐδενός, ὥστε σε κινδυνεύειν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Εἰ τοίνυν μὴ σὺ δέη, ἱκετεύω, ὦ πάππε, ἐμοὶ δὸς αὐτά, ὅπως τοῖς ἡλικιώταις ἐγὼ διαδῶ. Ἀλλ', ὦ παῖ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀστυάγης, καὶ ταῦτα λαβὼν διαδίδου ὅτῳ σὺ βούλει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅποσα θέλεις. [1.4.11] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν ἐδίδου τε ἄρας τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ἅμα ἔλεγεν· Ὡ παῖδες, ὡς ἄρα ἐφλυαροῦμεν ὅτε τὰ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ θηρία ἐθιρῶμεν· ὅμοιον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι οἷόνπερ εἴ τις δεδεμένα ζῶια θηρώη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ χωρίῳ ἦν, ἔπειτα λεπτὰ καὶ ψωραλέα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν χολὸν ἦν, τὸ δὲ κολοβόν· τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ λειμῶσι θηρία ὡς μὲν καλά, ὡς δὲ μεγάλα, ὡς δὲ λιπαρὰ ἐφαίνετο. καὶ αἱ μὲν ἔλαφοι ὥσπερ πτηναὶ ἤλλοντο πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, οἱ δὲ κάπροι ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄνδρας φασὶ τοὺς ἀνδρείους ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς πλατύτητος οὐδὲ ἀμαρτεῖν οἷόν τ' ἦν αὐτῶν· καλλίῳ δὲ, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ τεθνηκότα εἶναι ταῦτα ἢ ζῶντα ἐκεῖνα τὰ περιωικοδομημένα. ἀλλ' ἄρα ἂν, ἔφη, ἀφεῖεν καὶ ὑμᾶς οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ θήραν; καὶ ῥαϊδίως γ' ἂν, ἔφασαν, εἰ Ἀστυάγης κελεύοι. [1.4.12] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Τίς οὖν ἂν ἡμῖν Ἀστυάγῃ μνησθεῖη; Τίς γὰρ ἂν, ἔφασαν, σοῦ γε ἱκανώτερος πεῖσαι; Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅστις ἄνθρωπος γεγένηται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷός τ' εἰμὶ λέγειν ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀναβλέπειν πρὸς τὸν πάππον ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἔτι δύναμαι. ἦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιδῶ, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ παντάπασιν βλάξ τις καὶ ἡλίθιος γένωμαι· παιδάριον δ' ὦν δεινότατος λαλεῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι. καὶ οἱ παῖδες εἶπον· Πονηρὸν λέγεις τὸ πρᾶγμα, εἰ μὴδ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἂν τι δέηι δυνήσῃ πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινὸς τὸ ἐπὶ σὲ ἀνάγκη ἔσται δεῖσθαι ἡμᾶς. [1.4.13] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐδήχθη, καὶ σιγῇ ἀπελθὼν διακελευσάμενος ἑαυτῷ τολμᾶν εἰσηλθεῖν, ἐπιβουλεύσας ὅπως ἂν ἀλυπότατα εἴποι πρὸς τὸν πάππον καὶ διαπράξειεν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ὧν ἐδέοντο. ἤρξατο οὖν ὧδε.

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἦν τις ἀποδρᾶι σε τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ λάβῃς αὐτόν, τί αὐτῷ χρήσι; Τί ἄλλο, ἔφη, ἢ δήσας ἐργάζεσθαι ἀναγκάσω; Ἦν δὲ αὐτόματος πάλιν ἔλθῃ, πῶς ποιήσεις; Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ μαστιγώσας γε, ἵνα μὴ αὐθις τοῦτο ποιῇ, ἐξ ἀρχῆς χρήσομαι; Ὡρα ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σοὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι εἶη ὅτῳ μαστιγώσεις με, ὡς βουλευομαί γε ὅπως σε ἀποδρῶ λαβὼν τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐπὶ

θήραν. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης, Καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας προειπών· ἔνδοθεν γάρ, ἔφη, ἀπαγορεύω σοι μὴ κινεῖσθαι. χαρίεν γάρ, ἔφη, εἰ ἔνεκα κρεαδίων τῇ θυγατρὶ τὸν παῖδα ἀποβουκολήσαιμι. [1.4.14] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐπέθετο μὲν καὶ ἔμεινεν, ἀνιάρως δὲ καὶ σκυθρωπὸς ὢν σιωπῇ διῆγεν, ὁ μέντοι Ἀστυάγης ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν λυπούμενον ἰσχυρῶς, βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι ἐξάγει ἐπὶ θήραν, καὶ πεζοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἰππέας συναλίσσας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ συνελάσας εἰς τὰ ἰππάσιμα χωρία τὰ θηρία ἐποίησε μεγάλην θήραν. καὶ βασιλικῶς δὴ παρῶν αὐτὸς ἀπηγόρευε μηδὲνα βάλλειν, πρὶν Κῦρος ἐμπλησθεῖη θηρῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐκ εἶα κωλύειν, ἀλλ', Εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες τοὺς κατ' ἐμὲ πάντας διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὅπως <ἀν> ἕκαστος κράτιστα δύναίτο. [1.4.15] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀφίησι, καὶ στὰς ἐθεᾶτο ἀμιλλωμένους ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ φιλονικοῦντας καὶ διώκοντας καὶ ἀκοντίζοντας. καὶ Κύρῳ ἦδετο οὐ δυναμένῳ σιγᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σκύλακι γενναίῳ ἀνακλάζοντι, ὅποτε πλησιάζοι θηρίῳ, καὶ παρακαλοῦντι ὀνομαστὶ ἕκαστον. καὶ τοῦ μὲν καταγελῶντα αὐτὸν ὀρῶν ηὐφραίνετο, τὸν δὲ τινα καὶ ἐπαινοῦντα [αὐτὸν ἡσθάνετο] οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν φθονερῶς. τέλος δ' οὖν πολλὰ θηρία ἔχων ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀπήιει. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ἦσθη τῇ τότε θήρῃ ὥστε αἰεὶ ὅποτε οἶόν τ' εἶη συνεξήιει τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, Κύρου ἔνεκα. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλεῖστον χρόνον οὕτω διῆγεν ὁ Κῦρος, πᾶσιν ἡδονῆς μὲν καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος συναίτιος ὢν, κακοῦ δὲ οὐδενός.

[1.4.16] Ἀμφὶ δὲ τὰ πέντε ἢ ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτη γενομένου αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως γαμεῖν μέλλων ἐπεθύμησε <καὶ> αὐτὸς θηρᾶσαι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀκούων οὖν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις τοῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς Μήδων πολλὰ θηρία εἶναι ἀθήρευτα διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνταῦθα ἐπεθύμησεν ἐξελθεῖν. ὅπως οὖν ἀσφαλῶς θηρώη, ἰππέας τε προσέλαβε πολλοὺς καὶ πελταστάς, οἵτινες ἔμελλον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν λασίων τὰ θηρία ἐξελᾶν ἐς τὰ ἐργάσιμά τε καὶ εὐήλατα. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ὅπου ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ φρούρια καὶ ἡ φυλακὴ, ἐνταῦθα ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο, ὡς πρῶτὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θηράσων. [1.4.17] ἤδη δὲ ἐσπέρας γενομένης ἡ διαδοχὴ τῇ πρόσθεν φυλακῇ ἔρχεται ἐκ πόλεως καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοί. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτῷ πολλὴ στρατιὰ παρεῖναι· δύο γὰρ ὁμοῦ ἦσαν φυλακαί, πολλοὺς τε αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἔχων ἰππέας καὶ πεζοὺς. ἐβουλεύσατο οὖν κράτιστον εἶναι λεηλατῆσαι ἐκ τῆς Μηδικῆς, καὶ λαμπρότερόν τ' ἂν φανῆναι τὸ ἔργον τῆς θήρας καὶ

ιερείων ἂν πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐνόμιζε γενέσθαι. οὕτω δὴ πρῶι ἀναστὰς ἤγε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς κατέλιπεν ἀθρόους ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις προσελάσας πρὸς τὰ τῶν Μήδων φρουρία, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐνταῦθα κατέμεινεν, ὥς μὴ βοηθοῖεν οἱ φρουροὶ τῶν Μήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς καταθέοντας, τοὺς δ' ἐπιτηδεῖους ἀφήκε κατὰ φυλάς ἄλλους ἄλλοσε καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευε περιβαλλομένους ὅτῳ τις ἐπιτυχάνοι ἐλαύνειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττον.

[1.4.18] Σημανθέντων δὲ τῷ Ἀστυάγει ὅτι πολέμοι εἰσιν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ἐξεβοήθει καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς τὰ ὄρια σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὡσαύτως σὺν τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν ἱππόταις, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ ἐσήμαινε πᾶσιν ἐκβοηθεῖν. ὥς δὲ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν Ἀσσυρίων συντεταγμένους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας, ἔστησαν καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὁρῶν ἐκβοηθοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πασσυδί, ἐκβοηθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτον τότε ὅπλα ἐνδύς, οὐποτε οἰόμενος· οὕτως ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῖς ἐξοπλίσασθαι· μάλα δὲ καλὰ ἦν καὶ ἀρμόττοντα αὐτῷ ἃ ὁ πάππος περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐπεποίητο. οὕτω δὴ ἐξοπλισάμενος προσήλασε τῷ ἵππῳ. καὶ ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐθαύμασε μὲν τίνος κελεύσαντος ἦκοι, ὅμως δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ μένειν παρ' ἑαυτόν. [1.4.19] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε πολλοὺς ἱππέας ἀντίους, ἤρετο· Ἥ οὗτοι, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, πολέμοι εἰσιν, οἱ ἐφεστήκασι τοῖς ἵπποις ἡρέμα; Πολέμοι μέντοι, ἔφη. Ἥ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἔφη, οἱ ἐλαύνοντες; Κάκεῖνοι μέντοι. Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἄλλ' οὖν πονηροὶ γε φαινόμενοι καὶ ἐπὶ πονηρῶν ἱπαρίων ἄγουσιν ἡμῶν τὰ χρήματα· οὐκοῦν χρή ἐλαύνειν τινὰς ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ὅσον τὸ στίφος τῶν ἱππέων ἔστηκε συντεταγμένον; οἱ ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἡμεῖς ἐλαύνωμεν, ὑποτεμοῦνται ἡμᾶς πάλιν [ἐκεῖνοι]· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐπω ἡ ἰσχὺς πάρεστιν. Ἀλλ' ἦν σὺ μένης, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνης τοὺς προσβοηθοῦντας, φοβήσονται οὗτοι καὶ οὐ κινήσονται, οἱ δ' ἄγοντες εὐθὺς ἀφήσουσι τὴν λείαν, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσί τινας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντας.

[1.4.20] Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἔδοξε τι λέγειν τῷ Ἀστυάγει. καὶ ἅμα θαυμάζων ὥς καὶ ἐφρόνει καὶ ἐγρηγόρει κελεύει τὸν υἱὸν λαβόντα τάξιν ἱππέων ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγοντας τὴν λείαν. ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τούσδε, ἦν ἐπὶ σὲ κινῶνται, ἐλῶ, ὥστε ἀναγκασθήσονται ἡμῖν προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κυαξάρης λαβὼν τῶν ἐρρωμένων ἵπων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν προσελαύνει. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδεν

ὀρμωμένους, ἔξορμαῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἡγεῖτο ταχέως, καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ ἀπελείποντο. ὥς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς πελάζοντας οἱ λεηλατοῦντες, εὐθὺς ἀφέντες τὰ χρήματα ἔφευγον. [1.4.21] οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον ὑπετέμνοντο, καὶ οὓς μὲν κατελάμβανον εὐθὺς ἔπαιον, πρῶτος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὅσοι δὲ παραλλάξαντες αὐτῶν ἔφθασαν, κατόπιν τούτους ἐδίωκον, καὶ οὐκ ἀνίεσαν, ἀλλ' ἤηρουν τινὰς αὐτῶν. ὥσπερ δὲ κύων γενναῖος ἄπειρος ἀπρονοήτως φέρεται πρὸς κάπρον, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐφέρετο, μόνον ὀρῶν τὸ παίειν τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν προνοῶν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὥς ἐώρων πονοῦντας τοὺς σφετέρους, προυκίνησαν τὸ στίφος, ὥς παυσομένους τοῦ διωγμοῦ, ἐπεὶ σφᾶς ἴδοιεν προορμήσαντας. [1.4.22] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀνίει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς χαρμονῆς ἀνακαλῶν τὸν θεῖον ἐδίωκε καὶ ἰσχυρὰν τὴν φυγὴν τοῖς πολεμίοις κατέχων ἐποίει, καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης μέντοι ἐφείπετο, ἴσως καὶ αἰσχυρόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ εἶποντο, προθυμότεροι ὄντες ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ εἰς τὸ διώκειν καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄλκιμοι ὄντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀστυάγης ὥς ἐώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀπρονοήτως διώκοντας, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἀθρόους τε καὶ τεταγμένους ὑπαντῶντας, δείσας περὶ τε τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Κύρου μὴ εἰς παρεσκευασμένους ἀτάκτως ἐμπεσόντες πάθοιέν τι, ἡγεῖτο εὐθὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. [1.4.23] οἱ δ' αὖ πολέμιοι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς Μήδους προκινήθοντας, διατεινόμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ παλτὰ οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα εἰστήκεσαν, ὥς δὴ, ἐπειδὴ εἰς τόξευμα ἀφίκοντο, στησομένους, ὥσπερ τὰ πλεῖστα εἰώθεσαν ποιεῖν. μέχρι γὰρ τοσούτου, ὅποτε ἐγγύτατα γένοιτο, προσήλανον ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἠκροβολίζοντο πολλάκις μέχρι ἐσπέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων τοὺς μὲν σφετέρους φυγῇ εἰς ἑαυτοὺς φερομένους, τοὺς δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁμοῦ ἀγομένους, τὸν δὲ Ἀστυάγην σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐντὸς γιγνόμενον ἤδη τοξεύματος, ἐκκλίνουσι καὶ φεύγουσιν ὁμόθεν διώκοντας ἀνὰ κράτος· ἤηρουν δὲ πολλούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλίσκομένους ἔπαιον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατέκαινον· καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν πρὶν ἢ πρὸς τοῖς πεζοῖς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐγένοντο. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι δείσαντες μὴ καὶ ἐνέδρα τις μεῖζων ὑπεῖη, ἐπέσχον. [1.4.24] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀνῆγεν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, μάλα χαίρων καὶ τῇ ἱπποκρατίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι χρὴ λέγειν, αἴτιον μὲν ὄντα εἰδὼς τοῦ ἔργου, μαινόμενον δὲ γινώσκων τῇ τόλμῃ. καὶ γὰρ τότε ἀπιόντων οἵκαδε μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς πεπτωκότας

περιελαύνων ἐθεᾶτο, καὶ μόλις αὐτὸν ἀφελκύσαντες οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταχθέντες προσήγαγον τῷ Ἀστυάγει, μάλα ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενον τοὺς προσάγοντας, ὅτι ἑώρα τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πάππου ἡγριωμένον ἐπὶ τῇ θεᾷ τῇ αὐτοῦ. [1.4.25] Ἐν μὲν δὴ Μήδοις ταῦτα ἐγεγένητο, καὶ οἱ τε ἄλλοι πάντες τὸν Κῦρον διὰ στόματος εἶχον καὶ ἐν λόγῳ καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς, ὃ τε Ἀστυάγης καὶ πρόσθεν τιμῶν αὐτὸν τότε ὑπερεξεπέπληκτο ἐπ' αὐτῷ. Καμβύσης δὲ ὁ τοῦ Κύρου πατὴρ ἤδετο μὲν πυνθανόμενος ταῦτα, ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσεν ἔργα ἀνδρὸς ἤδη διαχειριζόμενον τὸν Κῦρον, ἀπεκάλει δὴ, ὅπως τὰ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιχώρια ἐπιτελοίῃ. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ ἐνταῦθα λέγεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀπιέναι βούλοιο, μὴ ὁ πατὴρ τι ἄχθοιτο καὶ ἡ πόλις μέμφοιτο. καὶ τῷ Ἀστυάγει δὲ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποπέμπειν αὐτόν. ἔνθα δὴ ἵππους τε αὐτῷ δοὺς οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει λαβεῖν καὶ ἄλλα συσκευάσας πολλὰ ἔπεμπε καὶ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἅμα ἐλπίδας ἔχων μεγάλας ἐν αὐτῷ ἄνδρα ἔσεσθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ φίλους ὠφελεῖν καὶ ἐχθροὺς ἀνιᾶν. ἀπιόντα δὲ τὸν Κῦρον προὔπεμπον πάντες [καὶ παῖδες] καὶ ἡλικες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γέροντες ἐφ' ἵππων καὶ Ἀστυάγης αὐτός, καὶ οὐδένα ἔφασαν ὄντιν' οὐ δακρύοντ' ἀποστρέφεσθαι. [1.4.26] καὶ Κῦρον δὲ αὐτὸν λέγεται σὺν πολλοῖς δακρύοις ἀποχωρῆσαι. πολλὰ δὲ δῶρα διαδοῦναι φασιν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἡλικιώταις ὧν Ἀστυάγης αὐτῷ ἐδεδώκει, τέλος δὲ καὶ ἦν εἶχε στολὴν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐκδύντα δοῦναι τι, δηλοῦνθ' ὅτι τοῦτον μάλιστα ἠσπάζετο. τοὺς μέντοι λαβόντας καὶ δεξαμένους τὰ δῶρα λέγεται Ἀστυάγει ἀπενεγκεῖν, Ἀστυάγην δὲ δεξάμενον Κύρῳ ἀποπέμψαι, τὸν δὲ πάλιν τε ἀποπέμψαι εἰς Μήδους καὶ εἰπεῖν· Εἰ βούλει, ὦ πάππε, ἐμὲ καὶ πάλιν ἰέναι ὥς σὲ μὴ αἰσχυρόμενον, ἔα ἔχειν εἴ τῷ τι ἐγὼ δέδωκα· Ἀστυάγην δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα ποιῆσαι ὥσπερ Κῦρος ἐπέστειλεν.

[1.4.27] Εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ παιδικοῦ λόγου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται, ὅτε Κῦρος ἀπῆι καὶ ἀπηλλάττοντο ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας τῷ στόματι ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτὸν νόμῳ Περσικῷ· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἔτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσι Πέρσαι· ἄνδρα δέ τινα τῶν Μήδων μάλα καλὸν καγαθὸν ὄντα ἐκπεπλήχθαι πολὺν τινα χρόνον ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει τοῦ Κύρου, ἡνίκα δὲ ἑώρα τοὺς συγγενεῖς φιλοῦντας αὐτόν, ὑπολειφθῆναι· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπῆλθον, προσελθεῖν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ἐμὲ μόνον οὐ γινώσκεις τῶν συγγενῶν, ὦ Κῦρε; Τί δέ, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κῦρον, ἥ καὶ σὺ συγγενὴς εἶ; Μάλιστα, φάναι. Ταῦτ' ἄρα, εἰπεῖν τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ ἐνεώρας μοι· πολλάκις γὰρ δοκῶ σε

γινώσκειν τοῦτο ποιῶντα. Προσελθεῖν γάρ σοι, ἔφη, αἰεὶ βουλόμενος ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡσυχνόμην. Ἄλλ' οὐκ ἔδει, φάναι τὸν Κῦρον, συγγενῇ γε ὄντα· ἅμα δὲ προσελθόντα φιλεῖσαι αὐτόν. [1.4.28] καὶ τὸν Μῆδον φιληθέντα ἐρέσθαι· Ἦ καὶ ἐν Πέρσαις νόμος ἐστὶν οὗτος συγγενεῖς φιλεῖν; Μάλιστα, φάναι, ὅταν γε ἴδωσιν ἀλλήλους διὰ χρόνου ἢ ἀπίωσί ποι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. Ὡρα ἂν εἴη, ἔφη ὁ Μῆδος, μάλα πάλιν σε φιλεῖν ἐμέ· ἀπέρχομαι γάρ, ὡς ὀράεις, ἤδη. οὕτω καὶ τὸν Κῦρον φιλήσαντα πάλιν ἀποπέμπειν καὶ ἀπιέναι. καὶ ὁδόν τε οὐπω πολλὴν διηνύσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Μῆδον ἥκειν πάλιν ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ· καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἰδόντα, Ἄλλ' ἦ, φάναι, ἐπελάθου τι ὧν ἐβούλου εἰπεῖν; Μὰ Δία, φάναι, ἀλλ' ἤκω διὰ χρόνου. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον εἰπεῖν· Νῆ Δί', ὦ σύγγενες, δι' ὀλίγου γε. Ποίου ὀλίγου; εἰπεῖν τὸν Μῆδον. οὐκ οἶσθα, φάναι, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι καὶ ὅσον σκαρδαμύττω χρόνον, πάνυ πολὺς μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐχ ὀρῶ σε τότε τοιοῦτον ὄντα; ἐνταῦθα δὴ τὸν Κῦρον γελάσαι τε ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν δακρύων καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ θαρρεῖν ἀπιόντι, ὅτι παρέσται αὐτοῖς ὀλίγου χρόνου, ὥστε ὀρᾶν ἐξέσται κἂν βούληται ἀσκαρδαμυκτί.

[1.5.1] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελθὼν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐνιαυτὸν λέγεται ἐν τοῖς παισὶν ἔτι γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οἱ παῖδες ἔσκαπτον αὐτὸν ὡς ἡδυπαθεῖν ἐν Μήδοις μεμαθηκῶς ἦκου· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἐσθίοντα αὐτὸν ἐώρων ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡδέως καὶ πίνοντα, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν ἐορτῇ εὐωχία γένοιτο, ἐπιδιδόντα μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ μέρους ἡσθάνοντο ἢ προσδεόμενον, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲ τᾶλλα κρατιστεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐώρων ἑαυτῶν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάλιν ὑπέπτησσαν αὐτῷ οἱ ἥλικες. ἐπεὶ δὲ διελθὼν τὴν παιδείαν ταύτην ἤδη εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἐφήβους, ἐν τούτοις αὖ ἐδόκει κρατιστεύειν καὶ μελετῶν ἃ χρῆν καὶ καρτερῶν καὶ αἰδούμενος τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πειθόμενος τοῖς ἄρχουσι.

[1.5.2] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ μὲν Ἀστυάγης ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀποθνήσκει, ὁ δὲ Κυαξζάρης ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου παῖς, τῆς δὲ Κύρου μητρὸς ἀδελφός, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε τὴν Μήδων. ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς κατεστραμμένος μὲν πάντας Σύρους, φῶλον πάμπλου, ὑπήκοον δὲ πεποιημένος τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα, ὑπηκόους δὲ ἔχων ἤδη καὶ Ὑρκανίους, πολιορκῶν δὲ καὶ Βακτρίους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ τοὺς Μήδους ἀσθενεῖς ποιήσεις, πάντων γε τῶν πέριξ ραϊδίως ἄρξειν· ἰσχυρότατον γὰρ τῶν ἐγγὺς φύλων τοῦτο ἐδόκει εἶναι. [1.5.3] οὕτω δὴ διαπέμπει πρὸς τε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν πάντας καὶ πρὸς Κροῖσον

τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καππαδοκῶν καὶ πρὸς Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ πρὸς Παφλαγόνας καὶ Ἰνδοὺς καὶ πρὸς Κᾶρας καὶ Κίλικας, τὰ μὲν καὶ διαβάλλων τοὺς Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας, λέγων ὡς μεγάλα τ' εἴη ταῦτα ἔθνη καὶ ἰσχυρὰ καὶ συνεστηκότα εἰς ταυτό, καὶ ἐπιγαμίας ἀλλήλοις πεποιημένοι εἶεν, καὶ κινδυνεύοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς φθάσας ἀσθενώσῃ, ἐπὶ ἓν ἕκαστον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἰόντες καταστρέψασθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις πειθόμενοι συμμαχίαν αὐτῷ ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ δώροις καὶ χρήμασιν ἀναπειθόμενοι· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοιαῦτα ἦν αὐτῷ. [1.5.4] Κυαζάρης δὲ [ὁ τοῦ Ἀστυάγου παῖς] ἐπεὶ ἡσθάνετο τὴν τ' ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν συνισταμένων ἐφ' ἑαυτόν, αὐτὸς τε εὐθέως ὅσα ἐδύνατο ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο καὶ εἰς Πέρσας ἔπεμπε πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς Καμβύσην τὸν τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντα καὶ βασιλεύοντα ἐν Πέρσαις. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κῦρον, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ πειρᾶσθαι ἄρχοντα ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἴ τινας ἐμποὶ στρατιώτας τὸ Περσῶν κοινόν. ἦδη γὰρ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος διατετελεκῶς τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις δέκα ἔτη ἐν τοῖς τελείοις ἀνδράσιν ἦν. [1.5.5] οὕτω δὴ δεξαμένου τοῦ Κύρου οἱ βουλευόντες γεραίτεροι αἰροῦνται αὐτὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς εἰς Μήδους στρατιᾶς. ἔδοσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσελέσθαι διακοσίους τῶν ὁμοτίμων, τῶν δ' αὖ διακοσίων ἐκάστῳ τέτταρας ἔδωκαν προσελέσθαι καὶ τούτους ἐκ τῶν ὁμοτίμων· γίνονται μὲν δὴ οὗτοι χίλιοι· τῶν δ' αὖ χιλίων τούτων ἐκάστῳ ἔταξαν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Περσῶν δέκα μὲν πελταστὰς προσελέσθαι, δέκα δὲ σφενδονήτας, δέκα δὲ τοξότας· καὶ οὕτως ἐγένοντο μύριοι μὲν τοξόται, μύριοι δὲ πελτασταί, μύριοι δὲ σφενδονῆται· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων οἱ χίλιοι ὑπῆρχον. τοσαύτη μὲν δὴ στρατιὰ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδόθη. [1.5.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡιρέθη τάχιστα, ἤρχετο πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν· καλλιερησάμενος δὲ τότε προσηρεῖτο τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ προσεείλοντο καὶ οὗτοι δὴ τοὺς τέτταρας ἕκαστοι, συνέλεξεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπε τότε πρῶτον ἐν αὐτοῖς τάδε.

[1.5.7] Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐγὼ προσειλόμην μὲν ὑμᾶς, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον δοκιμάσας, ἀλλ' ἐκ παίδων ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς ἃ μὲν καλὰ ἡ πόλις νομίζει, προθύμως ταῦτα ἐκπονοῦντας, ἃ δὲ αἰσχρὰ ἡγεῖται, παντελῶς τούτων ἀπεχομένους. ὧν δ' ἕνεκα αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ἄκων εἰς τόδε τὸ τέλος κατέστην καὶ ὑμᾶς παρεκάλεσα δηλῶσαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι. [1.5.8] ἐγὼ γὰρ κατενόησα ὅτι οἱ πρόγονοι χεῖρονες μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐγένοντο· ἀσκοῦντες γοῦν κάκεῖνοι διετέλεσαν ἅπερ ἔργα ἀρετῆς

νομίζεται· ὅ τι μέντοι προσεκτήσαντο τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἢ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν κοινῷ ἀγαθὸν ἢ αὐτοῖς, τοῦτ' οὐκέτι δύναμαι ἰδεῖν. [1.5.9] καίτοι ἐγὼ οἶμαι οὐδεμίαν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ὥς μηδὲν πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ ἐσθλοὶ γενόμενοι τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε τῶν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡδονῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὐχ ἵνα μηδέποτε εὐφρανθῶσι, τοῦτο πράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὥς διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἐγκράτειαν πολλαπλάσια εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον εὐφρανόμενοι οὕτω παρασκευάζονται· οἱ τε λέγειν προθυμούμενοι δεινοὶ γενέσθαι οὐχ ἵνα εὖ λέγοντες μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τοῦτο μελετῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες τῷ λέγειν εὖ πείθοντες ἀνθρώπους πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ διαπράξεσθαι· οἱ τε αὖ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῦντες οὐχ ὥς μαχόμενοι μηδέποτε παύσωνται, τοῦτ' ἐκπονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες καὶ οὗτοι τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀγαθὰ γενόμενοι πολλὴν μὲν ὄλβον, πολλὴν δὲ εὐδαιμονίαν, μεγάλας δὲ τιμὰς καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ πόλει περιάψειν. [1.5.10] εἰ δέ τινες ταῦτα ἐκπονήσαντες πρὶν τινα καρπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν κομίσασθαι περιεῖδον αὐτοὺς γῆραι ἀδυνάτους γενομένους, ὅμοιον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι πεπονθέναι οἷον εἴ τις γεωργὸς ἀγαθὸς προθυμηθεὶς γενέσθαι καὶ εὖ σπεύρων καὶ εὖ φυτεύων, ὁπότε καρποῦσθαι ταῦτα δέοι, ἐώη τὸν καρπὸν ἀσυγκόμιστον εἰς τὴν γῆν πάλιν καταρρεῖν. καὶ εἴ τις γε ἀσκητὴς πολλὰ πονήσας καὶ ἀξιόνικος γενόμενος ἀναγώνιστος διατελέσειεν, οὐδ' ἂν οὗτός μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀναίτιος εἶναι ἀφροσύνης. [1.5.11] ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ πάθωμεν ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περ σύνισμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ παίδων ἀρξάμενοι ἀσκηταὶ ὄντες τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὓς ἐγὼ σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ἰδιώτας ὄντας ὥς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οὐ γάρ πω οὗτοι ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνισταί, οἱ ἂν τοξεύωσι καὶ ἀκοντίζωσι καὶ ἱππεύωσιν ἐπιστημόνως, ἣν δὲ πονήσαι δέη, τούτῳ λείπωνται, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἰδιωταὶ εἰσι κατὰ τοὺς πόνους· οὐδέ γε οἵτινες ἀγρυπνήσαι δέον ἡττῶνται τούτου, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι ἰδιῶται κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον· οὐδέ γε οἱ ταῦτα μὲν ἱκανοί, ἀπαίδευτοι δὲ ὥς χρὴ καὶ συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίους χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτοι δῆλον ὥς τῶν μεγίστων παιδευμάτων ἀπείρως ἔχουσιν. [1.5.12] ὑμεῖς δὲ νυκτὶ μὲν δήπου ὅσα περ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡμέραι δύνασθ' ἂν χρῆσθαι, πόνους δὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἡδέως ἡγεμόνας νομίζετε, λιμῷ δὲ ὅσα περ ὄψωι διαχρῆσθε, ὑδροποσίαν δὲ ῥᾶιον τῶν λεόντων φέρετε, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων καὶ πολεμικώτατον κτῆμα εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεκόμισθε· ἐπαινούμενοι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι χαίρετε. τοὺς δ' ἐπαίνου ἐραστὰς

ἀνάγκη διὰ τοῦτο πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ἡδέως ὑποδύεσθαι. [1.5.13] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω περὶ ὑμῶν ἄλλῃ γινώσκων, ἑμαυτὸν ἐξαπατῶ. ὃ τι γὰρ μὴ τοιοῦτον ἀποβήσεται παρ' ὑμῶν, εἰς ἐμὲ τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἦξει. ἀλλὰ πιστεύω τοι τῇ πείρῃ καὶ τῇ ὑμῶν εἰς ἐμὲ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολέμιων ἀνοίᾳ μὴ ψεύσειν με ταύτας τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας. ἀλλὰ θαρροῦντες ὁρμώμεθα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκποδῶν ἡμῖν γεγένηται τὸ δόξαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀδίκως ἐφίεσθαι. νῦν γὰρ ἔρχονται μὲν οἱ πολέμοι ἄρχοντες ἀδίκων χειρῶν, καλοῦσι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐπικούρους οἱ φίλοι· τί οὖν ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ ἀλέξασθαι δικαιοτέρον ἢ τοῦ τοῖς φίλοις ἀρήγειν κάλλιον; [1.5.14] ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο οἶμαι ὑμᾶς θαρρεῖν, τὸ μὴ παρημεληκότα με τῶν θεῶν τὴν ἔξοδον ποιεῖσθαι· πολλὰ γάρ μοι συνόντες ἐπίστασθε οὐ μόνον τὰ μεγάλα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μικρὰ πειρώμενον ἀεὶ ἀπὸ θεῶν ὁρμᾶσθαι. τέλος εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἔτι λέγειν; ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐλόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβόντες καὶ τᾶλλα παρασκευασάμενοι ἴτε ἐς Μήδους ἐγὼ δ' ἐπανελθὼν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πρόειμι δῆ, ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ὡς τάχιστα μαθὼν οἶά ἐστι παρασκευάζωμαι ὃ τι ἂν δέωμαι, ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα σὺν θεῷ ἀγωνιζώμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἔπραττον.

[1.6.1] Κῦρος δὲ ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε καὶ προσευξάμενος Ἑστίαι πατρώϊα καὶ Διὶ πατρώϊω καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὠρμάτο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν, συμπρούπεμπε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ πατέρ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἰσιοὶ γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔτι οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα τᾶ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα.

[1.6.2] Προϊόντι δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ πατὴρ ἤρχετο λόγου τοιοῦδε. ὦ παῖ, ὅτι μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἴλεώι τε καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπουσίν σε καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς δῆλον καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις· γινώσκεις δὲ καὶ αὐτός. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ταῦτα ἐπιτηδες ἐδίδαζάμην, ὅπως μὴ δι' ἄλλων ἐρμηνέων τὰς τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίας συνιείης, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς καὶ ὁρῶν τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀκούων τὰ ἀκουστὰ γινώσκῃς καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ μάντεσιν εἴης, εἰ βούλῃ σε ἐξαπατᾶν ἕτερα λέγοντες ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα, μηδ' αὖ, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἄνευ μάντεως γένοιο, ἀποροῖο θείῃς σημείοις ὃ τι χρῶιο, ἀλλὰ γινώσκων διὰ τῆς μαντικῆς τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλευόμενα, τούτοις πείθοιο. [1.6.3] Καὶ μὲν δῆ, ὦ πάτερ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς ἂν ἴλεωι οἱ θεοὶ ὄντες ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν θέλωσιν, ὅσον δύναμαι κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον διατελῶ ἐπιμελούμενος. μέμνημαι γάρ, ἔφη, ἀκούσας ποτὲ σου ὅτι εἰκότως ἂν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν

πρακτικώτερος εἴη ὥσπερ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὅστις μὴ ὁπότε ἐν ἀπόροις εἴη, τότε κολακεύοι, ἀλλ' ὅτε τὰ ἄριστα πράττοι, τότε μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν μεμνητο· καὶ τῶν φίλων δ' ἔφησθα χρῆναι ὡσαύτως οὕτως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [1.6.4] Οὐκοῦν νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, διὰ γ' ἐκείνας τὰς ἐπιμελείας ἥδιον μὲν ἔρχηαι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς δεησόμενος, ἐλπίζεις δὲ μᾶλλον τεύξεσθαι ὧν ἂν δέηι, ὅτι συνειδέναι σαυτῷ δοκεῖς οὐπώποτ' ἀμελήσας αὐτῶν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς πρὸς φίλους μοι ὄντας τοὺς θεοὺς οὕτω διάκειμαι. [1.6.5] Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, μέμνησαι ἐκεῖνα ἃ ποτε ἐδόκει ἡμῖν, ὡς ἅπερ δεδώκασιν οἱ θεοὶ μαθόντας ἀνθρώπους βέλτιον πράττειν ἢ ἀνεπιστήμονας αὐτῶν ὄντας καὶ ἐργαζομένους μᾶλλον ἀνύτειν ἢ ἀργοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελουμένους ἀσφαλέστερον [ἂν] διάγειν ἢ ἀφυλακτοῦντας τούτων, – παρέχοντας οὖν τοιούτους ἑαυτοὺς οἴους δεῖ, οὕτως ἡμῖν ἐδόκει δεῖν καὶ αἰτεῖσθαι τὰγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν; [1.6.6] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, μέμνημαι μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἀκούσας σου· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάγκη με πείθεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ· καὶ γὰρ οἶδά σε λέγοντα ἀεὶ ὡς οὐδὲ θέμις εἴη αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὔτε ἱππεύειν μὴ μαθόντας ἵππομαχοῦντας νικᾶν, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους τοξεύειν τοξεύοντας κρατεῖν τῶν ἐπισταμένων, οὔτε μὴ ἐπισταμένους κυβερνᾶν σώζειν εὖχεσθαι ναῦς κυβερνῶντας, οὐδὲ μὴ σπείροντάς γε σῖτον εὖχεσθαι καλὸν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλαττομένους γε ἐν πολέμῳ σωτηρίαν αἰτεῖσθαι· παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν θεσμοὺς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι· τοὺς δὲ ἀθέμιτα εὐχομένους ὁμοίως ἔφησθα εἰκὸς εἶναι παρὰ θεῶν ἀτυχεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων ἀπρακτεῖν τοὺς παράνομα δεομένους.

[1.6.7] Ἐκείνων δέ, ὦ παῖ, ἐπελάθου ἃ ποτε ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ ἐλογιζόμεθα ὡς ἱκανὸν εἴη καὶ καλὸν ἀνδρὶ ἔργον, εἴ τις δύναιτο ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν αὐτός τε καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς δοκίμως γένοιτο καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ οἰκέται ἱκανῶς ἔχοιεν; τὸ δέ, τούτου μεγάλου ἔργου ὄντος, οὕτως ἐπίστασθαι ἀνθρώπων ἄλλων προστατεύειν ὅπως ἔξουσι πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκπλεῶ καὶ ὅπως ἔσονται πάντες οἴους δεῖ, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν δῆπου ἡμῖν τότε ἐφαίνετο εἶναι. [1.6.8] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, μέμνημαι καὶ τοῦτό σου λέγοντος· συνεδόκει οὖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερμέγεθες εἶναι ἔργον τὸ καλῶς ἄρχειν· καὶ νῦν γ', ἔφη, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ὅταν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἄρχειν σκοπῶν λογίζωμαι. ὅταν μέντοι γε πρὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἰδὼν κατανοήσω οἷοι ὄντες διαγίγνονται ἄρχοντες καὶ οἷοι ὄντες ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἡμῖν ἔσονται,

πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιούτους ὑποπτῆξαι καὶ μὴ θέλιν
ιέναι αὐτοῖς ἀνταγωνιούμενους· οὕς, ἔφη, ἐγὼ αἰσθάνομαι
ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων φίλων τούτων ἡγουμένους δεῖν τὸν
ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν τῷ καὶ πολυτελέστερον δειπνεῖν
καὶ πλεον ἔχειν ἔνδον χρυσίον καὶ πλείονα χρόνον καθεύδειν καὶ
πάντα ἀπονώτερον τῶν ἀρχομένων διάγειν. ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι, ἔφη, τὸν
ἄρχοντα οὐ τῷ ραϊδιουργεῖν χρῆναι διαφέρειν τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἀλλὰ
τῷ προνοεῖν καὶ φιλοπονεῖν. [1.6.9] Ἀλλὰ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ἐνία ἐστὶν ἃ
οὐ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀγωνιστέον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, ὧν
οὐ ραϊδίων εὐπόρως περιγενέσθαι. αὐτίκα δήπου οἶσθα ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἔξει
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ στρατιά, καταλελύσεται σου ἡ ἀρχή. Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα
μέν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, Κυαξάρης φησὶ παρέξειν τοῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἰοῦσι
πᾶσιν ὁπόσοι ἂν ᾖσι. Τούτοις δὴ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, πιστεύων ἔρχη,
τοῖς παρὰ Κυαξάρου χρήμασιν; Ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Τί δέ, ἔφη,
οἶσθα ὁπόσα αὐτῷ ἐστι; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ μὲν δή. Ὅμως
δὲ τούτοις πιστεύεις τοῖς ἀδήλοισ; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν μὲν σοὶ δεήσει,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα νῦν ἀνάγκη δαπανᾶν ἐκεῖνον, οὐ γινώσκεις;
Γινώσκω, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ἦν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπιλίπη αὐτὸν ἡ δαπάνη ἢ
καὶ ἐκὼν ψεύσεται, πῶς σοι ἔξει τὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς; Δῆλον ὅτι οὐ
καλῶς. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, σὺ εἰ ἐνοραῖς τινα πόρον καὶ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἂν
προσγενόμενον, ἕως ἔτι ἐν φιλαί ἐσμέν, λέγε. [1.6.10] Ἐρωταῖς, ἔφη, ὦ
παῖ, ποῦ ἂν ἀπὸ σοῦ πόρος προσγένοιτο; ἀπὸ τίνος δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκός
ἐστὶ πόρον γενέσθαι ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δύναμιν ἔχοντος; σὺ δὲ πεζὴν μὲν
δύναμιν ἐνθένδε ἔχων ἔρχη ἀνθ' ἧς οἶδ' ὅτι πολλαπλασίαν ἄλλην
οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο, ἵππικὸν δέ σοι, ὅπερ κράτιστον, τὸ Μήδων σύμμαχον
ἔσται. ποῖον οὖν ἔθνος τῶν πέριξ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
βουλόμενον ὑμῖν ὑπηρετήσιν καὶ φοβούμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ; ἃ χρή σε
κοινῇ σὺν Κυαξάρῃ σκοπεῖσθαι μήποτε ἐπιλίπη τι ὑμᾶς ὧν δεῖ
ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ἔθους δὲ ἔνεκα μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδου πόρον. τότε δὲ
πάντων μάλιστά μοι μέμνησο μηδέποτε ἀναμένειν τὸ πορίζεσθαι τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ἔστ' ἂν ἡ χρεία σε ἀναγκάσῃ· ἀλλ' ὅταν μάλιστα
εὐπορῇς, τότε πρὸ τῆς ἀπορίας μηχανῶ. καὶ γὰρ τεύξῃ μᾶλλον παρ'
ὧν ἂν δέηι μὴ ἄπορος δοκῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἔτι ἀναίτιος ἔσῃ παρὰ τοῖς
σαντοῦ στρατιώταις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων αἰδοῦς
τεύξῃ, καὶ ἦν τινας βούλῃ ἢ εὖ ποιῆσαι τῇ δυνάμει ἢ κακῶς,
μᾶλλον ἕως ἂν ἔχωσι τὰ δέοντα οἱ στρατιῶται ὑπηρετήσουσί σοι, καὶ
πειστικωτέρους, σάφ' ἴσθι, λόγους δυνήσῃ τότε λέγειν ὅτανπερ καὶ

ἐνδείκνυσθαι μάλιστα δύνηι καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἱκανὸς ὢν καὶ κακῶς. [1.6.11] Ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἄλλως τέ μοι καλῶς δοκεῖς ταῦτα λέγειν πάντα, καὶ ὅτι ὢν μὲν νῦν λέγονται λήψεσθαι οἱ στρατιῶται, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐμοὶ τούτων χάριν εἴσεται· ἴσασι γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς Κυαξάρης ἐπάγεται συμμάχους· ὃ τι δ' ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λαμβάνη τις, ταῦτα καὶ τιμὴν νομιοῦσι καὶ χάριν τούτων εἰκὸς εἰδέναι τῷ διδόντι. τὸ δ' ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ἔστι μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι, ἔστι δὲ ἐχθροὺς [ἔχοντα] πειρᾶσθαι τείσασθαι, ἔπειτ' ἀμελεῖν τοῦ πορίζεσθαι, οἷε τι, ἔφη, ἥττον τι τοῦτο εἶναι αἰσχρὸν ἢ εἴ τις ἔχων μὲν ἀγρούς, ἔχων δὲ ἐργάτας οἷς ἂν ἐργάζοιτο, ἔπειτ' ἐώη τὴν ἀργοῦσαν ἀνωφέλητον εἶναι; Ὡς γ' ἐμοῦ, ἔφη, μηδέποτε ἀμελήσοντος τοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις συμμηχανᾶσθαι μήτ' ἐν φιλαίᾳ μήτ' ἐν πολεμίᾳ οὕτως ἔχε τὴν γνώμην.

[1.6.12] Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τῶν ἄλλων, ὢν ἐδόκει ποθ' ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μὴ παραμελεῖν, ἢ μέμνησαι; Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, μέμνημαι ὅτε ἐγὼ μὲν πρὸς σὲ ἦλθον ἐπ' ἀργύριον, ὅπως ἀποδοίην τῷ φάσκοντι στρατηγεῖν με πεπαιδευκένας, σὺ δὲ ἅμα διδούς μοι ἐπηρώτας ὧδέ πως· Ἄρά γε, εἶπας, ὦ παῖ, ἐν τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς καὶ οἰκονομίᾳ τί σοι ἐπεμνήσθη ὁ ἀνὴρ ὧι τὸν μισθὸν φέρεις; οὐδὲν μέντοι ἥττον οἱ στρατιῶται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δέονται ἢ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ οἰκέται. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ σοι λέγων τάληθ' εἶπον ὅτι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν περὶ τούτου ἐπεμνήσθη, ἐπήρου με πάλιν εἴ τί μοι ὑγιείας πέρι ἢ ῥώμης ἔλεξεν, ὥς δεῆσον τούτων ὥσπερ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [1.6.13] ὥς δὲ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀπέφησα, ἐπήρου με αὖ πάλιν εἴ τινας τέχνας ἐδίδασκεν, αἱ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων κράτισται ἂν σύμμαχοι γένοιτο. ἀποφῆσαντες δέ μου καὶ τοῦτο ἀνέκρινας αὖ σὺ καὶ τότε εἴ τί μ' ἐπαίδευσεν ὥς ἂν δυναίμην στρατιᾷ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, λέγων ὅτι τὸ πᾶν διαφέρει ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ προθυμία ἀθυμίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἀνένευον, ἤλεγχες αὖ σὺ εἴ τινα λόγον ποιήσαιτο διδάσκων περὶ τοῦ πείθεσθαι τὴν στρατιάν, ὥς ἂν τις μάλιστα μηχανῶιτο. [1.6.14] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἄρρητον ἐφαίνετο, τέλος δὴ μ' ἐπήρου ὃ τι ποτὲ διδάσκων στρατηγίαν φαίη με διδάσκειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἀποκρίνομαι ὅτι τὰ τακτικά. καὶ σὺ γελάσας διηλθές μοι παρατιθεῖς ἕκαστον τί εἴη ὄφελος στρατιᾷ τακτικῶν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν, τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ἡύρημένας εἰς πόλεμον τέχνας, .. τί δ' ἄνευ τοῦ πείθεσθαι. ὥς δέ μοι καταφανὲς ἐποίησας ὅτι μικρόν τι μέρος εἴη

στρατηγίας τὰ τακτικά, ἐπερομένου μου εἴ τι τούτων σύ με διδάξει
ικανὸς εἶης, ἀπιόντα με ἐκέλευσας τοῖς στρατηγικοῖς νομιζομένοις
ἀνδράσι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πυθέσθαι πῇ ἕκαστα τούτων γίγνεται. [1.6.15]
ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐγὼ συνῆν τούτοις, οὓς μάλιστα φρονίμους περὶ τούτων
ἤκουον εἶναι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τροφῆς ἐπέισθην ἱκανὸν εἶναι ὑπάρχον ὃ
τι Κυαζάρης ἐμελλε παρέξειν ἡμῖν, περὶ δὲ ὑγείας, ἀκούων καὶ ὁρῶν
ὅτι καὶ πόλεις αἱ χρήζουσιν ὑγιαίνειν ἰατροὺς αἰροῦνται καὶ οἱ
στρατηγοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕνεκεν ἰατροὺς ἐξάγουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ
ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τούτῳ ἐγενόμην, εὐθύς τούτου ἐπεμελήθην, καὶ
οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, πάνυ ἱκανοὺς τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην ἔξειν μετ'
ἐμαυτοῦ ἀνδρας. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ πατήρ εἶπεν· [1.6.16] Ἄλλ', ὦ παῖ,
ἔφη, οὗτοι μὲν οὓς λέγεις, ὥσπερ ἱματίων ῥαγέντων εἰσὶ τινες
ἀκεσταί, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἰατροί, ὅταν τινὲς νοσήσωσι, τότε ἰδῶνται
τούτους· σοὶ δὲ τούτου μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα ἔσται ἡ τῆς ὑγείας
ἐπιμέλεια· τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὴν μὴ κάμνειν τὸ στράτευμα, τούτου σοὶ δεῖ
μέλειν. Καὶ τίνα δὴ ἐγὼ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὁδὸν ἰὼν τοῦτο πράττειν
ικανὸς ἔσομαι; Ἦν μὲν δὴπου χρόνον τινὰ μέλλης ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
μένειν, ὑγεινοῦ πρῶτον δεῖ στρατοπέδου μὴ ἀμελεῖσαι· τούτου δὲ
οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις, ἄνπερ μελήσῃ σοι. καὶ γὰρ λέγοντες οὐδὲν
παύονται ἄνθρωποι περὶ τε τῶν νοσηρῶν χωρίων καὶ περὶ τῶν
ὑγιεινῶν· μάρτυρες δὲ σαφεῖς ἑκατέροις αὐτῶν παρίστανται τὰ τε
σώματα καὶ τὰ χρώματα. ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὰ χωρία μόνον ἀρκέσει
σκέψασθαι, ἀλλὰ μνήσθητι σὺ πῶς πειρᾷ σαυτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως
ὑγιαίνης. [1.6.17] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Πρῶτον μὲν νῆ Δία πειρῶμαι
μηδέποτε ὑπερπίμπλασθαι· δύσφορον γάρ· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκπονῶ τὰ
εἰσιόντα· οὕτω γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τε ὑγίεια μᾶλλον παραμένειν καὶ
ἰσχύς προσγενέσθαι. Οὕτω τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεῖ
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. Ἦ καὶ σχολή, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ἔσται, σωμασκεῖν τοῖς
στρατιώταις; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ πατήρ, οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη.
δεῖ γὰρ δὴπου στρατιάν, εἰ μέλλει πράξειν τὰ δέοντα, μηδέποτε
παύεσθαι ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις κακὰ πορσύνουσιν ἢ ἑαυτῇ ἀγαθὰ· ὥς
χαλεπὸν μὲν καὶ ἓνα ἄνθρωπον ἀργὸν τρέφεσθαι, πολὺ δ' ἔτι
χαλεπώτερον, ὦ παῖ, οἶκον ὅλον, πάντων δὲ χαλεπώτατον στρατιάν
ἀργὸν τρέφειν. πλείστα τε γὰρ τὰ ἐσθίοντα ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἀπ'
ἐλαχίστων ὁρμώμενα καὶ οἷς ἂν λάβῃ δαυηλέστατα χρώμενα, ὥστε
οὐποτε ἀργεῖν δεήσει στρατιάν. [1.6.18] Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὥς
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ γεωργοῦ ἀργοῦ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, οὕτως οὐδὲ

στρατηγοῦ ἀργοῦντος οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι. Τὸν δέ γε ἐργάτην στρατηγὸν ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀναδέχομαι, ἢν μή τις θεὸς βλάβῃ, ἅμα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μάλιστα ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποδείξιν καὶ τὰ σώματα ἄριστα ἔχοντας παρασκευάσειν. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη, τό γε μελετᾶσθαι ἕκαστα τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων, ἀγῶνας ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὃ πάτερ, προειπὼν ἐκάστοις καὶ ἄθλα προτιθεῖς μάλιστ' ἂν ποιεῖν εὖ ἀσκεῖσθαι ἕκαστα, ὥστε ὁπότε δέοιτο ἔχειν ἂν παρεσκευασμένοις χρῆσθαι. ;κάλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃ παῖ· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσας, σάφ' ἴσθι, ὥσπερ χοροὺς τὰς τάξεις ἀεὶ τὰ προσήκοντα μελετώσας θεάσῃ.

[1.6.19] Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη, εἷς γε τὸ προθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν στρατιώταις οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἰκανώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐλπίδας ἐμποιεῖν ἀνθρώποις. Ἀλλ', ἔφη, ὃ παῖ, τοῦτό γε τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἷόν περ εἴ τις κύνας ἐν θήρῃ ἀνακαλοῖτο ἀεὶ τῇ κλήσει ἥπερ ὅταν τὸ θηρίον ὀρᾷ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον προθύμως εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἔχει ὑπακουούσας· ἢν δὲ πολλάκις ψεύδῃται αὐτάς, τελευτῶσαι οὐδ' ὁπότεν ἀληθῶς ὀρῶν καλῇ πείθονται αὐτῷ. οὕτω καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων ἔχει· ἢν πολλάκις προσδοκίας ἀγαθῶν ἐμβάλων ψεύδῃται τις, οὐδ' ὁπότεν ἀληθεῖς ἐλπίδας λέγῃ ὁ τοιοῦτος πείθειν δύναται. ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸν λέγειν ἃ μὴ σαφῶς εἰδείῃ εἰργεσθαι δεῖ, ὃ παῖ, ἄλλοι δ' ἐνετοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτ' ἂν διαπράττειεν· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ παρακέλευσιν εἰς τοὺς μεγίστους κινδύνους δεῖ ὡς μάλιστα ἐν πίστει διασώζειν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὃ πάτερ, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, καὶ ἐμοὶ οὕτως ἥδιον. [1.6.20] τό γε μὴν πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀπείρως μοι δοκῶ αὐτοῦ ἔχειν, ὃ πάτερ· σύ τε γάρ με εὐθὺς τοῦτο ἐκ παιδίου ἐπαίδευες, σαυτῷ πείθεσθαι ἀναγκάζων· ἔπειτα τοῖς διδασκάλοις παρέδωκας, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὖ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπραττον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις ἤμεν, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεμελεῖτο· καὶ οἱ νόμοι δέ μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα δύο μάλιστα διδάσκειν, ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι. καὶ τοίνυν κατανοῶν περὶ τούτων ἐν πᾶσιν ὀρᾷ μοι δοκῶ τὸ προτρέπον πείθεσθαι μάλιστα ὃν τὸν πειθόμενον ἐπαινεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα ἀτιμάζειν τε καὶ κολάζειν. [1.6.21] Καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν γε τὸ ἀνάγκῃ ἐπεσθαι αὕτη, ὃ παῖ, ἡ ὁδὸς ἐστίν· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κρεῖττον τούτου πολὺ, τὸ ἐκόντας πείθεσθαι, ἄλλη ἐστὶ συντομωτέρα. ὃν γὰρ ἂν ἡγήσωνται περὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἑαυτοῖς φρονιμώτερον ἑαυτῶν εἶναι, τούτῳ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπερηδέως

πείθονται. γνοίης δ' ἂν ὅτι τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει ἐν ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖς κάμνουσιν, ὡς προθύμως τοὺς ἐπιτάζοντας ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν καλοῦσι· καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ δὲ ὡς προθύμως τοῖς κυβερνήταις οἱ συμπλέοντες πείθονται· καὶ οὕς γ' ἂν νομίσωσί τινες βέλτιον αὐτῶν ὁδοὺς εἰδέναι, ὡς ἰσχυρῶς τούτων οὐδ' ἀπολείπεσθαι θέλουσιν. ὅταν δὲ οἴωνται πειθόμενοι κακόν τι λήψεσθαι, οὔτε ζημίαις πάνυ τι θέλουσιν εἶκειν οὔτε δώροις ἐπαίρεσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δῶρα ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κακῷ ἐκὼν οὐδεὶς λαμβάνει. [1.6.22] Λέγεις σύ, ὦ πάτερ, εἰς τὸ πειθομένους ἔχειν οὐδὲν εἶναι ἀνυσιμώτερον τοῦ φρονιμώτερον δοκεῖν εἶναι τῶν ἀρχομένων. Λέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Καὶ πῶς δὴ τις ἂν, ὦ πάτερ, τοιαύτην δόξαν τάχιστα περὶ αὐτοῦ παρασχέσθαι δύναίτο; Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, συντομωτέρα ὁδὸς <ἐπὶ τό,> περὶ ὧν βούλει, δοκεῖν φρόνιμος εἶναι ἢ τὸ γενέσθαι περὶ τούτων φρόνιμον. καθ' ἑν δ' ἕκαστον σκοπῶν γνώσῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω. ἦν γὰρ βούλῃ μὴ ὧν ἀγαθὸς γεωργὸς δοκεῖν εἶναι ἀγαθός, ἢ ἱππεὺς ἢ ἱατρὸς ἢ αὐλητὴς ἢ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν, ἐννόει πόσα σε δεοί ἂν μηχανᾶσθαι τοῦ δοκεῖν ἕνεκα. καὶ εἰ δὴ πείσαις ἐπαινεῖν τέ σε πολλούς, ὅπως δόξαν λάβοις, καὶ κατασκευὰς καλὰς ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν κτήσαιο, ἄρτι τε ἐξηπατηκῶς εἴης ἂν καὶ ὀλίγωι ὕστερον, ὅπου πεῖραν δοίης, ἐξεληλεγμένος ἂν προσέτι καὶ ἀλαζῶν φαίνοιο. [1.6.23] Φρόνιμος δὲ περὶ τοῦ συνοίσειν μέλλοντος πῶς ἂν τις τῷ ὄντι γένοιτο; Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ἔστι μαθόντα εἰδέναι, μαθὼν ἂν, ὥσπερ τὰ τακτικά ἐμαθες· ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρώποις οὔτε μαθητὰ οὔτε προορατὰ ἀνθρωπίνῃ προνοίᾳ, διὰ μαντικῆς ἂν παρὰ θεῶν πυνθανόμενος φρονιμώτερος ἄλλων εἴης· ὃ τι δὲ γνοίης βέλτιον ὃν πραχθῆναι, ἐπιμελόμενος ἂν τούτου ὡς ἂν πραχθείη. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὗ ἂν δέῃ φρονιμωτέρου ἀνδρὸς ἢ τὸ ἀμελεῖν. [1.6.24] Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ὅπερ ἔμοιγε ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δοκεῖ εἶναι, δῆλον ὅτι ἡ αὕτη ὁδὸς ἥπερ εἴ τις ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων στέργεσθαι ἐπιθυμοίη· εὗ γὰρ οἶμαι δεῖν ποιοῦντα φανερόν εἶναι. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, χαλεπὸν τὸ ἀεὶ δύνασθαι εὗ ποιεῖν οὕς ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ· τὸ δὲ συνηδόμενόν τε φαίνεσθαι, ἦν τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς συμβαίνειν, καὶ συναχθόμενον, ἦν τι κακόν, καὶ συνεπικουρεῖν προθυμούμενον ταῖς ἀπορίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ φοβούμενον μὴ τι σφαλῶσι, καὶ προνοεῖν πειρώμενον ὡς μὴ σφάλλωνται, ταῦτά πως δεῖ μάλλον πεσυμπαρομαρτεῖν.

[1.6.25] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων δέ, ἦν μὲν ἐν θέρει ὥσι, τὸν ἄρχοντα

δεῖ τοῦ ἡλίου πλεονεκτοῦντα φανερόν εἶναι· ἦν δὲ ἐν χειμῶνι, τοῦ ψύχους· ἦν δὲ διὰ μόχθων, τῶν πόνων· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων συλλαμβάνει. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, ὡς καὶ καρτερώτερον δεῖ πρὸς πάντα τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων εἶναι. Λέγω γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. θάρρει μέντοι τοῦτο, ὦ παῖ· εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι τῶν ὁμοίων σωμάτων οἱ αὐτοὶ πόνοι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἄπτονται ἄρχοντός τε ἀνδρὸς καὶ ιδιώτου, ἀλλ' ἐπικουφίζει τι ἡ τιμὴ τοὺς πόνους τῷ ἄρχοντι καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐ λανθάνει ὃ τι ἂν ποιῇ.

[1.6.26] Ὅποτε δέ, ὦ πάτερ, σοι ἤδη ἔχουσιν μὲν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οἱ στρατιῶται, ὑγιαίνειν δέ, πονεῖν δὲ δύναιντο, τὰς δὲ πολεμικὰς τέχνας ἡσκηκότες εἶεν, φιλοτίμως δ' ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθοὶ φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἥδιον εἴη τοῦ ἀπειθεῖν, οὐκ ἂν τηνικαῦτα σωφρονεῖν ἂν τίς σοι δοκοίη διαγωνίζεσθαι βουλόμενος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς τάχιστα; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, εἰ μέλλοι γε πλέον ἔξειν· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔγωγ' ἂν ὅσῳ οἰοίμην καὶ αὐτὸς βελτίων εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐπομένους βελτίονας ἔχειν, τόσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον φυλαττοίμην, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα ἃ ἂν οἴωμεθα πλείστου ἡμῖν ἄξια εἶναι, ταῦτα πειρώμεθα ὡς ἐν ἐχυρωτάτῳ ποιεῖσθαι. [1.6.27] Πλέον δ' ἔχειν, ὦ πάτερ, πολεμίων πῶς ἂν τις δύναιτο μάλιστα; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκέτι τοῦτο φαῦλον, ὦ παῖ, οὐδ' ἀπλοῦν ἔργον ἐρωταῖς· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσῃν καὶ ἐπίβουλον εἶναι καὶ κρυπίνου καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ἄρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν· ὦ Ἡράκλεις, οἷον σὺ λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ, δεῖν ἄνδρα με γενέσθαι. Οἷος ἂν <ὦν>, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, δικαιοτάτος τε καὶ νομιμώτατος ἀνὴρ εἴης. [1.6.28] Πῶς μὴν, ἔφη, παῖδας ὄντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐφήβους τάναντία τούτων ἐδιδάσκετε; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ πολίτας· ὅπως δέ γε τοὺς πολεμίους δύναισθε κακῶς ποιεῖν οὐκ οἶσθα μανθάνοντας ὑμᾶς πολλὰς κακουργίας; Οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὦ πάτερ. Τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, ἐμανθάνετε τοξεύειν; τίνος δ' ἔνεκα ἀκοντίζειν; τίνος δ' ἔνεκα δολοῦν ἢ ἀγρίου καὶ πλέγμασι καὶ ὀρύγμασι; τί δ' ἐλάφους ποδάγρας καὶ ἄρπεδόνας; τί δὲ λέουσι καὶ ἄρκτοις καὶ παρδάλεσιν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἴσον καθιστάμενοι ἐμάχεσθε, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλεονεξίας τινὸς αἰεὶ ἐπειρᾶσθε ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτά; ἢ οὐ πάντα γινώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀπάται καὶ δολώσεις καὶ πλεονεξίαι; [1.6.29] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, θηρίων γε·

ἀνθρώπων δὲ εἰ καὶ δόξαιμι βούλεσθαι ἐξαπατησαί τινα, πολλὰς πληγὰς οἶδα λαμβάνων. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοξεύειν, οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἀκοντίζειν ἄνθρωπον ἐπετρέπομεν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σκοπὸν βάλλειν ἐδιδάσκομεν, ἵνα γε νῦν μὲν μὴ κακουργοίητε τοὺς φίλους, εἰ δέ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, δύνασθε καὶ ἀνθρώπων στοχάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δὲ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαιδεύομεν ὑμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐν θηρίοις, ἵνα μὴδ' ἐν τούτοις τοὺς φίλους βλάπτοιτε, εἰ δέ ποτε πόλεμος γένοιτο, μὴδὲ τούτων ἀγύμναστοι εἴητε. [1.6.30] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὦ πάτερ, εἴπερ χρήσιμά ἐστιν ἀμφοτέρω ἐπίστασθαι, εὖ τε ποιεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ διδάσκειν ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα ἔδει ἐν ἀνθρώποις. [1.6.31] Ἀλλὰ λέγεται, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἀνὴρ διδάσκαλος τῶν παίδων, ὃς ἐδίδασκεν ἄρα τοὺς παῖδας τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις, μὴ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ψεύδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ μὴ διαβάλλειν καὶ διαβάλλειν, καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. διώριζε δὲ τούτων ἅ τε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ποιητέον καὶ ἅ πρὸς ἐχθρούς. καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα ἐδίδασκεν ὥς καὶ τοὺς φίλους δίκαιον εἶη ἐξαπατᾶν ἐπὶ γε ἀγαθῷ, καὶ κλέπτειν τὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ. [1.6.32] ταῦτα δὲ διδάσκοντα ἀνάγκη καὶ γυμνάζειν ἥν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς παῖδας ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν πάλλῃ φασι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας διδάσκειν ἐξαπατᾶν, καὶ γυμνάζειν δὲ τοὺς παῖδας πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιεῖν. γενόμενοι οὖν τινες οὕτως εὐφυεῖς καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὖ πλεονεκτεῖν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖν οὐκ ἀφυεῖς ὄντες, οὐκ ἀπείχοντο οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων τὸ μὴ οὐ πλεονεκτεῖν αὐτῶν πειρᾶσθαι. [1.6.33] ἐγένετο οὖν ἐκ τούτων ῥήτρα, ἣ καὶ νῦν χρώμεθα ἔτι, ἀπλῶς διδάσκειν τοὺς παῖδας ὥσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διδάσκομεν ἀληθεύειν καὶ μὴ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ μὴ πλεονεκτεῖν· εἰ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοῖεν, κολάζειν, ὅπως σὺν τοιούτῳ ἔθει [ἐθισθέντες] πραιότεροι πολῖται γένοιτο. [1.6.34] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχοιεν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἣν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἥδη καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους νόμιμα ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διδάσκειν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔτι ἐξενεχθῆναι δοκεῖτε πρὸς τὸ ἄγριοι πολῖται γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους συντεθραμμένοι· ὥσπερ γε καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων οὐ διελεγόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν νέους, ἵνα μὴ πρὸς τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῖς ῥαιδιουργίας προσγενομένης ἀμέτρως αὐτῇ χρωῖντο οἱ νέοι. [1.6.35] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη· ὥς τοίνυν ὀψιμαθῇ ὄντα ἐμὲ τούτων τῶν πλεονεξιῶν, ὦ πάτερ, μὴ φείδου εἴ τι ἔχεις διδάσκειν ὅπως πλεονεκτήσω ἐγὼ τῶν

πολεμίων. Μηχανῶ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὅπως ἐς τὴν δύναμιν τεταγμένοις τε τοῖς σαντοῦ ἀτάκτους λαμβάνῃς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ὀπλισμένοις ἀόπλους καὶ ἐγρηγοροσί καθεύδοντας, καὶ φανεροῦς σοι ὄντας ἀφανῆς αὐτὸς ὢν ἐκείνοις καὶ ἐν δυσχωρίαι αὐτοὺς γιγνομένους ἐν ἐρυμνῶι αὐτὸς ὢν ὑποδέξῃ. [1.6.36] Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, τις τοιαῦτα, ὦ πάτερ, ἀμαρτάνοντας δύναιτ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους λαμβάνειν; Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, πολλὰ μὲν τούτων ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους παρασχεῖν· σιτοποιεῖσθαί τε γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους, κοιμᾶσθαί τε ἀνάγκη ἀμφοτέρους καὶ ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα σχεδὸν ἅμα πάντας ἴεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ὅποῖαι ἂν ὧσι τοιαύταις ἀνάγκη χρῆσθαι. ἂ χρή σε πάντα κατανοοῦντα, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς γινώσκῃς ἀσθενεστάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα φυλάττεσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους αἰσθάνῃ εὐχειρωτοτάτους γιγνομένους, ἐν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. [1.6.37] Πότερον δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐν τούτοις μόνον ἔστι πλεονεκτεῖν ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τισί; Καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ· ἐν τούτοις μὲν γὰρ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πάντες ἰσχυρὰς φυλακὰς ποιοῦνται εἰδότες ὅτι δέονται. οἱ δ' ἐξαπατῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους δύνανται καὶ θαρρῆσαι ποήσαντες ἀφυλάκτους λαμβάνειν καὶ διώξαι παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀτάκτους ποιῆσαι καὶ εἰς δυσχωρίαν φυγῇ ὑπαγαγόντες ἐνταῦθα ἐπιτίθεσθαι. [1.6.38] δεῖ δὴ, ἔφη, φιλομαθῇ σε τούτων ἀπάντων ὄντα οὐχ οἷς ἂν μάθῃς τούτοις μόνοις χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μηχανημάτων, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ μουσικοὶ οὐχ οἷς ἂν μάθωσι τούτοις μόνον χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα νέα πειρῶνται ποιεῖν. καὶ σφόδρα μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα καὶ ἀνθηρὰ εὐδοκιμεῖ, πολὺ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μᾶλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα εὐδοκιμεῖ· ταῦτα γὰρ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν δύναται τοὺς ὑπεναντίους. [1.6.39] εἰ δὲ σύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μετενέγκοις ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους τὰς μηχανὰς ἃς καὶ πάνυ ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς θηρίοις ἐμχανῶ, οὐκ οἶει ἂν, ἔφη, πρόσω πάνυ ἐλάσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πλεονεξίας; σὺ γὰρ ἐπεὶ μὲν τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ χειμῶνι ἀνιστάμενος ἐπορεύου νυκτός, καὶ πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐπεποίηντό σοι αἱ πάγαι αὐταῖς καὶ τὸ κεκινημένον χωρίον ἐξείκαστο τῷ ἀκινήτῳ· ὄρνιθες δ' ἐπεπαίδευντό σοι ὥστε σοὶ μὲν τὰ συμπέροντα ὑπηρετεῖν, τὰς δὲ ὁμοφύλους ὄρνιθας ἐξαπατᾶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐνήδρευες, ὥστε ὁρᾶν μὲν αὐτάς, μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν· ἡσκήκεις δὲ φθάνων ἔλκειν ἢ τὰ πτηνὰ φεύγειν. [1.6.40] πρὸς δ' αὖ τὸν λαγῶ, ὅτι μὲν ἐν σκότει

νέμεται, τὴν δ' ἡμέραν ἀποδιδράσκει, κύνας ἔτρεφες αἱ τῇ ὁσμῇ αὐτὸν ἀνιήρυσκον. ὅτι δὲ ταχὺ ἔφευγεν, ἐπεὶ εὗρεθείη, ἄλλας κύνας εἶχες ἐπιτετηδευμένας πρὸς τὸ κατὰ πόδας αἰρεῖν. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀποφύγοι, τοὺς πόρους αὐτῶν ἐκμανθάνων καὶ πρὸς οἷα χωρία φεύγοντες ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ λαγῶι, ἐν τούτοις δίκτυα δυσόρατα ἐνεπετάννυες ἄν, καὶ τῷ σφόδρα φεύγειν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐμπεσὼν συνέδει. τοῦ δὲ μηδ' ἐντεῦθεν διαφεύγειν σκοποὺς τοῦ γιγνομένου καθίστης, οἱ ἐγγύθεν ταχὺ ἔμελλον ἐπιγενήσεσθαι· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν σὺ ὀπισθεν κραυγῇ οὐδὲν ὑστεριζούσῃ τοῦ λαγῶ βοῶν ἐξέπληττες αὐτὸν ὥστε ἄφρονα ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐμπροσθεν σιγᾷ διδάξας ἐνεδρεύοντας λανθάνειν ἐποίεις. [1.6.41] ὥσπερ οὖν προεῖπον, εἰ τοιαῦτα ἐθελήσῃς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μηχανᾶσθαι, οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε εἴ τινος λείποιο ἂν τῶν πολέμιων. ἦν δέ ποτε ἄρα ἀνάγκη γένηται καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ ὠπλισμένους ἀμφοτέρους μάχην συνάπτειν, ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ δὴ, ὦ παῖ, αἱ ἐκ πολλοῦ παρεσκευασμένοι πλεονεξίαι μέγα δύνανται. ταύτας δὲ ἐγὼ λέγω εἶναι, ἦν τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὗ μὲν τὰ σώματα ἡσκημένα ἦι, εὗ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ τεθηγμέναι, εὗ δὲ αἱ πολεμικαὶ τέχναι μεμελετημέναι ὥσιν. [1.6.42] εὗ δὲ χρὴ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ὅτι ὁπόσους ἂν ἀξιῷς σοὶ πείθεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες ἀξιώσουσι σὲ πρὸ ἑαυτῶν βουλευέσθαι. μηδέποτ' οὖν ἀφροντίστως ἔχε, ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς προσκόπει τί σοὶ ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν ἡμέρα γένηται, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας ὅπως τὰ εἰς νύκτα κάλλιστα ἔξει. [1.6.43] ὅπως δὲ χρὴ τάττειν εἰς μάχην στρατιὰν ἢ ὅπως ἄγειν ἡμέρας ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ στενὰς ἢ πλατείας ὁδοὺς ἢ ὀρεινὰς ἢ πεδινὰς, ἢ ὅπως στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, ἢ ὅπως φυλακὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ ἡμερινὰς καθιστάναι, ἢ ὅπως προσάγειν πρὸς πολέμιους ἢ ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ πολέμιων, ἢ ὅπως παρὰ πόλιν πολεμίαν ἄγειν ἢ ὅπως πρὸς τεῖχος ἄγειν ἢ ἀπάγειν, ἢ ὅπως νάπη ἢ ποταμοὺς διαβαίνειν, ἢ ὅπως ἵππικὸν φυλάττεσθαι ἢ ὅπως ἀκοντιστὰς ἢ τοξότας, καὶ εἴ γε δὴ σοὶ κατὰ κέρας ἄγοντι οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφανεῖν, πῶς χρὴ ἀντικαθιστάναι, καὶ εἴ σοὶ ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἄγοντι ἄλλοθεν ποθεν οἱ πολέμιοι φαίνονται ἢ κατὰ πρόσωπον, ὅπως χρὴ ἀντιπαράγειν, ἢ ὅπως τὰ τῶν πολέμιων ἂν τις μάλιστα αἰσθάνοιτο, ἢ ὅπως τὰ σὰ οἱ πολέμιοι ἦκιστα εἰδεῖν, ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τί ἂν ἐγὼ λέγοιμί σοι; ὅσα τε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἥιδειν, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας, ἄλλος τε ὅστις ἐδόκει τι τούτων ἐπίστασθαι, οὐδενὸς αὐτῶν ἡμέληκας οὐδ' ἀδαῆς γεγένησαι. δεῖ οὖν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα, οἶμαι, τούτοις

χρησθαι ὅποιον ἂν συμφέρειν σοι τούτων δοκῇ.

[1.6.44] Μάθε δέ μου καὶ τάδε, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, τὰ μέγιστα· παρὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ καὶ οἰωνοὺς μήτε σαυτῶι μηδέποτε μήτε στρατιᾷ κινδυνεύσης, κατανοῶν ὡς ἄνθρωποι μὲν αἰροῦνται πράξεις εἰκάζοντες, εἰδότες δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπὸ ποίας ἔσται αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀγαθὰ. [1.6.45] γνοίης δ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν γιγνομένων· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἤδη πόλεις ἔπεισαν καὶ ταῦτα οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφώτατοι εἶναι πόλεμον ἄρασθαι πρὸς τούτους ὑφ' ὧν οἱ πεισθέντες ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπώλοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἠῤῥξῃσαν καὶ ιδιώτας καὶ πόλεις ὑφ' ὧν αὐξηθέντων τὰ μέγιστα κακὰ ἔπαθον, πολλοὶ δὲ οἷς ἐξῆν φίλοις χρησθαι καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν, τούτοις δούλοις μᾶλλον βουλευθέντες ἢ φίλοις χρησθαι, ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων δίκην ἔδοσαν· πολλοῖς δ' οὐκ ἤρκεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μέρος ἔχουσι ζῆν ἡδέως, ἐπιθυμήσαντες δὲ πάντων κύριοι εἶναι, διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀπέτυχον· πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν πολύευκτον πλοῦτον κατακτησάμενοι, διὰ τοῦτον ἀπώλοντο. [1.6.46] οὕτως ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη σοφία οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἶδε τὸ ἄριστον αἰρεῖσθαι ἢ εἰ κληρούμενος ὅ τι λάχοι τοῦτό τις πράττοι. θεοὶ δέ, ὦ παῖ, αἰεὶ ὄντες πάντα ἴσασι τά τε γεγεννημένα καὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ ὅ τι ἐξ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἀποβήσεται, καὶ τῶν συμβουλευομένων ἀνθρώπων οἷς ἂν ἴλεωι ὧσι, προσημαίνουσιν ἅ τε χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ἅ οὐ χρὴ. εἰ δὲ μὴ πᾶσιν ἐθέλουσι συμβουλεύειν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ὧν ἂν μὴ θέλωσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

Βιβλίον β'

[2.1.1] Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ἀφίκοντο διαλεγόμενοι μέχρι τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Περσίδος· ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ἀετὸς δεξιὸς φανεὶς προηγείτο, προσευξάμενοι θεοῖς καὶ ἥρωσι τοῖς Περσίδα γῆν κατέχουσιν ἕως καὶ εὐμενεῖς πέμπειν σφᾶς, οὕτω διέβαινον τὰ ὅρια. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διέβησαν, προσηύχοντο αὐθις θεοῖς τοῖς Μηδῖαν γῆν κατέχουσιν ἕως καὶ εὐμενεῖς δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, ὁ μὲν πατὴρ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἀπήιει, Κῦρος δὲ εἰς Μήδους πρὸς Κυαξάρην ἐπορεύετο. [2.1.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο ὁ Κῦρος εἰς Μήδους πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην, πρῶτον μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, ἔπειτα δὲ ἤρετο τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Κυαξάρης πόσον τι ἄγοι τὸ στράτευμα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη· Τρισμυρίους μὲν γε οἷοι καὶ πρόσθεν ἐφοίτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς μισθοφόροι· ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ τῶν οὐδεπώποτε ἐξελθόντων προσέρχονται τῶν ὁμοτίμων. Πόσοι τινές; ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. [2.1.3] Οὐκ ἂν ὁ ἀριθμὸς σε, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀκούσαντα εὐφράνειεν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἐννόησον ὅτι ὀλίγοι ὄντες οὗτοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι καλούμενοι πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν ραϊδίως ἄρχουσιν. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, δεεὶ τι αὐτῶν ἢ μάτην ἐφοβήθης, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἔρχονται; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ πολλοὶ γε. [2.1.4] Πῶς τοῦτο σαφές; Ὅτι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἦκοντες αὐτόθεν ἄλλος ἄλλον τρόπον πάντες ταῦτ' λέγουσιν. Ἀγωνιστέον μὲν ἄρα ἡμῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφη. Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐλεξάς μοι, εἰ οἴσθης, πόση τις ἢ προσιοῦσα, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὅπως εἰδότες ἀμφοτέρας πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευώμεθα ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα ἀγωνιζοίμεθα; Ἄκουε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης. [2.1.5] Κροῖστος μὲν ὁ Λυδὸς ἄγειν λέγεται μυρίους μὲν ἱππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλείους ἢ τετρακισμυρίους. Ἀρτακάμαν δὲ τὸν τῆς μεγάλης Φρυγίας ἄρχοντα λέγουσιν ἱππέας μὲν εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους ἄγειν, λογχοφόρους δὲ σὺν πελτασταῖς οὐ μείους τετρακισμυρίων, Ἀρίβαιον δὲ τὸν τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα ἱππέας μὲν ἐξακισχιλίους, τοξότας δὲ καὶ πελταστὰς οὐ μείους τρισμυρίων, τὸν Ἀράβιον δὲ Ἀραγδὸν ἱππέας τε εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἄρματα εἰς ἑκατὸν καὶ σφενδονητῶν πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα. τοὺς μέντοι Ἕλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἰκοῦντας οὐδὲν πω σαφὲς λέγεται εἰ ἔπονται. τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ Φρυγίας τῆς πρὸς Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμβαλεῖν φασὶ Γάβαιδον ἔχοντα εἰς Καῦστρου πεδίον

ἐξακισχιλίους μὲν ἰππέας, πελταστὰς δὲ εἰς μυρίους. Κᾶρας μέντοι καὶ Κίλικας καὶ Παφλαγόνας παρακληθέντας οὐ φασιν ἔπεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὁ Βαβυλῶνά τε ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσσυρίαν ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἰππέας μὲν ἄξει οὐκ ἐλάττους δισμυρίων, ἄρματα δ' εὖ οἶδ' οὐ μείον διακοσίων, πεζοὺς δὲ οἶμαι παμπόλλους· εἰώθει γοῦν ὅποτε δεῦρ' ἐμβάλλοι. [2.1.6] Σὺ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πολεμίους λέγεις ἰππέας μὲν ἐξακισμυρίους εἶναι, πελταστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας πλεόν ἢ εἴκοσι μυριάδας. ἄγε δὴ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως τί φῆις πλῆθος εἶναι; Εἰσὶν, ἔφη, Μῆδων μὲν ἰππεῖς πλείους τῶν μυρίων· πελτασταὶ δὲ καὶ τοξόται γένοιντ' ἂν πως ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας κᾶν ἐξακισμύριοι. Ἀρμενίων δ', ἔφη, τῶν ὁμόρων ἡμῖν παρέσονται ἰππεῖς μὲν τετρακισχίλιοι, πεζοὶ δὲ δισμύριοι. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἰππέας μὲν ἡμῖν εἶναι μείον ἢ τέταρτον μέρος τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππικοῦ, πεζοὺς δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἡμίσεις. [2.1.7] Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ὀλίγους νομίζεις Περσῶν εἶναι οὓς σὺ φῆις ἄγειν; Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν ἀνδρῶν προσδεῖ ἡμῖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴτε καὶ μή, αὐθις συμβουλευσόμεθα· τὴν δὲ μάχην μοι, ἔφη, λέξον ἐκάστων ἥτις ἐστί. Σχεδόν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, πάντων ἢ αὐτῇ· τοξόται γάρ εἰσι καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ οἱ τ' ἐκείνων καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τοιούτων γε τῶν ὅπλων ὄντων. [2.1.8] Ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης· οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ μὲν τῶν πλειόνων ἡ νίκη· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν θάπτον οἱ ὀλίγοι ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τιτρωσκόμενοι ἀναλωθεῖσαν ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων· εἰ οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Κῦρε, τί ἂν ἄλλο τις κρεῖττον εὔροι ἢ πέμπειν ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ἅμα μὲν διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς ὅτι εἴ τι πείσονται Μῆδοι, εἰς Πέρσας τὸ δεινὸν ἥξει, ἅμα δὲ αἰτεῖν πλεόν στρατεύμα; Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἔλθοιεν Πέρσαι, πλήθει γε οὐχ ὑπερβαλοίμεθ' ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους. [2.1.9] Τί μὴν ἄλλο ἐνοραῖς ἄμεινον τούτου; Ἐγὼ μὲν ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ σὺ εἶην, ὥς τάχιστα ὅπλα ποιοίμην πᾶσι Πέρσαις τοῖς προσιοῦσιν οἷάπερ ἔχοντες ἔρχονται παρ' ἡμῶν οἱ τῶν ὁμοτίμων καλούμενοι· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ θώραξ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, γέρρον δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀριστεράν, κοπίς δὲ ἢ σάγαρις εἰς τὴν δεξιάν· κᾶν ταῦτα παρασκευάσης, ἡμῖν μὲν ποιήσεις τὸ ὁμόσε τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἰέναι ἀσφαλέστατον, τοῖς πολεμίοις δὲ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ τὸ μένειν αἰρετώτερον. τάττομεν δέ, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς μένοντας· οἱ γε μέντ' αὐτῶν φεύγωσι, τούτους ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις νέμομεν, ὥς μὴ σχολάζωσι μήτε μένειν μήτε ἀναστρέφεσθαι. [2.1.10] Κῦρος μὲν

οὕτως ἔλεξε· τῷ δὲ Κυαζάρῃ ἔδοξε τε εὖ λέγειν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν πλείους μεταπέμπεσθαι οὐκέτι ἐμέμνητο, παρεσκευάζετο δὲ ὅπλα τὰ προειρημένα. καὶ σχεδόν τε ἔτοιμα ἦν καὶ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ ὁμότιμοι παρήσαν ἔχοντες τὸ ἀπὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα. [2.1.11] ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος συναγαγὼν αὐτούς· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς μὲν καθωπλισμένους οὕτω καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς παρεσκευασμένους ὥς εἰς χεῖρας συμμείζοντας τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐπομένους ὑμῖν Πέρσας γινώσκων ὅτι οὕτως ὠπλισμένοι εἰσὶν ὥς ὅτι προσωτάτω ταχθέντες μάχεσθαι, ἔδεισα μὴ ὀλίγοι καὶ ἔρημοι συμμάχων συμπίπτοντες πολεμίοις πολλοῖς πάθοιτέ τι. νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, σώματα μὲν ἔχοντες ἀνδρῶν ἦκετε οὐ μεμπτά· ὅπλα δὲ ἔσται αὐτοῖς ὅμοια τοῖς ἡμετέροις· τάς γε μέντοι ψυχὰς θήγειν αὐτῶν ὑμέτερον ἔργον. ἄρχοντος γάρ ἐστιν οὐχ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ὥς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται.

[2.1.12] Ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δ' ἤσθησαν μὲν πάντες, νομίζοντες μετὰ πλείονων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· εἷς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [2.1.13] Ἀλλὰ θαυμαστά, ἔφη, ἴσως δόξω λέγειν, εἰ Κύρῳ συμβουλεύσω τι εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν τὰ ὅπλα λαμβάνωσιν οἱ ἡμῖν μέλλοντες συμμάχεσθαι· ἀλλὰ γινώσκω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ἱκανωτάτων καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν λόγοι οὗτοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐνδύονται ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἀκουόντων· καὶ δῶρά γε ἦν διδῶσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, κὰν μείω τυγχάνῃ ὄντα ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅμως μείζονος αὐτὰ τιμῶνται οἱ λαμβάνοντες. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, οἱ Πέρσαι παραστάται ὑπὸ Κύρου πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡσθήσονται ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παρακαλούμενοι, εἷς τε τοὺς ὁμοτίμους καθιστάμενοι βεβαιωτέρως σφίσιν ἡγήσονται ἔχειν τοῦτο ὑπὸ βασιλέως τε παιδὸς καὶ ὑπὸ στρατηγοῦ γενόμενον ἢ εἰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γίγνοιτο. ἀπεῖναι μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα χρή, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν θήγειν πάντως τὸ φρόνημα. ἡμῖν γὰρ ἔσται τοῦτο χρήσιμον ὅ τι ἂν οὗτοι βελτίονες γένωνται.

[2.1.14] Οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος καταθείς τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ συγκαλέσας πάντας τοὺς Περσῶν στρατιώτας ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [2.1.15] Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ ἔφυτε ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτράφητε, καὶ τὰ σώματά τε οὐδὲν ἡμῶν χείρονα ἔχετε, ψυχὰς τε οὐδὲν κακίονας ὑμῖν προσήκει ἡμῶν ἔχειν. τοιοῦτοι δ' ὄντες ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι οὐ μετείχετε τῶν ἴσων ἡμῖν, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπελαθέντες ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνάγκην ὑμῖν εἶναι πορίζεσθαι. νῦν δὲ ὅπως μὲν ταῦτα ἔξετε ἐμοὶ μελήσει σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς· ἔξεστι δ' ὑμῖν, εἰ βούλεσθε,

λαβόντας ὄπλα οἷάπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν κίνδυνον ἐμβαίνειν, καὶ ἂν τι ἐκ τούτων καλὸν κάγαθὸν γίγνηται, τῶν ὁμοίων ἡμῖν ἀξιουῖσθαι. [2.1.16] τὸν μὲν οὖν πρόσθεν χρόνον ὑμεῖς τε τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ ἦτε καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρους ἡμῶν ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἦτε, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὑμῖν σχολὴ ὥσπερ ἡμῖν τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ ὀπλίσει οὐδὲν ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν προέξομεν. θώραξ μὲν γε περὶ τὰ στέρνα ἀρμόττων ἐκάστωι ἔσται, γέρρον δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀριστεραῖ, ὃ πάντες εἰθίσμεθα φορεῖν, μάχαιρα δὲ ἡ σάγαρις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ἣ δὴ παίειν τοὺς ἐναντίους δεήσει οὐδὲν φυλαττομένους μὴ τι παίοντες ἐξαμάρτωμεν. [2.1.17] τί οὖν ἂν ἐν τούτοις ἕτερος ἑτέρου διαφέρει ἡμῶν πλὴν τόλμη; ἦν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν ἦττον προσήκει ἢ ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφεσθαι. νίκης τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἢ τὰ καλὰ πάντα καὶ τ' ἀγαθὰ κτᾶται τε καὶ σώζει, τί μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν προσήκει; κράτους τε, ὃ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἡττόνων τοῖς κρείττοσι δωρεῖται, τί εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ ὑμᾶς τούτου δεῖσθαι; [2.1.18] τέλος εἶπεν· Ἀκηκόατε πάντα· ὁρᾶτε τὰ ὄπλα· ὁ μὲν χρήζων λαμβανέτω ταῦτα καὶ ἀπογραφέσθω πρὸς τὸν ταξίαρχον εἰς τὴν ὁμοίαν τάξιν ἡμῖν· ὅτῳ δ' ἄρκεῖ ἐν μισθοφόρου χώρῃ εἶναι, καταμενέτω ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρετικοῖς ὅπλοις. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν. [2.1.19] ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐνόμισαν, εἰ παρακαλούμενοι ὥστε τὰ ὅμοια πονοῦντες τῶν αὐτῶν τυγχάνειν μὴ ἐβελήσουσι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δικαίως ἂν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀμηχανοῦντες βιοτεύειν. οὕτω δὲ ἀπογράφονται πάντες ἀνέλαβόν τε τὰ ὄπλα πάντες.

[2.1.20] Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλέγοντο μὲν προσιέναι, παρῆσαν δὲ οὐδέπω, ἐν τούτῳ ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἄσκεῖν μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς ἰσχύν, διδάσκειν δὲ τὰ τακτικά, θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὰ πολεμικά. [2.1.21] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν λαβὼν παρὰ Κναζάρου ὑπηρετάς προσέταξεν ἐκάστοις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶς ὧν ἐδέοντο πάντα πεποιημένα παρασχεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ παρασκευάσας οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλελοίπει ἄλλο ἢ ἄσκεῖν τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκεῖνο δοκῶν καταμεμαθηκέναι ὅτι οὗτοι κράτιστοι ἕκαστα γίνονται οἱ ἂν ἀφόμενοι τοῦ πολλοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἐπὶ ἓν ἔργον τράπωνται. καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν περιελὼν καὶ τὸ τόξῳ μελετᾶν καὶ ἀκοντίῳ κατέλιπε τοῦτο μόνον αὐτοῖς τὸ σὺν μαχαίρῃ καὶ γέρρῳ καὶ θώρακι μάχεσθαι· ὥστε εὐθὺς αὐτῶν παρεσκεύασε τὰς γνώμας ὡς ὁμόσε ἰτέον εἴη τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἢ ὁμολογητέον μηδενὸς εἶναι ἀξίους συμμάχους· τοῦτο δὲ χαλεπὸν ὁμολογεῖν οἵτινες ἂν εἰδῶσιν

ὅτι οὐδὲ δι' ἐν ἄλλο τρέφονται ἢ ὅπως μαχοῦνται ὑπὲρ τῶν τρεφόντων. [2.1.22] ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐννοήσας ὅτι περὶ ὀπόσων ἂν ἐγγένωνται ἀνθρώποις φιλονικία, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι ταῦτ' ἀσκεῖν, ἀγωνάς τε αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν ἀπάντων ὀπόσα ἐγίνωσκεν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν καὶ προεῖπε τάδε, ἰδιώτη μὲν ἑαυτὸν παρέχειν εὐπειθῇ τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐθελόπονον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον μετ' εὐταξίας καὶ ἐπιστήμονα τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ φιλόκαλον περὶ ὅπλα καὶ φιλότιμον ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, πεμπαδάρχῳ δ' αὐτὸν ὄντα οἷόνπερ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τὴν πεμπάδα εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν τοιαύτην παρέχειν, δεκαδάρχῳ δὲ τὴν δεκάδα ὡσαύτως, λοχαγῷ δὲ τὸν λόχον, καὶ ταξιάρχῳ ἀνεπίκλητον αὐτὸν ὄντα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἀρχόντων ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι αὐτῶν ἂν ἄρχωσι παρέξουσιν τὰ δέοντα ποιοῦντας. [2.1.23] ἄλλα δὲ προύφηγε τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις ὡς τοὺς κρατίστας δόξαντας τὰς τάξεις παρεσκευάσθαι χιλιάρχους ἔσσεσθαι, τῶν δὲ λοχαγῶν οἱ κρατίστους δόξειαν τοὺς λόχους ἀποδεικνύναι, εἰς τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων χώρας ἐπαναβῆσεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ δεκαδάρχων τοὺς κρατίστους εἰς τὰς τῶν λοχαγῶν χώρας καταστήσεσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ πεμπαδάρχων ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰς τῶν δεκαδάρχων, τῶν γε μὴν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας εἰς τὰς τῶν πεμπαδάρχων. ὑπῆρχε δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι πρῶτον μὲν θεραπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τιμαὶ αἱ πρόπουσαι ἐκάστοις συμπαρείποντο. ἐπανετείνοντο δὲ καὶ μεῖζονες ἐλπίδες τοῖς ἀξίοις ἐπαίνου, εἴ τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἀγαθὸν μεῖζον φανοῖτο. [2.1.24] προεῖπε δὲ νικητήρια καὶ ὅλαις ταῖς τάξεσι καὶ ὅλοις τοῖς λόχοις, καὶ ταῖς δεκάσιν ὡσαύτως καὶ ταῖς πεμπάσιν, αἱ ἂν φαίνωνται εὐπιστόταται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὔσαι καὶ προθυμότατα ἀσκοῦσαι τὰ προειρημένα. ἦν δὲ ταύταις τὰ νικητήρια οἷα δὴ εἰς πλῆθος πρόπει. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεῖρητό τε καὶ ἡσκεῖτο ἡ στρατιά. [2.1.25] σκηνάς δ' αὐτοῖς κατεσκεύασε, πλῆθος μὲν ὅσοι ταξιάρχῳ ἦσαν, μέγεθος δὲ ὥστε ἱκανὰς εἶναι τῇ τάξει ἐκάστην· ἡ δὲ τάξις ἦν ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες. ἐσκήνουν μὲν δὴ οὕτω κατὰ τάξεις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὁμοῦ σκηνοῦν ἐδόκουν μὲν αὐτῷ ὠφελεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγῶνα τοῦτο ὅτι ἐώρων ἀλλήλους ὁμοίως τρεφομένους καὶ οὐκ ἐνῆν πρόφασις μειονεξίας ὥστε ὑφίεσθαι τινας κακίῳ ἔτερον ἐτέρου εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὠφελεῖσθαι δ' ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γινώσκειν ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦ σκηνοῦντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ γινώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι πᾶσι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἐγγίγνεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀγνοοῦμενοι

ῥαϊδιουργεῖν πως μᾶλλον δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἐν σκότει ὄντες. [2.1.26] ἐδόκουν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸ τὰς τάξεις ἀκριβοῦν μεγάλα ὠφελεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν συσκηνίαν. εἶχον γὰρ οἱ μὲν ταξίαρχοι ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τάξεις κεκοσμημένας ὥσπερ ὁπότε εἰς ἓνα πορευοίτο ἡ τάξις, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ τοὺς λόχους ὡσαύτως, οἱ δὲ δεκάδαρχοι δεκάδας, πεμπάδαρχοι πεμπάδας. [2.1.27] τὸ δὲ διακριβοῦν τὰς τάξεις σφόδρα ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ ταράττεσθαι καὶ εἰ παραχθεῖεν θᾶπτον καταστῆναι, ὥσπερ γε καὶ λίθων καὶ ξύλων ἂν δέῃ συναρμοσθῆναι, ἔστι, κἂν ὁπωσοῦν καταβεβλημένα τύχηι, συναρμόσαι αὐτὰ εὐπετῶς, ἣν ἔχη γνώρισμα ὥστ' εὐδηλον εἶναι ἐξ ὁποίας ἕκαστον χώρας αὐτῶν εἶναι. [2.1.28] ἐδόκουν δ' ὠφελεῖσθαι αὐτῷ ὁμοῦ τρεφόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἦττον ἀλλήλους θέλιν ἀπολιπεῖν, ὅτι ἑώρα καὶ τὰ θηρία τὰ συντρεφόμενα δεινὸν ἔχοντα πόθον, ἣν τις αὐτὰ διασπᾶ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. [2.1.29] ἐπεμέλετο δὲ καὶ τούτου ὁ Κῦρος ὅπως μήποτε ἀνίδρωτοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄριστον καὶ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰσίοιεν. ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξάγων ἰδρῶτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖχεν, ἡ παιδιὰς τοιαύτας ἐξηύρισκεν αἱ ἰδρῶτα ἔμελλον παρέχειν, ἡ καὶ πρᾶξι εἴ τι δεόμενος τύχοι, οὕτως ἐξηγεῖτο τῆς πράξεως ὥς μὲ ἐπανίοιεν ἀνιδρωτί. τοῦτο γὰρ ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἡδέως ἐσθίειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι πονεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀλλήλοις δὲ πραιοτέρους εἶναι ἀγαθὸν ἡγεῖτο τοὺς πόνους εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἵπποι συμπονοῦντες ἀλλήλοις πραιοτέροι συνεστήκασιν. πρὸς γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγαλοφρονέστεροι γίνονται οἱ ἂν συνειδῶσιν ἑαυτοῖς εὐ ἡσκηκότες.

[2.1.30] Κῦρος δ' ἑαυτῷ σκηνὴν μὲν κατεσκευάσατο ὥστε ἱκανὴν ἔχειν οἷς καλοίῃ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. ἐκάλει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ταξίαρχων οὕς καιρὸς αὐτῷ δοκοίῃ εἶναι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν δεκαδάρχων τινὰς καὶ τῶν πεμπαδάρχων ἐκάλει, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πεμπάδα ὅλην καὶ δεκάδα ὅλην καὶ λόχον ὅλον καὶ τάξιν ὅλην. ἐκάλει δὲ καὶ ἐτίμα ὁπότε τινὰς ἴδοι τοιοῦτόν τι ποιήσαντας ὃ αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο ποιεῖν. ἦν δὲ τὰ παρατιθέμενα αἰεὶ ἴσα αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. [2.1.31] καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα δὲ ὑπηρετάς ἰσομοίρους πάντων αἰεὶ ἐποίει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦττον τιμᾶν ἄξιον ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ὑπηρετάς οὔτε κηρύκων οὔτε πρέσβων. καὶ γὰρ πιστοὺς ἡγεῖτο δεῖν εἶναι τούτους καὶ ἐπιστήμονας τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ συνετούς, προσέτι δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς καὶ ταχεῖς καὶ ἀόκνους καὶ

ἀταράκτους. πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἃ οἱ βέλτιστοι νομιζόμενοι ἔχουσιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὁ Κῦρος δεῖν τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἔχειν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀσκεῖν ὡς μὴδὲν ἀναίνοιτο ἔργον, ἀλλὰ πάντα νομίζοιεν πρέπειν αὐτοῖς πράττειν ὅσα ἄρχων προστάττοι.

[2.2.1] Ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπεμέλετο ὁ Κῦρος, ὁπότε συσκηνοῖεν, ὅπως εὐχαριστότατοί τε ἅμα λόγοι ἐμβληθήσονται καὶ παρορμῶντες εἰς τ' ἀγαθόν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ εἰς τόνδε ποτὲ τὸν λόγον· Ἄρά γε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐνδεέστεροί τι ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦτο φαίνονται εἶναι οἱ ἐταῖροι ὅτι οὐ πεπαιδευνται τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἡμῖν, ἢ οὐδὲν ἄρα διοίσειν ἡμῶν οὗτ' ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις οὔτε ὅταν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δέη; [2.2.2] καὶ [ὁ] ὑστάσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ὅποιοι μὲν τινες ἔσονται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐπω ἔγωγε ἐπίσταμαι· ἐν μέντοι τῇ συνουσίᾳ δύσκολοι ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔνιοι αὐτῶν φαίνονται. πρώην μὲν γε, ἔφη, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν τάξιν ἐκάστην ἱερεῖα, καὶ ἐγένοντο κρέα ἐκάστωι ἡμῶν τρία [ἢ] καὶ πλείω τὰ περιφερόμενα. καὶ ἥρξατο μὲν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὴν πρώτην περίοδον περιφέρων· ὅτε δὲ τὸ δεύτερον εἰσήκει περιοίσων, ἐκέλευσα ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελευταίου ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἀνάπαλιν φέρειν. [2.2.3] ἀνακραγὼν οὖν τις τῶν κατὰ μέσον τὸν κύκλον κατακειμένων στρατιωτῶν, Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῶνδε μὲν οὐδὲν ἴσον ἐστίν, εἴγε ἀφ' ἡμῶν γε τῶν ἐν μέσῳ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε ἄρξεται. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ἠχθέσθην, εἴ τι μείον δοκοῖεν ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκάλεσα εὐθύς αὐτὸν πρὸς ἐμέ. ὁ δὲ μάλα γε τοῦτο εὐτάκτως ὑπήκουσεν. ὥς δὲ τὰ περιφερόμενα ἦκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτε οἶμαι ὑστάτους λαμβάνοντας, τὰ μικρότατα λελειμμένα ἦν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐκεῖνος πάνυ ἀνάθεις δῆλος ἦν καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν· Τῆς τύχης, τὸ ἐμὲ νῦν κληθέντα δεῦρο τυχεῖν. [2.2.4] καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἀλλὰ μὴ φρόντιζε· αὐτίκα γὰρ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἄρξεται καὶ σὺ πρῶτος λήψῃ τὸ μέγιστον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ περιέφερε τὸ τρίτον, ὅπερ δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῆς περιφορᾶς· κ' αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καί τ' ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μείον λαβεῖν· κατέβαλεν οὖν ὃ ἔλαβεν ὡς ἕτερον ληγόμενος. καὶ ὁ ἄρταμος οἴομενος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι δεῖσθαι ὄψου, ὥχετο παραφέρων πρὶν λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἕτερον. [2.2.5] ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὕτω βαρέως ἤνεγκε τὸ πάθος ὥστε ἀνήλωτο μὲν αὐτῷ ὃ εἰλήφει ὄψον, ὃ δ' ἔτι αὐτῷ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ἐμβάπτεσθαι, τοῦτό πως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπληγθαί τε καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὀργίζεσθαι δυσθετούμενος ἀνέτρεψεν. ὁ μὲν δὴ λοχαγὸς ὁ ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ἰδὼν συνεκρότησε τῷ χεῖρι καὶ τῷ γέλωτι ηὑφραίνετο. ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἔφη, προσεποιούμην βήττειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐδυνάμην τὸν

γέλωτα κατασχεῖν. τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ σοι ἓνα, ὃ Κῦρε, τῶν ἐταίρων ἐπιδεικνύω. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐγέλασαν. [2.2.6] ἄλλος δέ τις ἔλεξε τῶν ταξιάρχων· Οὗτος μὲν δὴ, ὃ Κῦρε, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὕτω δυσκόλῳ ἐπέτυχεν. ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς σὺ διδάξας ἡμᾶς τὰς τάξεις ἀπέπεμψας καὶ ἐκέλευσας διδάσκειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τάξιν ἃ παρὰ σοῦ ἐμάθομεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐποιοῦν, ἐλθὼν ἐδίδασκον ἓνα λόχον. καὶ στήσας τὸν λοχαγὸν πρῶτον καὶ τάξας δὴ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρα νεανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἢ ὥμην δεῖν, ἔπειτα στὰς ἐκ τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν βλέπων εἰς τὸν λόχον, ἥνίκα μοι ἐδόκει καιρὸς εἶναι, προϊέναι ἐκέλευσα. [2.2.7] καὶ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ νεανίας ἐκεῖνος προελθὼν τοῦ λοχαγοῦ πρότερος ἐπορεύετο. καὶ γὰρ ἰδὼν εἶπον· Ἄνθρωπε, τί ποιεῖς; καὶ ὃς ἔφη· Προέρχομαι ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις. κ' αὖ γὰρ εἶπον· Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ σὲ μόνον ἐκέλευον ἀλλὰ πάντας προϊέναι. καὶ ὃς ἀκούσας τοῦτο μεταστραφείς πρὸς τοὺς λοχίτας εἶπεν· Οὐκ ἀκούετε, ἔφη, λοιδορουμένου; προϊέναι πάντας κελεύει. καὶ ἄνδρες πάντες παρελθόντες τὸν λοχαγὸν ἦσαν πρὸς ἐμέ. [2.2.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λοχαγὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνεχώριζεν, ἐδυσφόρουν καὶ ἔλεγον· Ποτέρῳ δὴ πείθεσθαι χρή; νὺν γὰρ ὁ μὲν κελεύει προϊέναι, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔδῃ. ἐγὼ μὲντοι ἐνεγκὼν ταῦτα πρᾶϊως ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὖ καταχωρίσας εἶπον μηδένα τῶν ὀπισθεν κινεῖσθαι πρὶν ἢ ὁ πρόσθεν ἡγήται, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον ὁρᾶν πάντας, τῷ πρόσθεν ἔπασθαι. [2.2.9] ὡς δ' εἰς Πέρσας τις ἀπὼν ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ ἐκέλευσέ με τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἣν ἔγραψα οἴκαδε δοῦναι, κ' αὖ γὰρ ὁ λοχαγὸς ἡίδει ὅπου ἔκειτο ἡ ἐπιστολή, ἐκέλευσα αὐτὸν δραμόντα ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔτρεχεν, ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἐκεῖνος εἶπετο τῷ λοχαγῷ σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ θώρακι καὶ τῇ κοπίδι, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος δὲ πᾶς λόχος ἰδὼν ἐκεῖνον συνέτρεχον· καὶ ἦκον οἱ ἄνδρες φέροντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. οὕτως, ἔφη, ὃ γ' ἐμὸς λόχος σοι ἀκριβοῖ πάντα τὰ παρὰ σοῦ. [2.2.10] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι ὡς εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπὶ τῇ δορυφορίᾳ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν· ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί, οἷους ἄρα ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ἄνδρας ἐταίρους, οἳ γε εὐθεράπευτοι μὲν οὕτως εἰσὶν ὥστ' εἶναι αὐτῶν καὶ μικρῷ ὄσῳ παμπόλλους φίλους ἀνακτήσασθαι, πιθανοὶ δ' οὕτως εἰσὶν ὥστε πρὶν εἰδέναι τὸ προσταττόμενον πρότερον πείθονται. ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ποίοις τινὰς χρή μᾶλλον εὖξασθαι ἢ τοιούτους στρατιώτας ἔχειν. [2.2.11] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἅμα γελῶν οὕτως ἐπήνεσε τοὺς στρατιώτας. ἐν δὲ τῇ σκηνῇ ἐτύχανέ τις ὢν τῶν ταξιάρχων Ἀγλαϊτάδας ὄνομα, ἀνὴρ τὸν τρόπον τῶν στρυφνοτέρων ἀνθρώπων,

ὅς οὕτωςί πως εἶπεν· Ἡ γὰρ οἶει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τούτους ἀληθῆ λέγειν ταῦτα; Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν βουλόμενοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ψεύδονται; Τί δ' ἄλλο γ', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ γέλωτα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντες ὑπὲρ οὗ λέγουσι ταῦτα καὶ ἀλαζονεύονται; [2.2.12] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη, μηδὲ λέγε ἀλαζόνας εἶναι τούτους. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀλαζὼν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ὄνομα κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς προσποιουμένοις καὶ πλουσιωτέροις εἶναι ἢ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνδρειότεροις καὶ ποιήσιν ἅ μὴ ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν ὑπισχνουμένοις, καὶ ταῦτα φανεροῖς γιγνομένοις ὅτι τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἔνεκα καὶ κερδᾶναι ποιοῦσιν. οἱ δὲ μηχανώμενοι γέλωτα τοῖς συνοῦσι μήτε ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῶν κέρδει μήτ' ἐπὶ ζημίαι τῶν ἀκουόντων μήτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ μηδεμιᾷ, πῶς οὐχ οὗτοι ἀστεῖοι ἂν καὶ εὐχάριτες δικαιότερον ὀνομάζοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλαζόνες; [2.2.13] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως ἀπελογήσατο περὶ τῶν τὸν γέλωτα παρασχόντων· αὐτὸς δὲ [ὁ λοχαγὸς] ὁ τὴν τοῦ λόχου χαριτίαν διηγησάμενος ἔφη· Ἥπου ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγλαϊτάδα, εἴ γε κλαίειν ἐπειρώμεθά σε ποιεῖν, σφόδρ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἐμέμφου, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι καὶ ἐν ὠιδαῖς καὶ ἐν λόγοις οἰκτρὰ ἅττα λογοποιοῦντες εἰς δάκρυα πειρῶνται ἄγειν, ὁπότε γε νῦν καὶ αὐτὸς εἰδὼς ὅτι εὐφραίνειν μὲν τί σε βουλόμεθα, βλάψαι δ' οὐδέν, ὅμως οὕτως ἐν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ ἡμᾶς ἔχεις. [2.2.14] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδας, καὶ δικαίως γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κλαίοντος καθίζοντος τοὺς φίλους πολλαχοῦ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἐλάττονος ἄξια διαπράττεσθαι ὁ γέλωτα αὐτοῖς μηχανώμενος. εὐρήσεις δὲ καὶ σύ, ἦν ὀρθῶς λογίζῃ, ἐμὲ ἀληθῆ λέγοντα. κλαύμασι μὲν γε καὶ πατέρες υἱοῖς σωφροσύνην μηχανῶνται καὶ διδάσκαλοι παισὶν ἀγαθὰ μαθήματα, καὶ νόμοι γε πολίτας διὰ τοῦ κλαίοντος καθίζειν ἐς δικαιοσύνην προτρέπονται· τοὺς δὲ γέλωτα μηχανωμένους ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ἢ σώματα ὠφελοῦντας ἢ ψυχὰς οἰκονομικωτέρας τι ποιοῦντας ἢ πολιτικωτέρας; [2.2.15] ἐκ τούτου ὁ Ὑστάσπας ὥδέ πως εἶπε· Σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγλαϊτάδα, ἦν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, εἰς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους θαρρῶν δαπανήσεις τοῦτο τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον, καὶ κλαίοντας ἐκείνους πειράσῃ καθίζειν· ἡμῖν δὲ πάντως, ἔφη, τοῖσδε [τοῖς φίλοις] τούτου τοῦ ὀλίγου, ἀξίου, τοῦ γέλωτος ἐπιδαψιλεύσῃ. καὶ γὰρ οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺς σοὶ ἐστὶν ἀποκείμενος· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς χρώμενος ἀνησιμόκας αὐτόν, οὐδὲ μὴν φίλοις οὐδὲ ξένοις ἐκὼν εἶναι γέλωτα παρέχεις· ὥστε οὐδεμίᾳ σοι πρόφασίς ἐστιν ὥς οὐ παρεκτέον σοι ἡμῖν γέλωτα. καὶ ὁ Ἀγλαϊτάδας εἶπε· Καὶ οἶει γε, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, γέλωτα περιποιεῖν ἐξ ἐμοῦ; καὶ ὁ ταξίαρχος εἶπε· Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἀνόητος ἄρ' ἐστίν· ἐπεὶ ἐκ

γε σοῦ πῦρ, οἶμαι, ῥᾷον ἂν τις ἐκτρίψειεν ἢ γέλωτα ἐξαγάγοιτο. [2.2.16] ἐπὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἐγέλασαν, τὸν τρόπον εἰδότες αὐτοῦ, ὃ τ' Ἀγλαϊτάδας ἐπεμεΐδισε. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν φαιδρωθέντα, Ἀδικεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ταξίαρχε, ὅτι ἄνδρα ἡμῖν τὸν σπουδαιότατον διαφθείρεις γελᾶν ἀναπείθων, καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οὕτω πολέμιον ὄντα τῷ γέλῳτι. [2.2.17] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐνταῦθα ἔλκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Χρυσάντας ὦδ' ἔλεξεν.

[2.2.18] Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐννοῶ ὅτι συνεξεληλύθασι μὲν ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν καὶ βελτίονες, οἱ δὲ καὶ μείονος ἄξιοι· ἦν δέ τι γένηται ἀγαθόν, ἀξιώσουσιν οὗτοι πάντες ἰσομοιεῖν. καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδὲν ἀνισώτερον νομίζω ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι τοῦ τῶν ἴσων τόν τε κακὸν καὶ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀξιοῦσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς τοῦτο· Ἄρ' οὖν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, κράτιστον ἡμῖν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου βουλὴν εἰς τὸ στρατεύμα, πότερα δοκεῖ, ἦν τι ἐκ τῶν πόνων δῶι ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθόν, ἰσομοίρους πάντας ποιεῖν, ἢ σκοποῦντας τὰ ἔργα ἐκάστου πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστωι προστιθέναι; [2.2.19] Καὶ τί δεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ἐμβαλεῖν λόγον περὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ προειπεῖν ὅτι οὕτω ποιήσεις; οὐ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὕτω προεῖπας καὶ τὰ ἄθλα; Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐχ ὅμοια ταῦτα ἐκείνοις· ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἂν στρατευόμενοι κτήσωνται, κοινὰ οἶμαι ἑαυτῶν ἡγήσονται εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐμὴν ἴσως ἔτι οἴκοθεν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, ὥστε διατάττοντα ἐμὲ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας οὐδὲν οἶμαι ἀδικεῖν νομίζουσιν. [2.2.20] Ἥ καὶ οἶει, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, ψηφίσασθαι ἂν τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν ὥστε μὴ ἴσων ἕκαστον τυγχάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τιμαῖς καὶ δώροις πλεονεκτεῖν; Ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οἶμαι, ἅμα μὲν ἡμῶν συναγορευόντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ αἰσχροὺς ὃν ἀντιλέγειν τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν πλεῖστα καὶ πονοῦντα καὶ ὠφελοῦντα τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτον καὶ μεγίστων ἀξιοῦσθαι. οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις συμφέρον φανεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν. [2.2.21] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐβούλετο καὶ αὐτῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ὁμοτίμων γενέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα· βελτίους γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡγείτο τούτους εἶναι, εἰ εἶδεῖν ὅτι ἐκ τῶν ἔργων καὶ αὐτοὶ κρινόμενοι τῶν ἀξίων τεύζονται. καιρὸς οὖν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι νῦν ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ τούτου ψῆφον, ἐν ᾗ καὶ οἱ ὁμότιμοι ὥκνουν τὴν τοῦ ὄχλου ἰσομοίριαν. οὕτω δὴ συνεδόκει τοῖς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ συμβαλέσθαι περὶ τούτου λόγους καὶ συναγορεύειν ταῦτα ἔφασαν χρῆναι ὅστις περ ἀνὴρ οἶοιτο εἶναι.

[2.2.22] Ἐπιγελάσας δὲ τῶν ταξίαρχων τις εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη,

ἄνδρα οἶδα καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὃς συνερεῖ ὥστε μὴ εἰκῇ οὕτως ἰσομοιρίαν εἶναι. ἄλλος δ' ἀντήρετο τοῦτον τίνα λέγοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἔστι νῆ Δί' ἀνὴρ ἡμῖν σύσκηνος, ὃς ἐν παντὶ μαστεύει πλέον ἔχειν. ἄλλος δ' ἐπήρετο αὐτόν· Ἡ καὶ τῶν πόνων; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε ψευδόμενος ἐάλωκα. καὶ γὰρ πόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὁρῶ πάνυ θαρραλέως βουλόμενον μεῖον ἔχειν παρ' ὄντιναοῦν. [2.2.23] Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὦ ἄνδρες, γιγνώσκω τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἷον καὶ οὗτος νῦν λέγει εἶπερ δεῖ ἐνεργὸν καὶ πειθόμενον ἔχειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξαιρετέους εἶναι ἐκ τῆς στρατιᾶς. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι τὸ μὲν πολὺ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἶναι οἷον ἔπεσθαι ἢ ἂν τις ἡγήται· ἄγειν δ' οἶμαι ἐπιχειροῦσιν οἱ μὲν καλοὶ κ' ἀγαθοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ κ' ἀγαθὰ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρά. [2.2.24] καὶ πολλάκις τοίνυν πλείονας ὁμογνώμονας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ φαῦλοι ἢ οἱ σπουδαῖοι. ἡ γὰρ πονηρία διὰ τῶν παραυτίκα ἡδονῶν πορευομένη ταύτας ἔχει συμπειθούσας πολλοὺς αὐτῇ ὁμογνωμονεῖν· ἡ δ' ἀρετὴ πρὸς ὀρθιον ἄγουσα οὐ πάνυ δεινὴ ἐστίν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα εἰκῇ συνεπισπᾶσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν ἄλλοι ὦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶνές καὶ τὸ μαλακὸν ἀντιπαρακαλοῦντες. [2.2.25] καὶ τοίνυν ὅταν μὲν τινες βλακεῖαι καὶ ἀπονίαι μόνον κακοὶ ὦσι, τούτους ἐγὼ νομίζω ὥσπερ κηφῆνας δαπάνῃ μόνον ζημιοῦν τοὺς κοινῶνας· οἱ δ' ἂν τῶν μὲν πόνων κακοὶ ὦσι κοινωνοί, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν σφοδροὶ καὶ ἀναίσχυντοι, οὗτοι καὶ ἡγεμονικοὶ εἰσι πρὸς τὰ πονηρά· πολλάκις γὰρ δύνανται τὴν πονηρίαν πλεονεκτοῦσαν ἀποδεικνύναι· ὥστε παντάπασιν ἐξαιρετέοι ἡμῖν οἱ τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσι. [2.2.26] καὶ μὴ μέντοι σκοπεῖτε ὅπως ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀντιπληρώσετε τὰς τάξεις, ἄλλ' ὥσπερ ἵπποι οἱ ἂν ἄριστοι ὦσιν, οὐχ οἱ ἂν πατριῶται, τούτους ζητεῖτε, οὕτω καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐκ πάντων οἱ ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῶσι μάλιστα συνισχυριεῖν τε ὑμᾶς καὶ συγκοσμήσειν, τούτους λαμβάνετε. μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τόδε πρὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρμα δήπου ταχὺ γένοιτ' ἂν βραδέων ἵππων ἐνότων οὔτε δίκαιον ἀδίκων συνεζευγμένων, οὐδὲ οἶκος δύναιτ' ἂν εὖ οἰκεῖσθαι πονηροῖς οἰκέταις χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνδεόμενος οἰκετῶν ἤττον σφάλλεται ἢ ὑπὸ ἀδίκων ταραττόμενος. [2.2.27] εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, φίλοι, ὅτι οὐδὲ τοῦτο μόνον ὠφελήσουσιν οἱ κακοὶ ἀφαιρεθέντες ὅτι κακοὶ ἀπέσσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καταμενόντων οἱ μὲν ἀνεπίμπλαντο ἤδη κακίας, ἀποκαθαροῦνται πάλιν ταύτης, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἰδόντες ἀτιμασθέντας πολὺ εὐθυμότερον τῆς

ἀρετῆς ἀνθέξονται. [2.2.28] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πᾶσι συνέδοξε ταῦτα, καὶ οὕτως ἐποιοῦν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὐτοῖς σκώμματος ἤρχετο ὁ Κῦρος. κατανοήσας γάρ τινα τῶν λοχαγῶν σύνδειπνον καὶ παρακλίτην πεπονημένον ἄνδρα ὑπέρδασύν τε καὶ ὑπέραισχρον, ἀνακαλέσας τὸν λοχαγὸν ὀνομαστί εἶπεν ὧδε· ὦ Σαμβαύλα, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἢ καὶ σὺ κατὰ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τρόπον, ὅτι καλὸν ἐστὶ, περιάγει τοῦτο τὸ μεράκιον τὸ παρακατακεῖμένον σοι; Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σαμβαύλας, ἡδομαι γοῦν καὶ ἐγὼ συνών τε καὶ θεώμενος τοῦτον. [2.2.29] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ σύσκηνοι προσέβλεψαν· ὡς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλον αἴσχει, ἐγέλασαν πάντες. καὶ τις εἶπε· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Σαμβαύλα, ποίωι ποτέ σε ἔργωι ἀνὴρ οὗτος ἀνήρηται; [2.2.30] καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν νῆ τὸν Δία, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐρῶ. ὅποσάκις γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσα εἴτε νυκτὸς εἴτε ἡμέρας, οὐπόποτε μοι οὔτ' ἀσχολίαν προυφασίσατο οὔτε βάδην ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τρέχων· ὅποσάκις τε αὐτῷ πρᾶξαί τι προσέταξα, οὐδὲν ἀνιδρωτί ποτε αὐτὸν εἶδον ποιοῦντα. πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκαδέας πάντας τοιούτους, οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνὺς οἷους δεῖ εἶναι. [2.2.31] καὶ τις εἶπε· Κᾶπειτα τοιοῦτον ὄντα οὐ φιλεῖς αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τοὺς συγγενεῖς; καὶ ὁ αἰσχροὺς ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τοῦτο ἔφη· Μὰ Δία· οὐ γὰρ φιλόπονός ἐστιν· ἐπεὶ ἥρκει ἂν αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐμὲ ἤθελε φιλεῖν, τοῦτο ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων.

[2.3.1] Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ γελοῖα καὶ σπουδαῖα καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐπράττετο ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ. τέλος δὲ τὰς τρίτας σπονδὰς ποιήσαντες καὶ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τ' ἀγαθὰ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰς κοίτην διέλυσαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κῦρος συνέλεξε πάντας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[2.3.2] Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν· προσέρχονται γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι. τὰ δ' ἄθλα τῆς νίκης, ἣν μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν [τοῦτο γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν δεῖ], δῆλον ὅτι οἱ τε πολέμιοι ἡμέτεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀγαθὰ πάντα· ἣν δὲ ἡμεῖς αὖ νικώμεθα – καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν νικωμένων πάντα τοῖς νικῶσιν αἰεὶ ἄθλα πρόκειται. [2.3.3] οὕτω δὴ, ἔφη, δεῖ ὑμᾶς γιγνώσκειν ὡς ὅταν μὲν ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πολέμου γενόμενοι ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἕκαστοι ἔχωσιν, ὡς, εἰ μὴ αὐτός τις προθυμήσεται, οὐδὲν ἐσόμενον τῶν δεόντων, ταχὺ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπράττονται· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων· ὅταν δ' ἕκαστος διανοηθῇ ὡς ἄλλος ἔσται ὁ πράττων καὶ μαχόμενος, κἂν αὐτὸς μαλακίζεται, τούτοις, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πᾶσιν ἅμα πάντα

ἤκει τὰ χαλεπὰ φερόμενα. [2.3.4] καὶ ὁ θεὸς οὕτω πως ἐποίησε· τοῖς μὴ θέλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς προστάττειν ἐκπονεῖν τ' ἀγαθὰ ἄλλους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτακτῆρας δίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τις, ἔφη, λεγέτω ἐνθάδε ἀναστὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ποτέρως ἂν τὴν ἀρετὴν μᾶλλον οἶεται ἀσκεῖσθαι παρ' ἡμῖν, εἰ μέλλοι ὁ πλεῖστα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλων πλείστης καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι, ἢ ἂν εἰδῶμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν διαφέρει κακὸν εἶναι· ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες τῶν ἴσων τευζόμεθα. [2.3.5] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀναστὰς Χρυσάντας, εἷς τῶν ὁμοτίμων ἀνὴρ οὔτε μέγας οὔτε ἰσχυρὸς ἰδεῖν, φρονήσει δὲ διαφέρων, ἔλεξεν· ἀλλ' οἶμαι μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲ διανοοῦμένόν σε ὥς δεῖ ἴσον ἔχειν τοὺς κακοὺς τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐμβαλεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀποπειρώμενον εἴ τις ἄρα ἔσται ἀνὴρ ὅστις ἐθελήσει ἐπιδεῖξαι ἑαυτὸν ὥς διανοεῖται μηδὲν καλὸν κ' ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν, ἃ ἂν ἄλλοι τῇ ἀρετῇ καταπράξωσι, τούτων ἰσομοιρεῖν. [2.3.6] ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, οὔτε ποσὶν εἰμι ταχὺς οὔτε χερσὶν ἰσχυρὸς, γιγνώσκω τε ὅτι ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι ποιήσω, οὐ κριθεῖην οὔτε ἂν πρῶτος οὔτε ἂν δεύτερος, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἂν χιλιостός, ἴσως δ' οὐδ' ἂν μυριοστός· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ἔφη, σαφῶς ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι εἰ μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ ἐρρωμένως ἀντιλήψονται τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μοι μετέσται τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον ἂν δίκαιον ἦι· εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν κακοὶ μηδὲν ποιήσουσιν, οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δυνατοὶ ἀθύμως ἔξουσι, δέδοικα, ἔφη, μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μεθέξω πλέον μέρος ἢ ἐγὼ βούλομαι. [2.3.7] Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Φεραύλας Πέρσης τῶν δημοτῶν, Κύρῳ πως ἔτι οἴκοθεν συνήθης καὶ ἀρεστὸς ἀνὴρ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[2.3.8] Ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Πέρσαι, ἡγοῦμαι μὲν ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου νῦν ὀρμᾶσθαι εἰς τὸ ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ ἀρετῆς· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὁμοίαι μὲν τροφῇ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὸ σῶμα ἀσκοῦντας, ὁμοίας δὲ συνουσίας πάντας ἀξιουμένους, ταῦτά δὲ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν πρόκειται. τό τε γὰρ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι πᾶσιν ἐν κοινῷ κεῖται, καὶ ὃς ἂν φανῇ τοῦτο ἀπροφασίστως ποιῶν, τοῦτον ὁρῶ παρὰ Κύρου τιμῆς τυγχάνοντα· τό τε πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλκιμον εἶναι οὐ τῷ μὲν προσῆκον τῷ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι καὶ τοῦτο προκέκριται κάλλιστον εἶναι. [2.3.9] νῦν δ', ἔφη, ἡμῖν καὶ δέικνυται μάχη, ἣν ἐγὼ ὁρῶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους φύσει ἐπισταμένους, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶια ἐπίστανται τίνα μάχην ἕκαστα οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς ἄλλου μαθόντα ἢ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, οἷον ὁ βοῦς κέρατι παίειν, ὁ ἵππος

ὅπλῃ, [ὁ κύων στόματι,] ὁ κάπρος ὀδόντι. καὶ φυλάττεσθαι γ', ἔφη, ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἐπίστανται ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστα δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς οὐδενὸς διδασκάλου πώποτε φοιτήσαντα. [2.3.10] καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐκ παιδίου εὐθὺς προβάλλεσθαι ἠπιστάμην πρὸ τούτων ὃ τι ὦμην πληγήσεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλο μηδὲν ἔχοιμι, τὼ χεῖρε προέχων ἐνεπόδιζον ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην τὸν παίοντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οὐ διδασκόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ παίόμενος, εἰ προβαλοίμην. μάχαιράν γε μὴν εὐθὺς παιδίον ὦν ἤρπαζον ὅπου ἴδοιμι, οὐδὲ παρ' ἐνὸς οὐδὲ τοῦτο μαθὼν ὅπως δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ παρὰ τῆς φύσεως, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι. ἐποίουν γοῦν καὶ τοῦτο κωλυόμενος, οὐ διδασκόμενος· ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλα ἔστιν ἃ εἰργόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ μητρὸς καὶ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως πράττειν ἠναγκαζόμεν. καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ἔπαιόν γε τῇ μαχαίρᾳ πᾶν ὃ τι δυναίμην λανθάνειν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον φύσει ἦν, ὥσπερ τὸ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδὺ πρὸς τῷ πεφυκέναι τοῦτο ἐδόκει μοι εἶναι. [2.3.11] ἐπεὶ δ' οὖν, ἔφη, αὕτη ἡ μάχη καταλείπεται, ἐν ᾗ προθυμίας μᾶλλον ἢ τέχνης ἔργον ἐστί, πῶς ἡμῖν οὐχ ἡδέως πρὸς τούσδε τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἀγωνιστέον; ὅπου γε τὰ μὲν ἄθλα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἴσα πρόκειται, παραβαλλόμενοι δὲ οὐκ ἴσα εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον ἵμεν, ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν ἐντιμον, ὅσπερ μόνος ἡδιστος, βίον, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπίπονον μὲν, ἄτιμον δέ, ὅσπερ οἶμαι χαλεπώτατος. [2.3.12] μάλιστα δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτό με [εὐθύμως] εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν πρὸς τούσδε παρορμαῖ ὅτι Κῦρος ὁ κρίνων ἔσται, ὃς οὐ φθόνῳ κρίνει, ἀλλὰ σὺν θεῶν ὀρκῷ λέγω ἢ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ Κῦρος οὕστινας ἂν ὀρᾷ ἀγαθοὺς φιλεῖν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἑαυτοῦ· τούτοις γοῦν ὀρῶ αὐτὸν ὃ τι ἂν ἔχη ἡδίων διδόντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτὸν ἔχοντα. [2.3.13] καίτοι, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι οὗτοι μέγα φρονοῦσιν ὅτι πεπαιδεύονται δὴ καὶ πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψαν καὶ πρὸς ῥίγος καρτερεῖν, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονος διδασκάλου πεπαιδευέμεθα ἢ οὗτοι. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι διδάσκαλος οὐδεὶς τούτων κρείττων τῆς ἀνάγκης, ἢ ἡμᾶς καὶ λίαν ταῦτ' ἀκριβοῦν ἐδίδαξε. [2.3.14] καὶ πονεῖν οὗτοι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα φέροντες ἐμελέτων, ἃ ἔστιν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἡρρημένα ὡς ἂν εὐφορώτατα εἴη, ἡμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, ἐν μεγάλοις φορτίοις καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ τρέχειν ἠναγκαζόμεθα, ὥστε νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τὸ τῶν ὅπλων φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον εἰκέναι ἢ φορτίῳ. [2.3.15] ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ γε καὶ ἀγωνιουμένου καὶ ὁποῖος ἂν τις ὦ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν με τιμᾶν ἀξιώσοντος, οὕτως, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, γίγνωσκε. καὶ ὑμῖν γ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες δημόται, παραινῶ εἰς ἔριν ὀρμᾶσθαι ταύτης τῆς μάχης πρὸς τοὺς πεπαιδευμένους τούσδε· νῦν

γὰρ ἄνδρες εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶν ἐν δημοτικῇ ἀγωνίᾳ. [2.3.16] Φεραύλας μὲν δὴ οὕτως εἶπεν. ἀνίσταντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ἐκατέρων συναγορεύοντες, ἔδοξε κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον, Κῦρον δὲ τὸν κρίνοντα εἶναι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω προυκεχωρήκεσαν.

[2.3.17] Ἐκάλεσε δ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ὅλην ποτὲ τάξιν σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ, ἰδὼν αὐτὸν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῆς τάξεως ἀντιτάξαντα ἐκατέρωθεν εἰς ἐμβολήν, θώρακας μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ἔχοντας καὶ γέρρα ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς, εἰς δὲ τὰς δεξιὰς νάρθηκας παχεῖς τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν ἔδωκε, τοῖς δ' ἑτέροις εἶπεν ὅτι βάλλειν δεήσοι ῥάναιρουμένους· ταῖς βώλοις. [2.3.18] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι οὕτως ἔστησαν, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς μάχεσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον ταῖς βώλοις καὶ ἔστιν οἱ ἐτύγχανον καὶ θωράκων καὶ γέρρων, οἱ δὲ καὶ μηροῦ καὶ κνημίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ τοὺς νάρθηκας ἔχοντες ἔπαιον τῶν μὲν μηρούς, τῶν δὲ χεῖρας, τῶν δὲ κνήμας, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπικυπτιοντων ἐπὶ βώλους ἔπαιον τοὺς τραχήλους καὶ τὰ νῶτα. τέλος δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι παίοντες σὺν πολλῷ γέλῳτι καὶ παιδιᾷ. ἐν μέρει γε μὴν οἱ ἕτεροι λαβόντες πάλιν τοὺς νάρθηκας τα' ὑτὰ ἐποίησαν τοὺς ταῖς βώλοις βάλλοντας· [2.3.19] ταῦτα δ' ἄγασθεις ὁ Κῦρος, τοῦ μὲν ταξιάρχου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, τῶν δὲ τὴν πειθῶ, ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ἐγυμνάζοντο, ἅμα δ' ἠύθυμούντο, ἅμα δ' ἐνίκων οἱ εἰκασθέντες τῇ τῶν Περσῶν ὀπλίσει, τούτοις δὴ ἦσθεις ἐκάλεσέ τε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἰδὼν τινας αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδεμένους, τὸν μὲν τινα ἀντικνήμιον, τὸν δὲ χεῖρα, ἡρώτα τί πάθοιεν. [2.3.20] οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι πληγεῖεν ταῖς βώλοις. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐπηρώτα πότερον ἐπεὶ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτε πρόσω ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, παιδιὰν ἔφασαν εἶναι καλλίστην οἱ ναρθηκοφόροι· οἱ δὲ συγκεκομμένοι τοῖς νάρθηξι ἀνέκραγον ὅτι οὐ σφίσι δοκοίη παιδιὰ εἶναι τὸ ὁμόθεν παίεσθαι· ἅμα δὲ ἐπεδείκνυσαν τῶν ναρθήκων τὰς πληγὰς καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καὶ ἐν τραχήλοις, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσώποις. καὶ τότε μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐγέλων ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ μεστὸν ἦν τὸ πεδίον πᾶν τῶν τούτους μιμουμένων· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἄλλο τι σπουδαιότερον πράττειεν, ταύτῃ τῇ παιδιᾷ ἐχρῶντο.

[2.3.21] Ἄλλον δὲ ποτε ἰδὼν ταξιάρχον ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ἐφ' ἐνός, καὶ ὁπότε δοκοίη αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παραγγέλλοντα τὸν ὕστερον λόχον παράγειν, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον, εἰς μέτωπον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν μετώπῳ οἱ λοχαγοὶ

ἐγένοντο, παρηγγύησεν εἰς δύο ἄγειν τὸν λόχον· ἐκ τούτου δὴ παρήγον οἱ δεκάδαρχοι εἰς μέτωπον· ὁπότε δ' αὖ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ καιρὸς εἶναι, παρήγγειλεν εἰς τέτταρας τὸν λόχον· οὕτω δὴ οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι αὖ παρήγον εἰς τέτταρας· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς σκηνῆς ἐγένοντο, παραγγείλας αὖ εἰς ἓνα [ιόντων] εἰσήγε τὸν πρῶτον λόχον, καὶ τὸν δεύτερον τούτου κατ' οὐρὰν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι, καὶ τὸν τρίτον καὶ τὸν τέταρτον ὡσαύτως παραγγείλας ἡγεῖτο ἔσω· οὕτω δ' εἰσαγαγὼν κατέκλινεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὥσπερ εἰσεπορεύοντο· τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ἀγασθεὶς τῆς τε πραιότητος τῆς διδασκαλίας καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἐκάλεσε ταύτην τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον σὺν τῷ ταξιάρχῳ.

[2.3.22] Παρὼν δέ τις ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ κεκλημένος ἄλλος ταξίαρχος, τὴν δ' ἐμήν, ἔφη, τάξιν, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐ καλεῖς εἰς τὴν σκηνήν; καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε παρίημι ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, πάντα ταῦτα ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅταν τέλος ἡ σκηνὴ ἔχη, ἐξάγει μὲν ὁ οὐραγός, ἔφη, ὁ τοῦ τελευταίου λόχου τὸν λόχον, ὑστάτους ἔχων τοὺς πρώτους τεταγμένους εἰς μάχην· ἔπειτα ὁ δεύτερος τοὺς τοῦ ἐτέρου λόχου ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ὡσαύτως, ὅπως, ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν ἀπάγειν δέη ἀπὸ πολεμίων, ἐπίστωνται ὡς δεῖ ἀπιέναι. ἐπειδὴν δέ, ἔφη, καταστῶμεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον ἔνθα περιπατοῦμεν, ὅταν μὲν πρὸς ἔω ἴωμεν, ἐγὼ μὲν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λόχος πρῶτος, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ὡς δεῖ, καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος, καὶ αἱ τῶν λόχων δεκάδες καὶ πεμπάδες, ἕως ἂν παραγγέλλω ἐγώ. ὅταν δ', ἔφη, πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἴωμεν, ὁ οὐραγός τε καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι πρῶτοι ἀφηγοῦνται· ἐμοὶ μέντοι οὕτω πείθονται ὑστέρῳι ἰόντι, ἵνα ἐθίζωνται καὶ ἔπεσθαι καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁμοίως πειθόμενοι. [2.3.23] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Ἥ καὶ ἀεὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖτε; Ὅποσάκις γε, ἔφη, καὶ δειπνοποιούμεθα νῆ Δία. Καλῶ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι τὰς τάξεις μελετᾶτε καὶ προσιόντες καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἅμα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός, ἅμα δ' ὅτι τὰ τε σώματα περιπατοῦντες ἀσκεῖτε καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς ὠφελεῖτε διδάσκοντες. ἐπεὶ οὖν πάντα διπλᾶ ποιεῖτε, διπλὴν ὑμῖν δίκαιον καὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν παρέχειν. [2.3.24] Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ ταξίαρχος, μήτοι γ' ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, εἰ μὴ καὶ διπλᾶς ἡμῖν τὰς γαστέρας παρέξεις. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὸ τέλος τῆς σκηνῆς ἐποιήσαντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Κῦρος ἐκάλεσεν ἐκείνην τὴν τάξιν, ὥσπερ ἔφη, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ λοιπὸν πάντες αὐτοὺς ἐμιμοῦντο.

[2.4.1] Ἐξέτασιν δέ ποτε πάντων τοῦ Κύρου πιουμένου ἐν τοῖς

ὅπλοις καὶ σύνταξιν ἦλθε παρὰ Κυαζάρου ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι Ἰνδῶν παρείη πρεσβεία· κελεύει οὖν σε ἐλθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα. φέρω δέ σοι, ἔφη ὁ ἄγγελος, καὶ στολὴν τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κυαζάρου· ἐβούλετο γὰρ σε ὡς λαμπρότατα καὶ εὐκοσμότατα προσάγειν, ὡς ὁπομένων τῶν Ἰνδῶν ὅπως ἂν προσίης. [2.4.2] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος παρήγγειλε τῷ πρώτῳ τεταγμένῳ ταξιάρχῳ εἰς μέτωπον στήναι, ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἄγοντα τὴν τάξιν, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντα ἑαυτόν, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτο τοῦτο παραγγεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ πάντων οὕτω παραδιδόναι ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ πειθόμενοι ταχὺ μὲν παρήγγελλον, ταχὺ δὲ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐποίουν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐγένοντο τὸ μὲν μέτωπον ἐπὶ τριακοσίων [τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταξίαρχοι], τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐφ' ἑκατόν. [2.4.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν, ἔπεσθαι ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἡγῆται· καὶ εὐθὺς τροχάζων ἡγεῖτο. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν ἀγυιὰν τὴν πρὸς τὸ βασιλείον φέρουσιν στενωτέραν οὖσαν ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ μετώπου πάντας διέειναι, παραγγείλας τὴν πρώτην χιλιοστὴν ἔπεσθαι κατὰ χώραν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν κατ' οὐρὰν ταύτης ἀκολουθεῖν, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως, αὐτὸς μὲν ἡγεῖτο οὐκ ἀναπαυόμενος, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι χιλιοστῆες κατ' οὐρὰν ἐκάστη τῆς ἔμπροσθεν εἶποντο. [2.4.4] ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ ὑπηρέτας δύο ἐπὶ [τὸ] στόμα τῆς ἀγυιάς, ὅπως εἴ τις ἀγνοοίη, σημαίνουσιν τὸ δέον ποιεῖν. ὡς δ' ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαζάρου θύρας, παρήγγειλε τῷ πρώτῳ ταξιάρχῳ τὴν τάξιν εἰς δώδεκα τάττειν βάθος, τοὺς δὲ δωδεκάρχους ἐν μετώπῳ καθιστάναι περὶ τὸ βασιλείον, καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε παραγγεῖλαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως. [2.4.5] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· ὁ δ' εἰσῆγει πρὸς τὸν Κυαζάρην ἐν τῇ Περσικῇ στολῇ οὐδέν τι ὑβρισμένη. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Κυαζάρης τῷ μὲν τάχει ἦσθη, τῇ δὲ φαυλότῃ τῆς στολῆς ἡχθέσθη, καὶ εἶπε· Τί τοῦτο, ὦ Κῦρε; οἷον πεποίηκας οὕτω φανεῖς τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς; ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ἐβουλόμην σε ὡς λαμπρότατον φανῆναι· καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἂν κόσμος ἦν τοῦτο, ἐμῆς ὄντα ἀδελφῆς υἱὸν ὅτι μαγαλοπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι. [2.4.6] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε· Καὶ ποτέρως ἂν, ὦ Κυαζάρη, μᾶλλον σε ἐκόσμουν, εἴπερ πορφυρίδα ἐνδύς καὶ ψέλια λαβὼν καὶ στρεπτὸν περιθέμενος σχολῇ κελεύοντι ὑπήκουόν σοι, ἢ νῦν ὅτε σὺν τοιαύτῃ καὶ τοσαύτῃ δυνάμει οὕτω σοι ὀξέως ὑπακούω διὰ τὸ σὲ τιμᾶν ἰδρῶτι καὶ σπουδῇ καὶ αὐτὸς κεκοσμημένος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιδεικνύς σοι οὕτω πειθομένους; Κῦρος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Κυαζάρης νομίσας αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγειν ἐκάλεσε τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. [2.4.7] οἱ δὲ Ἰνδοὶ εἰσελθόντες ἔλεξαν ὅτι

πέμπει σφᾶς ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς κελεύων ἐρωτᾶν ἐξ ὅτου ὁ πόλεμος εἶη Μήδοις τε καὶ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ σοῦ ἀκούσαιμεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθόντας αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον κ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πυθέσθαι· τέλος δ' ἀμφοτέροις εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, τὸ δίκαιον σκεψάμενος, φαίη μετὰ τοῦ ἡδικημένου ἔσεσθαι. [2.4.8] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κυαζάρης εἶπεν· Ἐμοὺ μὲν τοίνυν ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικούμεν τὸν Ἀσσύριον οὐδέν· ἐκείνου δ', εἰ δεῖσθε, ἐλθόντες νῦν πύθεσθε ὅ τι λέγει. παρὼν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τὸν Κυαζάρην, Ἥ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, εἶπω ὅ τι γινώσκω· καὶ ὁ Κυαζάρης ἐκέλευσεν. Ὑμεῖς τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπαγγείλατε τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ τάδε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο Κυαζάρηι δοκεῖ, ὅτι φαμέν ἡμεῖς, εἴ τί φησιν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀδικεῖσθαι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν τὸν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα δικαστήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ὤχοντο.

[2.4.9] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς τὸν Κυαζάρην ἤρξατο λόγου τοιοῦδε.

ὦ Κυαζάρη, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον οὐδέν τι πολλὰ ἔχων ἴδια χρήματα οἰκοθεν· ὅποσα δ' ἦν, τούτων πάνυ ὀλίγα λοιπὰ ἔχω· ἀνήλωκα δέ, ἔφη, εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσως, ἔφη, θαυμάζεις σὺ πῶς ἐγὼ ἀνήλωκα σοῦ αὐτοῦ τρέφοντος· εὖ δ' ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν ἢ τιμῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος, ὅταν τινὶ ἀγασθῶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν. [2.4.10] δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, ἔφη, πάντας μὲν οὓς ἂν τις βούληται ἀγαθοὺς συνεργοὺς ποιεῖσθαι ὁποῖου τινὸς οὖν πράγματος, ἥδιον εἶναι εὖ τε λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιῶντα παρορμᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ λυποῦντα καὶ ἀναγκάζοντα· οὓς δὲ δὴ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔργων ποιήσασθαί τις βούλοιο συνεργοὺς προθύμους, τούτους παντάπασιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἀγαθοῖς θηρατέον εἶναι καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις. φίλους γάρ, οὐκ ἐχθρούς, δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀπροφασίστους συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τοῦ ἄρχοντος φθονήσοντας μήτ' ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς προδῶσοντας. [2.4.11] ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγὼ οὕτω προγινώσκων χρημάτων δοκῶ προσδεῖσθαι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν σὲ πάντας ὁρᾶν ὃν αἰσθάνομαι πολλὰ δαπανῶντα ἄτοπόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· σκοπεῖν δ' ἀξιώ κοινῇ καὶ σὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ὅπως σὲ μὴ ἐπιλείψει χρήματα. ἐὰν γὰρ σὺ ἄφθονα ἔχῃς, οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ ἂν εἴη λαμβάνειν ὅποτε δεοίμην, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ [εἰς] τοιοῦτόν τι λαμβάνοιμι ὃ μέλλοι καὶ σοὶ δαπανηθὲν βέλτιον εἶναι. [2.4.12] ἔναγχος οὖν ποτέ σου μέμνημαι ἀκούσας ὡς ὁ Ἀρμένιος καταφρονοῖ σου νῦν, ὅτι ἀκούει τοὺς πολεμίους προσιόντας ἡμῖν, καὶ οὔτε <τὸ> στράτευμα πέμποι οὔτε

τὸν δασμὸν ὃν ἔδει ἀπάγοι. Ποιεῖ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐκεῖνος· ὥστε ἔγωγε ἀπορῶ πότερόν μοι κρεῖττον στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἀνάγκην αὐτῷ προσθεῖναι ἢ ἑᾶσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μὴ καὶ τοῦτον πολέμιον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις προσθώμεθα. [2.4.13] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο· Αἱ δ' οἰκίσεις αὐτῷ πότερον ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις εἰσὶν ἢ καὶ πού ἐν εὐεφόδοις; καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπεν· Αἱ μὲν οἰκίσεις οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐχυροῖς· ἐγὼ γὰρ τούτου οὐκ ἡμέλουν· ὄρη μέντοι ἔστιν ἔνθα δύναται ἂν ἀπελθὼν ἐν τῷ παραχρῆμα ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι τοῦ μὴ αὐτός γε ὑποχείριος γενέσθαι, μηδὲ ὅσα ἐνταῦθα δύναίτο ὑπεκκομίσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις πολιορκοίῃ προσκαθήμενος, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ ποτε ἐποίησεν. [2.4.14] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει τάδε· Ἄλλ' εἰ θέλοις, ἔφη, ἐμὲ πέμψαι, ἱππέας μοι προσθεις ὅποσοι δοκοῦσι μέτριοι εἶναι, οἷμαι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ στράτευμα πέμψαι καὶ ἀποδοῦναι τὸν δασμὸν σοι· ἔτι δ' ἐλπίζω καὶ φίλον αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἡμῖν γενήσεσθαι ἢ νῦν ἐστι. [2.4.15] καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης εἶπε· Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐλπίζω ἐκεῖνους ἐλθεῖν ἂν πρὸς σέ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἐμέ· ἀκούω γὰρ καὶ συνθηρευτάς τινας τῶν παίδων σοι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ· ὥστ' ἴσως ἂν καὶ πάλιν ἔλθοιεν πρὸς σέ· ὑποχειρίων δὲ γενομένων αὐτῶν πάνταπραχθεῖν ἂν ἥι ἡμεῖς βουλόμεθα. Οὐκοῦν σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σύμφορον εἶναι τὸ λεληθέναι ἡμᾶς ταῦτα βουλευόντας; Μᾶλλον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καὶ ἔλθοι τις αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας, καὶ εἴ τις ὁρμῶιτο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀπαρασκευάστοι ἂν λαμβάνοιντο. [2.4.16] Ἄκουε τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν τί σοι δόξω λέγειν. ἐγὼ πολλάκις δὴ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ τεθήρακα ἀμφὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς τε σῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἀρμενίων, καὶ ἱππέας τινας ἤδη προσλαβὼν τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐταίρων ἀφικόμην. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὅμοια ποιῶν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, οὐκ ἂν ὑποπτεύοιο· εἰ δὲ πολὺ πλείων ἡ δύναμις φαίνοιτο ἢς ἔχων εἴωθας θηρᾶν, τοῦτο ἤδη ὑποπτον ἂν γένοιτο. [2.4.17] Ἄλλ' ἔστιν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ πρόφασιν κατασκευάσαι καὶ ἐνθάδε οὐκ ἄπιστον, καὶ ἦν τις ἐκεῖσε ἐξαγγεῖλη, ὥς ἐγὼ βουλοίμην μεγάλην θήραν ποιῆσαι· καὶ ἱππέας, ἔφη, αἰτοίην ἂν σε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ. Κάλλιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης· ἐγὼ δέ σοι οὐκ ἐθελήσω διδόναι πλὴν μετρίους τινάς, ὥς βουλόμενος πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἐλθεῖν τὰ πρὸς τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ. καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι, ἔφη, βούλομαι ἐλθὼν κατασκευάσαι αὐτὰ ὥς ἐχυρώτατα. ὁπότε δὲ σὺ προεληλυθοῖς σὺν ἡἱ ἔχοις δυνάμει καὶ θηρώῃς καὶ δὴ δύο ἡμέρας, πέμψαιμι ἂν σοι ἱκανοὺς ἱππέας καὶ πεζοὺς τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἡθροισμένων, οὓς σὺ λαβὼν εὐθὺς ἂν ἴοις, καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἂν ἔχων

τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν πειρώμενην μὴ πρόσω ὑμῶν εἶναι, ἵνα, εἴ που καιρὸς εἴη, ἐπιφανείη.

[2.4.18] Οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν Κυαζάρης εὐθέως πρὸς τὰ φρούρια ἡθροίζεν ἱππείας καὶ πεζοὺς, καὶ ἀμάξας δὲ σίτου προέπεμπε τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ φρούρια ὁδόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ πορείᾳ, καὶ ἅμα πέμπων ἐπὶ τὸν Κυαζάρην ἤτετι τῶν νεωτέρων ἱππέων. ὁ δὲ πάνυ πολλῶν βουλομένων ἔπεσθαι οὐ πολλοὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ. προεληλυθότος δ' ἤδη τοῦ Κυαζάρου σὺν δυνάμει πεζῇ καὶ ἱπικῇ τὴν πρὸς τὰ φρούρια [ὁδόν] γίγνεται τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρμένιον [ιέναι] καλὰ· καὶ οὕτως ἐξάγει δὴ ὥς εἰς θήραν παρεσκευασμένος. [2.4.19] πορευομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ εὐθύς ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ χωρίῳ ὑπανίσταται λαγῶς· ἀετὸς δ' ἐπιπτόμενος αἴσιος, κατιδὼν τὸν λαγῶ φεύγοντα, ἐπιφερόμενος ἔπαισέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ συναρπάσας ἐξῆρε, κ' ἀπενεγκὼν ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ οὐ πρὶς ὧς ἐχρήτο τῇ ἄγρῃ ὅ τι ἤθελεν. ἰδὼν οὖν ὁ Κῦρος τὸ σημεῖον ἦσθη τε καὶ προσεκύνησε Δία βασιλέα, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς πάροντας· Ἡ μὲν θήρα καλὴ ἔσται, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ἦν ὁ θεὸς θελήσῃ. [2.4.20] ὥς δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις ἐγένετο, εὐθύς ὥσπερ εἰώθει ἐθήρα· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὄγμευον αὐτῷ, ὥς ἐπιόντες τὰ θηρία ἐξανισταῖεν· οἱ δὲ ἄριστοι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς διέστασαν καὶ τ' ἀνιστάμενα ὑπεδέχοντο καὶ ἐδίωκον· καὶ ἥρουν πολλοὺς καὶ σὺς καὶ ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας καὶ ὄνους ἀγρίους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις ὄνοι καὶ νῦν ἔτι γίνονται. [2.4.21] ἐπεὶ δ' ἔληξε τῆς θήρας, προσμείζας πρὸς τὰ ὅρια τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐδειπνοποίησατο· καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ αὐθις ἐθήρα προσελθὼν πρὸς τὰ ὄρη ὧν ὠρέγετο. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ἔληξεν, ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο. τὸ δὲ παρὰ Κυαζάρου στράτευμα ὥς ἦσθετο προσιόν, ὑποπέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπεν ἀπέχοντας αὐτοῦ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι ὥς δύο παρασάγγας, τοῦτο προῖδὼν ὥς συμβαλεῖται πρὸς τὸ λανθάνειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ δειπνήσαιεν, εἶπε τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον τοὺς ταξιάρχους παρεκάλει· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήσαν, ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

[2.4.22] Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ὁ Ἀρμένιος πρόσθεν μὲν καὶ σύμμαχος ἦν καὶ ὑπήκοος Κυαζάρῃ· νῦν δὲ ὥς ἦσθετο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιόντας, καταφρονεῖ καὶ οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα πέμπει ἡμῖν οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀποδίδωσι. νῦν οὖν τοῦτον θηρᾶσαι, ἦν δυνώμεθα, ἤλθομεν. ὧδε οὖν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ ποιεῖν. σὺ μὲν, ᾧ Χρυσάντα, ἐπειδὰν ἀποκοιμηθῇς ὅσον μέτριον, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡμίσεις Περσῶν τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν ἴθι τὴν ὀρεινὴν καὶ κατάλαβε τὰ ὄρη, εἰς ἃ φασιν αὐτόν, ὅταν τι φοβηθῇ,

καταφεύγειν· ἡγεμόνας δέ σοι ἐγὼ δώσω. [2.4.23] φασὶ μὲν οὖν καὶ δασέα τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐλπίς ὑμᾶς μὴ ὀφθῆναι· ὅμως δὲ εἰ προπέμποις πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐζώνους ἄνδρας ληισταῖς ἐοικότας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰς στολάς, οὗτοι ἂν σοι, εἴ τι ἐντυγχάνοιεν τῶν Ἀρμενίων, τοὺς μὲν ἂν συλλαμβάνοντες αὐτῶν κωλύοιεν τῶν ἐξαγγελιῶν, οὓς δὲ μὴ δύναιντο λαμβάνειν, ἀποσοβοῦντες ἂν ἐμποδὼν γίγνοιτο τοῦ μὴ ὀρᾶν αὐτοὺς τὸ ὅλον στρατεύμα σου, ἀλλ' ὥς περὶ κλωπῶν βουλεύεσθαι. [2.4.24] καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, οὕτω ποίει· ἐγὼ δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν τῶν πεζῶν ἔχων, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας, πορεύσομαι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ βασιλεια. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἀνθιστῆται, δηλὸν ὅτι μάχεσθαι δεήσει· ἦν δ' αὖ ὑποχωρῇ τοῦ πεδίου, δηλὸν ὅτι μεταθεῖν δεήσει· ἦν δ' εἰς τὰ ὄρη φεύγηι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ, ἔφη, σὸν ἔργον μηδένα ἀφίεναι τῶν πρὸς σὲ ἀφικνουμένων. [2.4.25] νόμιζε δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν θήρῃ ἡμᾶς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας ἔσεσθαι, σὲ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄρκυσι μένησο οὖν ἐκεῖνο ὅτι φθάνειν δεῖ πεφραγμένους τοὺς πόρους πρὶν κινεῖσθαι τὴν θήραν. καὶ λεληθῆναι δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στόμασιν, εἰ μέλλουσι μὴ ἀποτρέψειν τὰ προσφερόμενα. [2.4.26] μὴ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, οὕτως αὖ ποίει ὥσπερ ἐνίοτε διὰ τὴν φιλοθηρίαν· πολλάκις γὰρ ὅλην τὴν νύκτα ἄυπνος πραγματεύη· ἀλλὰ νῦν ἔἰσαι χρή τοὺς ἄνδρας τὸ μέτριον ἀποκοιμηθῆναι, ὥς ἂν δύνωνται ὑπνομαχεῖν· [2.4.27] μηδέ γε, ὅτι οὐχ ἡγεμόνας ἔχων ἀνθρώπους πλανᾷ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, ἀλλ' ὅπηι ἂν τὰ θηρία ὑφηγῇται, ταύτηι μεταθεῖς, μήτι καὶ νῦν οὕτω τὰ δύσβατα πορεύου, ἀλλὰ κέλευέ σοι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἐὰν μὴ πολὺ μᾶσσων ἢ ὁδὸς ἦι, τὴν ράιστην ἡγεῖσθαι· στρατιᾷ γὰρ ἡ ράιστη ταχίστη. [2.4.28] μηδέ γε, ὅτι σὺ εἴθισαι τρέχειν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη, μήτι δρόμῳ ἡγήσῃ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν δύνηταί σοι ὁ στρατὸς ἔπεσθαι, τῷ μέσῳ τῆς σπουδῆς ἡγοῦ. [2.4.29] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν δυνατωτάτων καὶ προθύμων ὑπομένοντάς τινας ἐνίοτε παρακελεύεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ παρέλθῃ τὸ κέρας, παροξυντικὸν εἰς τὸ σπεύδειν πάντας παρὰ τοὺς βαδίζοντας τρέχοντας ὁρᾶσθαι.

[2.4.30] Χρυσάντας μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ ἐπιγαυρωθεὶς τῇ ἐντολῇ τῇ Κύρου, λαβὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ἀπελθὼν καὶ παραγγείλας ἃ ἔδει τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ μέλλουσι πορεύεσθαι, ἀνεπαύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκοιμήθησαν ὅσον ἐδόκει μέτριον εἶναι, ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. [2.4.31] Κῦρος δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, ἄγγελον μὲν προέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον, εἰπὼν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὧδε· Κῦρος, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, κελεύει

οὕτω ποιεῖν σε ὅπως ὡς τάχιστα ἔχων ἀπίη καὶ τὸν δασμὸν καὶ τὸ
στράτευμα. ἦν δ' ἐρωτᾷ ὅπου εἰμί, λέγε τ' ἀληθῆ ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις.
ἦν δ' ἐρωτᾷ εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔρχομαι, λέγε κ' ἀνταῦθα τ' ἀληθῆ ὅτι οὐκ
οἶσθα. ἐὰν δ' ὅποσοι ἐσμέν πυνθάνηται, συμπέμπειν τινὰ κέλευε καὶ
μαθεῖν. [2.4.32] τὸν μὲν δὴ ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ταῦτα ἔπεμψε, νομίζων
φιλικώτερον οὕτως εἶναι ἢ μὴ προειπόντα πορεύεσθαι. αὐτὸς δὲ
συνταξάμενος ἦι ἄριστον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνύτειν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ
μάχεσθαι, εἴ τι δέοι, ἐπορεύετο. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδένα
ἀδικεῖν, καὶ εἴ τις Ἀρμενίων τῷ ἐντυγχάνοι, θαρρεῖν τε
παραγγέλλειν καὶ ἀγορὰν τὸν θέλοντα ἄγειν ὅπου ἂν ᾧσιν, εἴτε σῖτα
εἴτε ποτὰ τυγχάνοι πωλεῖν βουλόμενος.

Βιβλίον γ'

[3.1.1] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος ὡς ἤκουσε τοῦ ἀγγέλου τὰ παρὰ Κύρου, ἐξεπλάγη, ἐννοήσας ὅτι ἀδικοίη καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λείπων καὶ τὸ στράτευμα οὐ πέμπων, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἐφοβεῖτο, ὅτι ὀφθήσεσθαι ἔμελλε τὰ βασίλεια οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἂν ἱκανὰ ἀπομάχεσθαι εἴη. [3.1.2] διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα ὁκνῶν ἅμα μὲν διέπεμπεν ἀθροίζων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, ἅμα δ' ἔπεμπεν εἰς τὰ ὄρη τὸν νεώτερον υἱὸν Σάβαριν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, τὴν τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας· καὶ κόσμον δὲ καὶ κατασκευὴν τὴν πλείστου ἀξίαν συναπέπεμπε προπομπὰς δοῦς αὐτοῖς. αὐτὸς δὲ ἅμα μὲν κατασκευομένους ἔπεμπε τί πράττοι Κῦρος, ἅμα δὲ συνέταττε τοὺς παραγινομένους τῶν Ἀρμενίων· καὶ ταχὺ παρήσαν ἄλλοι λέγοντες ὅτι καὶ δὴ αὐτὸς ὁμοῦ. [3.1.3] ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι ἔτλη εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπεχώρει. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' εἶδον ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι, διεδίδρασκον ἤδη ἡκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, βουλόμενοι τὰ ὄντα ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὡς ἑώρα διαθεόντων καὶ ἐλαυνόντων τὸ πεδῖον μεστόν, ὑποπέμπων ἔλεγεν ὅτι οὐδενὶ πολέμιος εἴη τῶν μενόντων. εἰ δέ τινα φεύγοντα λήψοιτο, προηγόρευεν ὅτι ὡς πολεμίῳ χρήσοιτο. οὕτω δὴ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ κατέμενον, ἦσαν δ' οἱ ὑπεχώρουν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ. [3.1.4] ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν προϊόντες ἐνέπεσον εἰς τοὺς ἐν τῷ ὄρει, κραυγὴν τε εὐθὺς ἐποίουν καὶ φεύγοντες ἡλίσκοντο πολλοὶ [γε] αὐτῶν. τέλος δὲ καὶ ὁ παῖς καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ἐάλωσαν, καὶ χρήματα ὅσα σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγόμενα ἔτυχεν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς αὐτός, ὡς ἦσθετο τὰ γινόμενα, ἀπορῶν ποῖ τράποιο ἐπὶ λόφον τινὰ καταφεύγει. [3.1.5] ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος ταῦτα ἰδὼν περιίσταται τὸν λόφον τῷ παρόντι στρατεύματι, καὶ πρὸς Χρυσάνταν πέμψας ἐκέλευε φυλακὴν τοῦ ὄρους καταλιπόντα ἡκεῖν. τὸ μὲν δὴ στράτευμα ἡθροίζετο τῷ Κύρῳ· ὁ δὲ πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρμένιον κήρυκα ἤρετο ὧδε· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, πότερα βούλει αὐτοῦ μένων τῷ λιμῷ καὶ τῷ δίψει μάχεσθαι ἢ εἰς τὸ ἰσόπεδον καταβάς ἡμῖν διαμάχεσθαι; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀρμένιος ὅτι οὐδετέροις βούλοιο μάχεσθαι. [3.1.6] πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος πέμψας ἡρώτα Τί οὖν κάθησαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ οὐ καταβαίνεις; Ἀπορῶν, ἔφη, ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. Ἄλλ' οὐδέν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπορεῖν σε δεῖ· ἔξεστι γάρ σοι ἐπὶ δίκην καταβαίνειν. Τίς δ', ἔφη, ἔσται ὁ δικάζων;

Δήλον ὅτι ὦι ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε καὶ ἄνευ δίκης χρῆσθαι σοι ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Ἀρμένιος γινώσκων τὴν ἀνάγκην καταβαίνει· καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν εἰς τὸ μέσον κ' ἀκεῖνον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα περιστρατοπεδεύσατο, ὁμοῦ ἤδη πᾶσαν ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν.

[3.1.7] Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ πρεσβύτερος παῖς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου Τιγράνης ἐξ ἀποδημίας τινὸς προσήει, ὃς καὶ σύνθηρός ποτε ἐγένετο τῷ Κύρῳ· καὶ ὡς ἤκουσε τὰ γεγενημένα, εὐθὺς πορεύεται ὥσπερ εἶχε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον. ὡς δ' εἶδε πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα καὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα αἰχμαλώτους γεγενημένους, ἐδάκρυσεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός. [3.1.8] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐφιλοφρονήσατο αὐτῷ, εἶπε δ' ὅτι Εἰς καιρὸν ἤκεις, ἔφη, ὅπως τῆς δίκης ἀκούσης παρὼν τῆς ἀμφὶ τοῦ πατρός. καὶ εὐθὺς συνεκάλει τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων· προσεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἴ τις Ἀρμενίων τῶν ἐντίμων παρῆν. καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἄρμαμάξαις παρούσας οὐκ ἀπήλασεν, ἀλλ' εἶα ἀκούειν. [3.1.9] ὁπότε δὲ καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο τοῦ λόγου· ὦ Ἀρμένιε, ἔφη, πρῶτον μὲν σοι συμβουλεύω ἐν τῇ δίκῃ τ' ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἵνα σοι ἔν γε ἀπῇ τὸ εὐμνησιτότατον· τὸ γὰρ ψευδόμενον φαίνεσθαι εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ τοῦ συγγνώμης τινὸς τυγχάνειν ἐμποδὼν μάλιστα ἀνθρώποις γίγνεται· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, συνίσασι μὲν σοι καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται πάντα ὅσα ἔπραξας, καὶ Ἀρμενίων οἱ παρόντες· ἦν δὲ αἰσθάνωνται σε ἄλλα ἢ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντα, νομιοῦσί σε καὶ αὐτὸν καταδικάζειν σεαυτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν, ἦν ἐγὼ τ' ἀληθῆ πύθωμαι. Ἄλλ' ἐρώτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅ τι βούλει, ὡς τ' ἀληθῆ ἐροῦντος, τούτου ἕνεκα καὶ γενέσθω ὅ τι βούλεται. [3.1.10] Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ἐπολέμησάς ποτε Ἀστυάγει τῷ τῆς ἐμῆς μητρὸς πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Μήδοις; Ἐγὼ γ', ἔφη. Κρατηθεὶς δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνωμολόγησας δασμὸν οἴσειν καὶ συστρατεύσεσθαι ὅποι ἐπαγγέλloi, καὶ ἐρύματα μὴ ἔξειν; Ἦν ταῦτα. Νῦν οὖν διὰ τί οὔτε τὸν δασμὸν ἀπῆγες οὔτε τὸ στράτευμα ἔπεμπες, ἐτείχιζές τε τὰ ἐρύματα; Ἐλευθερίας ἐπεθύμουν· καλὸν γάρ μοι ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν ἐλεύθερον εἶναι καὶ παισὶν ἐλευθερίαν καταλιπεῖν. [3.1.11] Καὶ γάρ ἐστιν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καλὸν μάχεσθαι, ὅπως μήποτε τις δοῦλος μέλλοι γενήσεσθαι· ἦν δὲ δὴ ἡ πολέμῳ κρατηθεὶς ἢ καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ τρόπον δουλωθεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν τις φαίνεται τοὺς δεσπότας ἀποστερεῖν ἑαυτοῦ, τοῦτον σὺ πρῶτος πότερον ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καλὰ πράττοντα τιμᾷς ἢ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, ἦν λάβῃς, κολάζεις; Κολάζω, ἔφη·

οὐ γὰρ ἔαις σὺ ψεύδεσθαι. [3.1.12] Λέγε δὴ σαφῶς, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον· ἦν ἄρχων τις τύχῃ σοι καὶ ἀμάρτη, πότερον ἔαις ἄρχειν ἢ ἄλλον καθίστης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ; Ἄλλον καθίστημι. Τί δέ, ἦν χρήματα πολλὰ ἔχει, ἔαις πλουτεῖν ἢ πένητα ποιεῖς; ἀφαιροῦμαι, ἔφη, ἃ ἂν ἔχων τυγχάνῃ. Ἦν δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους γινώσκῃς αὐτὸν ἀφιστάμενον, τί ποιεῖς; Κατακαίνω, ἔφη· τί γὰρ δεῖ ἐλεγχθέντα ὅτι ψεύδομαι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τ' ἀληθῆ λέγοντα; [3.1.13] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ μὲν παῖς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, περιεσπάσατο τὴν τῖάνην καὶ τοὺς πέπλους κατερρήξατο, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀναβοήσασαι ἐδρύπτοντο, ὡς οἰχομένου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἀπολωλότων σφῶν ἤδη. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας εἶπεν· Εἴεν· τὰ μὲν δὴ σὰ δίκαια ταῦτα, ὧ Ἀρμένιε· ἡμῖν δὲ τί συμβουλευεῖς ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖν; ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρμένιος ἐσιώπα ἀπορῶν πότερα συμβουλευοὶ τῷ Κύρῳ κατακαίνειν αὐτὸν ἢ τ' ἀναντία διδάσκει ὧν αὐτὸς ἔφη ποιεῖν. [3.1.14] ὁ δὲ παῖς αὐτοῦ Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὸν Κῦρον· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὧ Κῦρε, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἀποροῦντι ἔοικεν, ἢ συμβουλευσω περὶ αὐτοῦ ἃ οἶμαι σοι βέλτιστα εἶναι; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, ἡσθημένος, ὅτε συνεθήρα αὐτῷ ὁ Τιγράνης, σοφιστὴν τινα αὐτῷ συνόντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου, πάνυ ἐπεθύμει αὐτοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ὅ τι ποτ' ἐροίῃ· καὶ προθύμως ἐκέλευσε λέγειν ὅ τι γινώσκῃ.

[3.1.15] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, εἰ μὲν ἄγασαι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ ὅσα βεβούλευται ἢ ὅσα πέπραχε, πάνυ σοι συμβουλευώ τοῦτον μιμεῖσθαι· εἰ μὲντοι σοι δοκεῖ πάντα ἡμαρτηκέναι, συμβουλευώ τοῦτον μὴ μιμεῖσθαι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τὰ δίκαια ποιῶν ἡκιστ' ἂν τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα μιμοίμην. Ἔστιν, ἔφη, ταῦτα. Κολαστέον ἄρ' ἂν εἴῃ κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον τὸν πατέρα, εἴπερ τὸν ἀδικοῦντα δίκαιον κολάζειν. Πότερα δ' ἡγήῃ, ὧ Κῦρε, ἄμεινον εἶναι σὺν τῷ σῶι ἀγαθῷ τὰς τιμωρίας ποιεῖσθαι ἢ σὺν τῇ σῇ ζημίαι; Ἐμαυτὸν ἄρα, ἔφη, οὕτω γ' ἂν τιμωροίμην. [3.1.16] Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, μέγα γ' ἂν ζημιόιο, εἰ τοὺς σεαυτοῦ κατακαίνεις τότε ὅποτε σοι πλείστου ἄξιοι εἴεν κεκτηῖσθαι. Πῶς δ' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τότε πλείστου ἄξιοι γίγνοιτο ἄνθρωποι ὅποτε ἀδικοῦντες ἀλίσκοιντο; Εἰ τότε, οἶμαι, σῶφρονες γίγνοιτο. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι, ὧ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχειν, ἄνευ μὲν σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἄλλης ἀρετῆς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἶναι· τί γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, χρήσαιτ' ἂν τις ἰσχυρῷ ἢ ἀνδρείῳ μὴ σῶφρονι, [ἢ ἱππικῷ], τί δὲ πλουσίῳ, τί δὲ δυνάστητι ἐν πόλει; σὺν δὲ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ φίλος πᾶς χρήσιμος καὶ θεράπων πᾶς ἀγαθός. [3.1.17] Τοῦτ' οὖν, ἔφη, λέγεις ὡς

καὶ ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐν τῇιδε τῇ μιᾷ ἡμέραι ἐξ ἄφρονος σώφρων γεγένηται; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Πάθημα ἄρα τῆς ψυχῆς σὺ λέγεις εἶναι τὴν σωφροσύνην, ὥσπερ λύπην, οὐ μάθημα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δήπου, εἶγε φρόνιμον δεῖ γενέσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα σώφρονα ἔσεσθαι, παραχρῆμα ἐξ ἄφρονος σώφρων ἂν τις γένοιτο. [3.1.18] Τί δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐπω ἦισθου καὶ ἓνα ἄνδρα δι' ἀφροσύνην μὲν ἐπιχειροῦντα κρεῖττονι ἑαυτοῦ μάχεσθαι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡττηθῇ, εὐθὺς πεπαυμένον τῆς πρὸς τοῦτον ἀφροσύνης; πάλιν δ', ἔφη, οὐπω ἐώρακας πόλιν ἀντιταττομένην πρὸς πόλιν ἐτέραν, ἥς ἐπειδὴν ἡττηθῇ παραχρῆμα ταύτῃ ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι πείθεσθαι ἐθέλει; [3.1.19] Ποίαν δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ σὺ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦτταν λέγων οὕτως ἰσχυρίζεαι σεσωφρονίσθαι αὐτόν; Ἦι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, σύννοιδεν ἑαυτῷ ἐλευθερίας μὲν ἐπιθυμήσας, δοῦλος δ' ὡς οὐδεπώποτε γενόμενος, ἃ δὲ ὠιήθη χρῆναι λαθεῖν ἢ φθάσαι ἢ ἀποβιάσασθαι, οὐδὲν τούτων ἱκανὸς γενόμενος διαπράξασθαι. σὲ δὲ οἶδεν, ἃ μὲν ἐβουλήθης ἐξαπατῆσαι αὐτόν, οὕτως ἐξαπατήσαντα ὥσπερ ἂν τις τυφλοὺς καὶ κωφοὺς καὶ μὴδ' ὁτιοῦν φρονοῦντας ἐξαπατήσειεν· ἃ δὲ ὠιήθης λαθεῖν χρῆναι, οὕτω σὲ οἶδε λαθόντα ὥστε ἃ ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ ἐχρῆναι χωρία ἀποκεῖσθαι, σὺ εἰρκτὰς ταῦτα ἔλαθες προκατασκευάσας· τάχει δὲ τοσοῦτον περιεγένου αὐτοῦ ὥστε πρόσωθεν ἔφθασας ἐλθὼν σὺν πολλῶι στόλῳ πρὶν τοῦτον τὴν παρ' ἑαυτῷ δύναμιν ἀθροίσασθαι. [3.1.20] Ἐπειτα δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη ἦττα σωφρονίζειν ἱκανὴ εἶναι ἀνθρώπους, τὸ γινῶναι ἄλλους ἑαυτῶν βελτίονας ὄντας; Πολύ γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, ἢ ὅταν μάχη τις ἡττηθῇ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύι κρατηθεὶς ἔστιν ὅτε ὠιήθη σωμασκήσας ἀναμαχεῖσθαι· καὶ πόλεις γε ἀλοῦσαι συμμάχους προσλαβοῦσαι οἴονται ἀναμαχεῖσθαι ἄν· οὐς δ' ἂν βελτίους τινὲς ἑαυτῶν ἡγήσωνται, τούτοις πολλάκις καὶ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης ἐθέλουσι πείθεσθαι. [3.1.21] Σύ, ἔφη, ἔοικας οὐκ οἶεσθαι τοὺς ὑβριστὰς γινώσκειν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν σωφρονεστερέους, οὐδὲ τοὺς κλέπτας τοὺς μὴ κλέπτοντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ψευδομένους τοὺς τ' ἀληθῆ λέγοντας, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τοὺς τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντας· οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ἐνψέσατο καὶ οὐκέτ' ἡμπέδου τὰς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συνθήκας, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ὧν Ἀστυάγης συνέθετο παραβαίνομεν; [3.1.22] Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ τοῦτο λέγω ὡς τὸ γινῶναι μόνον τοὺς βελτίονας σωφρονίζει ἄνευ τοῦ δίκην δίδοναι ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ νῦν δίδωσιν. Ἀλλ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὃ γε σὸς πατὴρ πέπονθε

μὲν οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν πῶς κακόν· φοβεῖται γὰρ μέντοι εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μὴ πάντα τὰ ἔσχατα πάθῃ. [3.1.23] Οἷσι οὖν τι, ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης, μᾶλλον καταδουλοῦσθαι ἀνθρώπους τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ φόβου; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι οἱ μὲν τῷ ἰσχυροτάτῳ κολάσματι νομιζομένῳ σιδήρῳ παιόμενοι ὁμῶς ἐθέλουσι καὶ πάλιν μάχεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς; οὗς δ' ἂν σφόδρα φοβηθῶσιν ἄνθρωποι, τούτοις οὐδὲ παραμυθουμένοις ἔτι ἀντιβλέπειν δύνανται; Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὡς ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἔργου κακοῦσθαι μᾶλλον κολάζει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. [3.1.24] Καὶ σύ γε, ἔφη, οἶσθα ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω· ἐπίστασαι γὰρ ὅτι οἱ μὲν φοβούμενοι μὴ φύγωσι πατρίδα καὶ οἱ μέλλοντες μάχεσθαι δεδιότες μὴ ἡττηθῶσιν [ἀθύρως διάγουσι, καὶ οἱ πλεόντες μὴ ναυαγίσωσι, καὶ οἱ δουλείαν καὶ δεσμὸν φοβούμενοι, οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε σίτου οὔθ' ὕπνου δύνανται λαγχάνειν διὰ τὸν φόβον οἱ δὲ ἤδη μὲν φυγάδες, ἤδη δ' ἡττημένοι, ἤδη δὲ δουλεύοντες, ἔστιν ὅτε δύνανται καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν εὐδαιμόνων ἐσθίειν τε καὶ καθεύδειν. [3.1.25] ἔτι δὲ φανερώτερον καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε οἷον φόρημα ὁ φόβος· ἔνιοι γὰρ φοβούμενοι μὴ ληφθέντες ἀποθάνωσι προαποθνήσκουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, οἱ μὲν ῥιπτοῦντες ἑαυτούς, οἱ δ' ἀπαγχόμενοι, οἱ δ' ἀποσφαττόμενοι· οὕτω πάντων τῶν δεινῶν ὁ φόβος μάλιστα καταπλήττει τὰς ψυχάς. τὸν δ' ἐμὸν πατέρα, ἔφη, νῦν πῶς δοκεῖς διακεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅς οὐ μόνον περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν τέκνων [δουλείας] φοβεῖται; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· [3.1.26] Ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν ἔμοιγε οὐδὲν ἄπιστον τοῦτον οὕτω διακεῖσθαι· δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι καὶ εὐτυχοῦντα ἐξυβρίσαι καὶ πατρίσιντα ταχὺ πτῆξαι, καὶ ἀνεθέντα γὰρ πάλιν αὐτὸν μέγα φρονῆσαι καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸν πράγματα παρασχεῖν. [3.1.27] Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἔχει μὲν προφάσεις τὰ ἡμέτερα ἀμαρτήματα ὥστ' ἀπιστεῖν ἡμῖν· ἔξεστι δὲ σοι καὶ φρούρια ἐντειχίζειν καὶ τὰ ἐχυρὰ κατέχειν καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τι ἂν βούληται πιστὸν λαμβάνειν. καὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἔξεις οὐδὲν τι τούτοις μέγα λυπούμενους· μεμνησόμεθα γὰρ ὅτι ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν αἰτιοὶ ἐσμεν· εἰ δὲ τινι τῶν ἀναμαρτήτων παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπιστῶν αὐτοῖς φανεῖ, ὅρα μὴ ἅμα τε εὖ ποιήσεις καὶ ἅμα οὐ φίλον νομιούσιν σε· εἰ δ' αὖ φυλαττόμενος τὸ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὴ ἐπιθήσεις αὐτοῖς ζυγὰ τοῦ μὴ ὑβρίσαι, ὅρα μὴ ἐκείνους αὖ δεήσει σε σωφρονίζειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐδέξασιν. [3.1.28] Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τοιούτοις μὲν ἔγωγε ὑπηρεταῖς, οὗς εἰδείην ἀνάγκῃ ὑπηρετοῦντας, ἀηδῶς ἂν μοι δοκῶ χρῆσθαι· οὗς δὲ γινώσκειν δοκοῖν ὅτι εὐνοία καὶ φιλία τῇ

ἐμῇ τὸ δέον συλλαμβάνοιεν, τούτους ἂν μοι δοκῶ καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντας ῥᾷον φέρειν ἢ τοὺς μισοῦντας μέν, ἔκπλεω δὲ πάντα ἀνάγκη διαπονουμένους. καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα· Φιλίαν δὲ παρὰ τίνων ἂν ποτε λάβοις τοσαύτην ὅσην σοι παρ' ἡμῶν ἔξεστι κτήσασθαι νῦν; Παρ' ἐκείνων οἶμαι, ἔφη, [παρὰ] τῶν μηδέποτε πολεμίων γεγεννημένων, εἰ ἐθέλοιμι εὐεργετεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ σὺ νῦν με κελεύεις εὐεργετεῖν ὑμᾶς. [3.1.29] Ἡ καὶ δύναιο ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐν τῷ παρόντι νῦν εὐρεῖν ὅτῳ ἂν χαρίσαιτο ὅσαπερ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρί; αὐτίκα, ἔφη, ἦν τινα ἐὰς ζῆν τῶν σε μηδὲν ἡδικηκότων, τίνα σοι τούτου χάριν οἶε αὐτὸν εἶσεσθαι; τί δ', ἦν αὐτοῦ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκα μὴ ἀφαιρῇ, τίς σε τούτου ἔνεκα φιλήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ὁ νομίζων προσήκειν αὐτῷ ἀφαιρεθῆναι; τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίων βασιλείαν εἰ μὴ ἔξει, οἴσθ᾽ αἰτινὰ, ἔφη, λυπούμενον μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμᾶς; οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μάλιστα λυπούμενος εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς εἴη οὗτος καὶ λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν μεγίστην ἂν σοι χάριν εἰδείη. [3.1.30] εἰ δέ τί σοι, ἔφη, μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὥς ἥκιστα τεταραγμένα τάδε καταλιπεῖν, ὅταν ἀπίης, σκόπει, ἔφη, πότερον ἂν οἶε ἡρεμεστέως ἔχειν τὰ ἐνθάδε καινῆς γενομένης ἀρχῆς ἢ τῆς εἰωθυίας καταμενούσης· εἰ δέ τί σοι μέλει καὶ τοῦ ὥς πλείστην στρατιὰν ἐξάγειν, τίν' ἂν οἶε μᾶλλον ἐξετάσαι ταύτην ὀρθῶς τοῦ πολλάκις αὐτῇ κεχρημένου; εἰ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων δεήσει, τίν' ἂν ταῦτα νομίζεις κρεῖττον ἐκπορίσαι τοῦ καὶ εἰδότος καὶ ἔχοντος πάντα τὰ ὄντα; ὦγαθέ, ἔφη, Κῦρε, φύλαξαι μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀποβαλὼν σαντὸν ζημιώσης πλείω ἢ ὁ πατήρ ἐδυνήθη σε βλάψαι. ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν.

[3.1.31] Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούων ὑπερήδeto, ὅτι ἐνόμιζε περαίνεσθαι πάντα αὐτῷ ὅσαπερ ὑπέσχετο τῷ Κυαζάρῃ πράξειν· ἐμέμνητο γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ φίλον οἶοιτο μᾶλλον ἢ πρόσθεν ποιήσειν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐρωτᾷ· Ἦν δὲ δὴ ταῦτα πείθωμαι ὑμῖν, λέγε μοι, ἔφη, σὺ, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, πόσῃ μὲν στρατιάν μοι συμπέμψεις, πόσα δὲ χρήματα συμβαλῇ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον; [3.1.32] πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμέμιος· Οὐδὲν ἔχω, ὦ Κῦρε, ἔφη, ἀπλούστερον εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ δικαιότερον ἢ δεῖξαι μὲν ἐμὲ πᾶσαν τὴν οὖσαν δύναμιν, σὲ δὲ ἰδόντα ὅσῃ μὲν ἂν σοι δοκῇ στρατιὰν ἄγειν, τὴν δὲ καταλιπεῖν τῆς χώρας φυλακὴν. ὥς δ' αὐτως περὶ χρημάτων δηλῶσαι μὲν ἐμὲ δίκαιόν σοι πάντα τὰ ὄντα, σὲ δὲ τούτων αὐτὸν γνόντα ὅποσα τε ἂν βούλῃ φέρεσθαι καὶ ὅποσα ἂν βούλῃ καταλιπεῖν. [3.1.33] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἴθι δὴ λέξον μοι πόση σοι δύναμις ἐστι, λέξον δὲ καὶ πόσα χρήματα.

ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἀρμένιος· Ἰππεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰσὶν [Ἀρμενίων] εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους, πεζοὶ δὲ εἰς τέτταρας μυριάδας· χρήματα δ', ἔφη, σὺν τοῖς θησαυροῖς οἷς ὁ πατήρ κατέλιπεν ἔστιν εἰς ἀργύριον λογισθέντα τάλαντα πλείω τῶν τρισχιλίων. [3.1.34] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εἶπε· Τῆς μὲν τοίνυν στρατιᾶς, ἐπεὶ σοι, ἔφη, οἱ ὁμοροὶ Χαλδαῖοι πολεμοῦσι, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μοι σύμπεμπε· τῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἀντὶ μὲν τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὧν ἔφερες δασμὸν διπλάσια Κναζάρῃ ἀπόδος, ὅτι ἔλιπες τὴν φοράν· ἐμοὶ δ', ἔφη, ἄλλα ἑκατὸν δάνεισον· ἐγὼ δέ σοι ὑπισχνοῦμαι, ἣν ὁ θεὸς εὖ διδῶι, ἀνθ' ὧν ἂν ἐμοὶ δανείσῃς ἢ ἄλλα πλείονος ἄξια εὐεργετήσῃς ἢ τὰ χρήματα ἀπαριθμήσῃς, ἣν δύνωμαι· ἣν δὲ μὴ δύνωμαι, ἀδύνατος ἂν φαινοίμην, οἶμαι, ἄδικος δ' οὐκ ἂν δικαίως κρινοίμην. [3.1.35] καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, μὴ οὕτω λέγε· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ θαρροῦντά με ἔξεις· ἀλλὰ νόμιζε, ἔφη, ἃ ἂν καταλίπῃς μηδὲν ἥττον σὰ εἶναι ὧν ἂν ἔχων ἀπίης. Εἶεν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· ὥστε δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν, ἔφη, πόσα ἂν μοι χρήματα δοίης; Ὅποσα ἂν δυναίμην, ἔφη. Τί δέ, ὥστε τοὺς παῖδας; Καὶ τούτων, ἔφη, ὅποσα ἂν δυναίμην. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ταῦτα μὲν ἤδη διπλάσια τῶν ὄντων. [3.1.36] σὺ δέ, ἔφη, ὦ Τιγράνη, λέξον μοι πόσοι ἂν πρίαμο ὥστε τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπολαβεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε νεόγαμός τε ὧν καὶ ὑπερφιλῶν τὴν γυναῖκα. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, κὰν τῆς ψυχῆς πριαίμην ὥστε μήποτε λατρεῦσαι ταύτην. [3.1.37] Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἀπάγου τὴν σὴν· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰληφθαι ἔγωγε αἰχμάλωτον ταύτην νομίζω σοῦ γε μηπώποτε φυγόντος ἡμᾶς. καὶ σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, ἀπάγου τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας μηδὲν αὐτῶν καταθείς, ἵν' εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι πρὸς σὲ ἀπέρχονται. καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἔφη, δειπνεῖτε παρ' ἡμῖν· δειπνήσαντες δὲ ἀπελαύνετε ὅποι ὑμῖν θυμός. οὕτω δὴ κατέμειναν.

[3.1.38] Διασκεπνούντων δὲ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐπῆρετο ὁ Κῦρος· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Τιγράνη, ποῦ δὴ ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὃς συνεθήρα ἡμῖν καὶ σὺ μοι μάλα ἐδόκεις θαυμάζειν αὐτόν. Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν οὕτοσι ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ; Τί λαβὼν ἀδικοῦντα; Διαφθείρειν αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐμέ. καίτοι [γ', ἔφη], ὦ Κῦρε, οὕτω καλὸς κ' ἀγαθὸς ἐκεῖνος ἦν ὥς καὶ ὅτε ἀποθνήσκῃν ἔμελλε προσκαλέσας με εἶπε· Μήτι σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Τιγράνη, ὅτι ἀποκτείνει με, χαλεπανθήῃς τῷ πατρί· οὐ γὰρ κακονοίαι τῇ σῇ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγνοίαι· ὅποσα δὲ ἀγνοίαι ἄνθρωποι ἐξαμαρτάνουσι, πάντ' ἀκούσια ταῦτ' ἔγωγε νομίζω. [3.1.39] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶπε· Φεῦ τοῦ ἀνδρός. ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος

ἔλεξεν· Οὔτοι, ἔφη, ὧ Κῦρε, οὐδ' οἱ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖξι λαμβάνοντες συνόντας ἀλλοτρίους ἄνδρας οὐ τοῦτο αἰτιώμενοι αὐτοὺς κατακαίνουσιν ὡς ἱάμαθεστέρας† ποιοῦντας τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες ἀφαιρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, διὰ τοῦτο ὡς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς χρῶνται. καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκείνῳι, ἔφη, ἐφθόνουν, ὅτι μοι ἐδόκει τοῦτον ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μᾶλλον θαυμάζειν ἢ ἐμέ. [3.1.40] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, ἀνθρώπινά μοι δοκεῖς ἀμαρτεῖν· καὶ σύ, ὦ Τιγράνη, συγγίγνωσκε τῷ πατρί. τότε μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα διαλεχθέντες καὶ φιλοφρονηθέντες ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ συναλλαγῆς, ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρμαμάζας σὺν ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἀπήλαυνον εὐφραινόμενοι.

[3.1.41] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον οἴκαδε, ἔλεγον τοῦ Κύρου ὁ μὲν τις τὴν σοφίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν καρτερίαν, ὁ δὲ τὴν πραιότητα, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπήρετο τὴν γυναῖκα· Ἥ καὶ σοί, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρμενία, καλὸς ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος εἶναι; Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐκείνῳι ἐθεώμην. Ἀλλὰ τίνα μήν; ἔφη ὁ Τιγράνης. Τὸν εἰπόντα νῆ Δία ὡς τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἂν πρίατο ὥστε μὴ με δουλεύειν. τότε μὲν δὴ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐκ τοιούτων ἀνεπαύοντο σὺν ἀλλήλοις.

[3.1.42] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ Ἀρμένιος Κύρῳ μὲν καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπάσῃ ξένια ἔπεμπε, προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, οὓς δεήσοι στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν παρεῖναι· τὰ δὲ χρήματα ὧν εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος διπλάσια ἀπηρίθμησεν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὅσα εἶπε λαβὼν ἄλλα ἀπέπεμψεν· ἤρετο δὲ πότερος ἔσται ὁ ἴσο στρατεύμα ἄγων, ὁ παῖς ἢ αὐτός. εἰπέτην δὲ ἅμα ὁ μὲν πατὴρ οὕτως· Ὅποτερον ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὕτως· Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀπολείψομαί σου, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδ' ἂν σκευοφόρον ἐμὲ δέησι σοι συνακολουθεῖν. [3.1.43] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιγελάσας εἶπε· Καὶ ἐπὶ πόσῳ ἂν, ἔφη, ἐθέλοις τὴν γυναῖκά σου ἀκοῦσαι ὅτι σκευοφορεῖς; Ἀλλ' οὐδέν, ἔφη, ἀκούειν δεήσει αὐτήν· ἄξω γάρ, ὥστε ὁρᾶν ἐξέσται αὐτῇ ὅ τι ἂν ἐγὼ πράττω. Ὡρα ἂν, ἔφη, συσκευάζεσθαι ὑμῖν εἶη. Νόμιζ', ἔφη, συνεσκευασμένους παρέσεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν ὁ πατὴρ δῶι. τότε μὲν δὴ ξενισθέντες οἱ στρατιῶται ἐκοιμήθησαν.

[3.2.1] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Τιγράνην καὶ τῶν Μήδων ἱπέων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ὀπόσους καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, περιελάυνων τὴν χώραν κατεθεᾶτο, σκοπῶν ποῦ τειχίσειε φρούριον. καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρον τι ἐλθὼν ἐπηρώτα τὸν Τιγράνην

ποῖα εἶη τῶν ὀρέων ὀπόθεν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι καταθέοντες λήζονται. καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης ἐδείκνυνεν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἤρετο· Νῦν δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ὄρη ἔρημά ἐστιν; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ σκοποὶ εἰσὶν ἐκείνων οἱ σημαίνουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὃ τι ἂν ὀρώσι. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ποιοῦσιν, ἐπὴν αἰσθωνται; Βοηθοῦσιν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄκρα, ὥς ἂν ἕκαστος δύνηται. [3.2.2] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἠκηκόει· σκοπῶν δὲ κατενόει πολλὴν τῆς χώρας τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἔρημον καὶ ἀργὸν οὔσαν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. [3.2.3] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ αὐτός τε ὁ Τιγράνης παρὴν συνεσκευασμένος καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους συνελέγοντο αὐτῷ καὶ τοξόται εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ πελτασταὶ ἄλλοι τοσοῦτοι. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν ᾧ συνελέγοντο ἐθύετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν αὐτῷ, συνεκάλεσε τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς τῶν Μήδων. [3.2.4] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁμοῦ ἦσαν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἔστι μὲν τὰ ὄρη ταῦτα ἃ ὀρώμεν Χαλδαίων· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καταλάβοιμεν καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρου γένοιτο ἡμέτερον φρούριον, σωφρονεῖν ἀνάγκη ἂν εἶη πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέροις, τοῖς τε Ἀρμενίοις καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἱερὰ καλὰ ἡμῖν· ἀνθρωπίνῃ δὲ προθυμίᾳ εἰς τὸ πραχθῆναι ταῦτα οὐδὲν οὔτω μέγα σύμμαχον ἂν γένοιτο ὥς τάχος. ἦν γὰρ φθάσωμεν πρὶν τοὺς πολεμίους συλλεγῆναι ἀναβάντες, ἢ παντάπασιν ἀμαχεὶ λάβοιμεν ἂν τὸ ἄκρον ἢ ὀλίγοις τε καὶ ἀσθενέσι χρησαίμεθ' ἂν πολεμίους. [3.2.5] τῶν οὖν πόνων οὐδεὶς ῥάϊων οὐδ' ἀκινδυνότερος, ἔφη, ἐστὶ τοῦ νῦν καρτερῆσαι σπεύδοντας. ἴτε οὖν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ... Ὑμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Μῆδοι, ἐν ἀριστεραῖς ἡμῶν πορεύεσθε· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ἀρμένιοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν δεξιᾷ, οἱ δ' ἡμίσεις ἔμπροσθεν ἡμῶν ἡγεῖσθε· ὑμεῖς δ', ὦ ἵππεῖς, ὀπισθεν ἔπεσθε παρακελευόμενοι καὶ ὠθοῦντες ἄνω ἡμᾶς, ἦν δέ τις μαλακύνεται, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε. [3.2.6] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἡγεῖτο ὀρθίους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόχους. οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ὥς ἔγνωσαν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἄνω οὔσαν, εὐθὺς ἐσήμαινόν τε τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ συνεβόων ἀλλήλους καὶ συνηθορίζοντο. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος παρηγγύα, Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ἡμῖν σημαίνουσι σπεύδειν. ἦν γὰρ φθάσωμεν ἄνω γενόμενοι, οὐδὲν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δυνήσεται.

[3.2.7] Εἶχον δ' οἱ Χαλδαῖοι γέρρα τε καὶ παλτὰ δύο· καὶ πολεμικώτατοι δὲ λέγονται οὗτοι τῶν περὶ ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν εἶναι· καὶ μισθοῦ στρατεύονται, ὅποταν τις αὐτῶν δέηται, διὰ τὸ πολεμικοὶ τε καὶ πένητες εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χώρα αὐτοῖς ὀρεινὴ τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ὀλίγη

ἢ τὰ χρήματα ἔχουσα. [3.2.8] ὥς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐπλησίαζον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον τῶν ἄκρων, ὁ Τιγράνης σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ πορευόμενος εἶπεν· Ὡ Κῦρε, ἄρ' οἶσθ', ἔφη, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα δεήσει μάχεσθαι; ὥς οἱ γε Ἀρμένιοι οὐ μὴ δέξονται τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ ὁ Κύρος εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰδείη τοῦτο, εὐθὺς παρηγγύησε τοῖς Πέρσαις παρασκευάζεσθαι, ὥς αὐτίκα δεῆσον διώκειν, ἐπειδὰν ὑπαγάγωσι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Ἀρμένιοι ὥστ' ἐγγὺς ἡμῖν γενέσθαι. [3.2.9] οὕτω δὴ ἡγοῦντο μὲν οἱ Ἀρμένιοι· τῶν δὲ Χαλδαίων οἱ παρόντες, ὥς ἐπλησίαζον οἱ Ἀρμένιοι· ἀλαλάξαντες ἔθεον, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, εἰς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ Ἀρμένιοι, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, οὐκ ἐδέχοντο. [3.2.10] ὥς δὲ διώκοντες οἱ Χαλδαῖοι εἶδον ἐναντίους μαχαιροφόρους ἱεμένους ἄνω, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτοῖς πελάσαντες ταχὺ ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δ' ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ ἐάλωσαν αὐτῶν, ταχὺ δὲ εἶχετο τὰ ἄκρα. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἄκρα εἶχον οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον, καθεώρων τε τῶν Χαλδαίων τὰς οἰκῆσεις καὶ ἡισθάνοντο φεύγοντας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκίσεων. [3.2.11] ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ὥς πάντες οἱ στρατιῶται ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι παρήγγειλεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡριστήκεσαν, καταμαθὼν ἔνθα αἱ σκοπαὶ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐρυμνὸν τε ὄν καὶ ἔνυδρον, εὐθὺς ἐτείχιζε φρουρίον· καὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐκέλευε πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ κελεύειν παραγενέσθαι ἔχοντα ὅποσοι εἶεν τέκτονές τε καὶ λιθοτόμοι. ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τὸν Ἀρμένιον ὦιχετο ἄγγελος· ὁ δὲ Κύρος τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐτείχιζεν.

[3.2.12] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσάγουσι τῷ Κύρῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ τετρωμένους. ὥς δὲ εἶδεν, εὐθὺς λύειν μὲν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς δεδεμένους, τοὺς δὲ τετρωμένους ἰατροὺς καλέσας θεραπεύειν ἐκέλευσεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἔλεξε τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ὅτι ἤκοι οὔτε ἀπολέσαι ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκείνους οὔτε πολεμεῖν δεόμενος, ἀλλ' εἰρήνην βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Χαλδαίοις. Πρὶν μὲν οὖν ἔχεσθαι τὰ ἄκρα οἷδ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐδεῖσθε εἰρήνης· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑμέτερα ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε, τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἤγαγε καὶ ἐφέρετε· νῦν δὲ ὁρᾶτε δὴ ἐν οἷω ἐστέ. [3.2.13] ἐγὼ οὖν ἀφήμι ὑμᾶς οἵκαδε τοὺς εἰλημμένους, καὶ δίδωμι ὑμῖν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις βουλευσασθαι εἴτε βούλεσθε πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν εἴτε φίλοι εἶναι. καὶ ἦν μὲν πόλεμον αἰρήσθε, μηκέτι ἤκετε δεῦρο ἄνευ ὅπλων, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε· ἦν δὲ εἰρήνης δοκῆτε δεῖσθαι, ἄνευ ὅπλων ἤκετε· ὥς δὲ καλῶς ἔξει τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἦν φίλοι γένησθε, ἐμοὶ μελήσει. [3.2.14] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπαινέσαντες, πολλὰ δὲ δεξιωσάμενοι τὸν

Κῦρον ὦιχοντο οἴκαδε.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρμένιος ὡς ἤκουσε τὴν τε κλῆσιν τοῦ Κύρου καὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, λαβὼν τοὺς τέκτονας καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσων ὤιετο δεῖν, ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα. [3.2.15] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, ἔλεξεν· ὦ Κῦρε, ὡς ὀλίγα δυνάμενοι προορᾶν ἄνθρωποι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος πολλὰ ἐπιχειροῦμεν πράττειν. νῦν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ ἐλευθερίαν μὲν μηχανᾶσθαι ἐπιχειρήσας δοῦλος ὡς οὐδεπώποτε ἐγενόμην· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐάλωμεν, σαθῶς ἀπολωλέναι νομίσαντες νῦν ἀναφαινόμεθα σεσωσμένοι ὡς οὐδεπώποτε. οἱ γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε ἐπαύοντο πολλὰ κακὰ ἡμᾶς ποιοῦντες, νῦν ὁρῶ τούτους ἔχοντας ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ηὔχόμην. [3.2.16] καὶ τοῦτο ἐπίστω, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ὥστε ἀπελάσαι Χαλδαίους ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἄκρων πολλαπλάσια ἂν ἔδωκα χρήματα ὧν σύ νῦν ἔχεις παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἂ ὑπισχνοῦ ποιήσῃν ἀγαθὰ ἡμᾶς ὅτ' ἐλάμβανες τὰ χρήματα, ἀποτετέλεσται σοι ἤδη, ὥστε καὶ προσοφείλοντές σοι ἄλλας χάριτας ἀναπεφίναμεν, ἃς ἡμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ κακοὶ ἐσμεν, αἰσχυνοίμεθ' ἂν σοι μὴ ἀποδιδόντες. [3.2.17] ὁ μὲν Ἀρμένιος τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξεν.

Οἱ δὲ Χαλδαῖοι ἦκον δεόμενοι τοῦ Κύρου εἰρήνην σφίσι ποιῆσαι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο αὐτούς· Ἄλλο τι, ἔφη, ὦ Χαλδαῖοι, ἢ τούτου ἔνεκα εἰρήνης νῦν ἐπιθυμεῖτε ὅτι νομίζετε ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν δύνασθαι ζῆν εἰρήνης γενομένης ἢ πολεμοῦντες, ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς τάδ' ἔχομεν; ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι. [3.2.18] καὶ ὅς, Τί δ', ἔφη, εἰ καὶ ἄλλα ὑμῖν ἀγαθὰ προσγένεοιτο διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην; Ἔτι ἂν, ἔφασαν, μᾶλλον εὐφραينوίμεθα. Ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἔφη, ἢ διὰ τὸ γῆς σπανίζειν ἀγαθῆς νῦν πένητες νομίζετ' εἶναι; συνέφασαν καὶ τοῦτο. Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, βούλοισθ' ἂν ἀποτελοῦντες ὅσαπερ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀρμένιοι ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν τῆς Ἀρμενίας [γῆς] ἐργάζεσθαι ὁπόσῃν ἂν θέλητε; ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰ πιστεύοιμεν μὴ ἀδικήσεσθαι. [3.2.19] Τί δέ, σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, βούλοιο ἂν σοι τὴν νῦν ἀργὸν οὖσαν [γῆν] ἐνεργὸν γενέσθαι, εἰ μέλλοιεν τὰ νομιζόμενα παρὰ σοὶ ἀποτελεῖν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι; ἔφη ὁ Ἀρμένιος πολλοῦ ἂν τοῦτο πρίασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοδον. [3.2.20] Τί δ', ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐπεὶ ὄρη ἀγαθὰ ἔχετε, ἐθέλοιτ' ἂν ἔαν νέμειν ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, εἰ ὑμῖν μέλλοιεν οἱ νέμοντες τὰ δίκαια ἀποτελεῖν; ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι· πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν ὠφελεῖσθαι οὐδὲν πονοῦντες. Σὺ δέ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρμένιε, ἐθέλοις ἂν ταῖς τούτων νομαῖς χρῆσθαι, εἰ μέλλοις μικρὰ ὠφελῶν Χαλδαίους πολὺ πλείω ὠφελήσεσθαι; Καὶ σφόδρα ἂν, ἔφη,

εἴπερ οἰοίμην ἀσφαλῶς νεμεῖν. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀσφαλῶς ἂν νέμοιτε, εἰ τὰ ἄκρα ἔχοιτε σύμμαχα; ἔφη ὁ Ἀρμένιος. [3.2.21] Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφασαν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν ἡμεῖς ἀσφαλῶς ἐργαζοίμεθα μὴ ὅτι τὴν τούτων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἂν τὴν ἡμετέραν, εἰ οὗτοι τὰ ἄκρα ἔχοιεν. Εἰ δ' ὑμῖν αὖ, ἔφη, τὰ ἄκρα σύμμαχα εἶεν; Οὕτως ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἡμῖν καλῶς ἔχοι. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀρμένιος, οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν αὖ καλῶς ἔχοι, εἰ οὗτοι παραλήψονται πάλιν τὰ ἄκρα ἄλλως τε καὶ τετειχισμένα. [3.2.22] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Οὕτωςι τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ποιήσω· οὐδετέροις ὑμῖν τὰ ἄκρα παραδώσω, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς φυλάξομεν αὐτά· κἂν ἀδικῶσιν ὑμῶν ὁπότεροι, σὺν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα.

[3.2.23] Ὡς δ' ἤκουσαν ταῦτα ἀμφοτέροι, ἐπήνεσαν καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι οὕτως ἂν μόνως ἡ εἰρήνη βεβαία γένοιτο. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον πάντες τὰ πιστά, καὶ ἐλευθέρους μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἶναι συνετίθεντο, ἐπιγαμίας δ' εἶναι καὶ ἐπεργασίας καὶ ἐπινομίας, καὶ ἐπιμαχίαν δὲ κοινήν, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖη ὁποτέρους. [3.2.24] οὕτω μὲν οὖν τότε διεπράχθη· καὶ νῦν δὲ ἔτι οὕτω διαμένουσιν αἱ τότε γενόμεναι συνθήκαι Χαλδαίοις καὶ τῷ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἔχοντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ αἱ συνθήκαι ἐγεγένηντο, εὐθὺς συνετείχίζον τε ἀμφοτέροι προθύμως ὥς κοινὸν φρούριον καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συνεισῆγον. [3.2.25] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσπέρα προσῆιε, συνδείπνους ἔλαβεν ἀμφοτέρους πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὥς φίλους ἦδη. συσκηνοῦντων δὲ εἶπε τις τῶν Χαλδαίων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις σφῶν πᾶσιν εὐκτὰ ταῦτα εἶη· εἰσὶ δέ τινες τῶν Χαλδαίων οἱ ληιζόμενοι ζῶσι καὶ οὗτ' ἐπίστανται ἐργάζεσθαι οὗτ' ἂν δύναιτο, εἰθισμένοι ἀπὸ πολέμου βιοτεύειν· αἰεὶ γὰρ ἐλήζοντο ἢ ἐμισθοφόρουν, πολλάκις μὲν παρὰ τῷ Ἰνδῶν βασιλεῖ [καὶ γάρ, ἔφασαν, πολύχρυσος ἀνήρ], πολλάκις δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀστυάγει. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Τί οὖν οὐ καὶ νῦν παρ' ἐμοὶ μισθοφοροῦσιν; [3.2.26] ἐγὼ γὰρ δώσω ὅσον τις καὶ ἄλλος πλεῖστον δῆποτε ἔδωκε. συνέφασαν [οἱ], καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἔσεσθαι ἔλεγον τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας.

[3.2.27] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω συνωμολογεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὥς ἤκουσεν ὅτι πολλάκις πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδὸν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἀναμνησθεὶς ὅτι ἦλθον παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευσόμενοι εἰς Μήδους τὰ αὐτῶν πράγματα καὶ ὦιχοντο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅπως αὖ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων κατίδωσιν, ἐβούλετο μαθεῖν τὸν Ἰνδὸν τὰ αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα. [3.2.28] ἤρξατο οὖν λόγου τοιοῦδε· ὦ Ἀρμένιε, ἔφη, καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ Χαλδαῖοι, εἵπατέ μοι, εἴ τινα ἐγὼ νῦν τῶν ἐμῶν ἀποστέλλοιμι πρὸς τὸν Ἰνδόν, συμπέμψαιτ' ἂν μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων

οἵτινες αὐτῷ τὴν τε ὁδὸν ἡγοῖντο ἂν καὶ συμπράττοιεν ὥστε γενέσθαι ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἢ ἐγὼ βούλομαι; ἐγὼ γὰρ χρήματα μὲν προσγενέσθαι ἔτι ἂν βουλοίμην ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἔχω καὶ μισθὸν ἀφθόνως διδόναι οἷς ἂν δέῃ καὶ τιμὰν καὶ δωρεῖσθαι τῶν συστρατευομένων τοὺς ἀξίους· τούτων δὴ ἔνεκα βούλομαι ὡς ἀφθονώτατα χρήματα ἔχειν, δεῖσθαι τούτων νομίζων. τῶν δὲ ὑμετέρων ἡδὺ μοι ἀπέχεσθαι φαίνεται· φίλους γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἤδη νομίζω· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ ἡδέως ἂν λάβοιμι, εἰ διδοίη. [3.2.29] ὁ οὖν ἄγγελος, ὃν κελεύω ὑμᾶς ἡγεμόνας δοῦναι καὶ συμπράκτορας [γενέσθαι], ἐλθὼν ἐκείσε ὧδε λέξει· Ἐπεμψέ με Κῦρος, ὃ Ἰνδέ, πρὸς σέ· φησὶ δὲ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, προσδεχόμενος ἄλλην στρατιὰν οἰκοθεν ἐκ Περσῶν· καὶ γὰρ προσδέχομαι, ἔφη· ἦν οὖν αὐτῷ πέμψης ὅποσα σοι προχωρεῖ, φησὶν, ἦν θεὸς ἀγαθὸν τέλος διδοῖ αὐτῷ, πειράσεσθαι ποιῆσαι ὥστε σε νομίζειν καλῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι χαρισάμενον αὐτῷ. [3.2.30] ταῦτα μὲν ὁ παρ' ἐμοῦ λέξει. τοῖς δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἐπιστέλλετε ὃ τι ὑμῖν σύμφορον δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ ἦν μὲν λάβωμεν, ἔφη, παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀφθονωτέροις χρησόμεθα· ἦν δὲ μὴ λάβωμεν, εἰσόμεθα ὅτι οὐδεμίαν αὐτῷ χάριν ὀφειλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέσται ἡμῖν ἐκείνου ἔνεκα πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον συμφέρον πάντα τίθεσθαι. [3.2.31] ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, νομίζων τοὺς ἰόντας Ἀρμενίων καὶ Χαλδαίων τοιαῦτα λέξιν περὶ αὐτοῦ οἷα αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμει πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ, ὅποτε καλῶς εἶχε, διαλύσαντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἀνεπαύοντο.

[3.3.1] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὃ τε Κῦρος ἔπεμπε τὸν ἄγγελον ἐπιστείλας ὅσαπερ ἔφη καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος καὶ οἱ Χαλδαῖοι συνέπεμπον οὓς ἱκανωτάτους ἐνόμιζον εἶναι καὶ συμπράττειν καὶ εἰπεῖν περὶ Κύρου τὰ προσήκοντα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατασκευάσας ὁ Κῦρος τὸ φρούριον καὶ φύλαξιν ἱκανοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις πᾶσι καὶ ἄρχοντ' αὐτῶν καταλιπὼν Μῆδον ὃν ὤιετο Κυαξάρῃ ἂν μάλιστα χαρίσασθαι, ἀπήγει συλλαβὴν τὸ στράτευμα ὅσον τε ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ ὁ παρ' Ἀρμενίων προσέλαβε, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ Χαλδαίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, οἱ ὧιοντο καὶ συμπάντων τῶν ἄλλων κρεῖττονες εἶναι. [3.3.2] ὥς δὲ κατέβη εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, οὐδεὶς ἔμεινεν ἔνδον Ἀρμενίων οὔτ' ἀνὴρ οὔτε γυνή, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὑπήντων ἡδόμενοι τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ φέροντες καὶ ἄγοντες ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἄξιον εἶχε. καὶ ὁ Ἀρμένιος τούτοις οὐκ ἤχθετο, οὕτως ἂν νομίζων καὶ τὸν Κῦρον μᾶλλον ἡδεσθαι τῇ ὑπὸ πάντων τιμῇ. τέλος δὲ ὑπήντησε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὰς

θυγατέρας ἔχουσα καὶ τὸν νεώτερον υἱόν, καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις δώροις τὸ χρυσίον ἐκόμιζεν ὁ πρότερον οὐκ ἤλθε λαβεῖν Κῦρος. [3.3.3] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἰδὼν εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ οὐ ποιήσετε μισθοῦ περίοντα εὐεργετεῖν, ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ γύναι, ἔχουσα ταῦτα τὰ χρήματα ἃ φέρεις ἅπιθι, καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἀρμενίῳ μηκέτι δῶις αὐτὰ κατορύζαι, ἔκπεμψον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ὡς κάλλιστα ἀπ' αὐτῶν κατασκευάσασα ἐπὶ τὴν στρατίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν κτῶ καὶ σαυτῇ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς ὃ τι κεκτημένοι καὶ κοσμήσεσθε κάλλιον καὶ ἥδιον τὸν αἰῶνα διάξετε· εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν, ἔφη, ἀρκεῖτω τὰ σώματα, ὅταν ἕκαστος τελευτήσῃ, κατακρύπτειν. [3.3.4] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν παρήλαυνεν· ὁ δ' Ἀρμένιος συμπρούπεμπε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἄνθρωποι, ἀνακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐεργέτην, τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀγαθόν· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἕως ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξέπεμψαν. συναπέστειλε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀρμένιος καὶ στρατίαν πλείονα, ὡς εἰρήνης οἴκοι οὔσης. [3.3.5] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπήιει κεχρηματισμένος οὐχ ἃ ἔλαβε μόνον χρήματα, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν πλείονα τούτων ἡτοιμασμένος διὰ τὸν τρόπον, ὥστε λαμβάνειν ὁπότε δέοιτο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸ μὲν στράτευμα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Κυαζάρην· ὁ δὲ πλησίον ἦν, ὥσπερ ἔφησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν Τιγράνῃ καὶ Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐθήρα ὅπουπερ ἐπιτυγχάνοιεν θηρίοις καὶ ἡφραίνετο.

[3.3.6] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφίκετο εἰς Μήδους, τῶν χρημάτων ἔδωκε τοῖς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχοις ὅσα ἐδόκει ἐκάστω ἱκανὰ εἶναι, ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἔχοιεν τιμᾶν, εἴ τινας ἄγαιντο τῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦς· ἐνόμιζε γάρ, εἰ ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος ἀξίεπαινον ποιήσῃ, τὸ ὅλον αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὃ τι πούκαλὸν ἴδοι ἐς στρατίαν, ταῦτα κτῶμενος διεδωρεῖτο τοῖς ἀεὶ ἀξιωτάτοις, νομίζων ὃ τι καλὸν κ' ἀγαθὸν ἔχει τὸ στράτευμα, τούτοις ἅπασιν αὐτὸς κεκοσμηθῆναι. [3.3.7] ἥνίκα δὲ αὐτοῖς διεδίδου ὧν ἔλαβεν, ἔλεξεν ὧδέ πως εἰς τὸ μέσον τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ πάντων ὅσους ἐτίμα. Ἄνδρες φίλοι, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνη τις νῦν παρεῖναι, καὶ ὅτι εὐπορία τις προσγεγένηται καὶ ὅτι ἔχομεν ἀφ' ὧν τιμᾶν ἔχομεν οὕς ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὡς ἂν ἕκαστος ἄξιος ᾖ. [3.3.8] πάντως δὴ ἀναμνησκόμεθα τὰ ποτ' ἄττα ἔργα τούτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐστὶν αἷτια· σκοπούμενοι γὰρ εὐρήσετε τό τε ἀγρυπνήσαι ὅπου ἔδει καὶ τὸ πονῆσαι καὶ τὸ σπεῦσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις. οὕτως οὖν χρή καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, γινώσκοντας ὅτι τὰς μεγάλας ἡδονὰς καὶ τ' ἀγαθὰ τὰ μεγάλα ἢ

πειθῶ καὶ ἡ καρτερία καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ πόνοι καὶ κίνδυνοι παρέχονται.

[3.3.9] Κατανοῶν δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εὖ μὲν αὐτῷ εἶχον τὰ σώματα οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι στρατιωτικούς πόνους φέρειν, εὖ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπιστήμονες δ' ἦσαν τὰ προσήκοντα τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἑκάστοι ὀπλίσει, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐώρα πάντας εὖ παρεσκευασμένους, ἐκ τούτων οὖν ἐπεθύμει τι ἤδη τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους πράττειν, γινώσκων ὅτι ἐν τῷ μέλλειν πολλάκις τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆς καλῆς παρασκευῆς ἀλλοιοῦνται τι. [3.3.10] ἔτι δ' ὁρῶν ὅτι φιλοτίμως ἔχοντες ἐν οἷς ἀντηγωνίζοντο πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπιφθόνως εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ τούτων ἔνεκα ἐξάγειν αὐτοὺς ἐβούλετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ὡς τάχιστα, εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ κοινοὶ κίνδυνοι φιλοφρόνως ποιοῦσιν ἔχειν τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὐκέτι ἐν τούτῳ οὔτε τοῖς ἐν ὅπλοις κοσμουμένοις φθονοῦσιν οὔτε τοῖς δόξης ἐφιεμένοις, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ ἀσπάζονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι τοὺς ὁμοίους, νομίζοντες συνεργοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι. [3.3.11] οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐξώπλισε τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κατέταξεν ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα, ἔπειτα δὲ συνεκάλεσε μυριάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγούς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀπολελυμένοι ἦσαν τοῦ καταλέγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς τακτικοῖς ἀριθμοῖς, καὶ ὁπότε δέοι ἢ ὑπακούειν τῷ στρατηγῷ ἢ παραγγέλλειν τι, οὐδ' ὥς οὐδὲν ἄναρχον κατελείπετο, ἀλλὰ δωδεκαδάρχους καὶ ἐξαδάρχους πάντα τὰ καταλειπόμενα διεκοσμεῖτο. [3.3.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐπικαίριοι, παράγων αὐτοὺς ἐπεδείκνυε τε αὐτοῖς τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἢ ἑκαστον ἰσχυρῶν ἦν τῶν συμμαχικῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κ' ἀκείνους ἐποίησεν ἐρωτικῶς ἔχειν τοῦ ἤδη ποιεῖν τι, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς νῦν μὲν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις καὶ διδάσκειν ἑκαστον τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἀκείνους, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβαλεῖν πᾶσι τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, ὅπως εὐθυμότατα πάντες ἐξορμῶντο, πρῶι δὲ παρεῖναι ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας. [3.3.13] τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες οὕτω πάντες ἐποίουν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρήσαν οἱ ἐπικαίριοι ἐπὶ θύραις, σὺν τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κῦρος εἰσελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἤρχετο λόγου τοιοῦδε.

Οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Κυαξάρη, ὅτι ἂ μέλλω λέγειν σοὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ἡμῖν· ἀλλ' ἴσως αἰσχύνῃ λέγειν ταῦτα, μὴ δοκῆς ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τρέφεις ἡμᾶς ἐξόδου μεμνησθαι. [3.3.14] ἐπεὶ οὖν σὺ

σιωπαῖς, ἐγὼ λέξω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. ἡμῖν γὰρ δοκεῖ παῖσιν, ἐπεῖτερ παρεσκευάσμεθα, μὴ ἐπειδὴν ἐμβάλωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν σὴν χώραν, τότε μάχεσθαι, μηδ' ἐν τῇ φιλίας καθημένους ἡμᾶς ὑπομένειν, ἀλλ' ἰέναι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. [3.3.15] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ σῇ χώρᾳ ὄντες πολλὰ τῶν σῶν σινόμεθα ἄκοντες· ἦν δ' εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἴωμεν, τὰ ἐκείνων κακῶς ποιήσομεν ἠδόμενοι. [3.3.16] ἔπειτα νῦν μὲν σὺ ἡμᾶς τρέφεις πολλὰ δαπανῶν, ἦν δ' ἐκστρατευσώμεθα θρεψόμεθα ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας. [3.3.17] ἔτι δὲ εἰ μὲν μείζων τις ἡμῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἔμελλεν εἶναι ἐκεῖ ἢ ἐνθάδε, ἴσως τὸ ἀσφαλέστατον ἦν αἰρετέον. νῦν δὲ ἴσοι μὲν ἐκείνοι ἔσονται, ἦν τε ἐνθάδε ὑπομένωμεν ἦν τε εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων ἰόντες ὑπαντῶμεν αὐτοῖς· ἴσοι δὲ ἡμεῖς ὄντες μαχούμεθα, ἦν τε ἐνθάδε ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς δεχώμεθα ἦν τε ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἰόντες τὴν μάχην συνάπτωμεν. [3.3.18] πολὺ μέντοι ἡμεῖς βελτίοσι καὶ ἔρρωμενεστέραις ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν χρησόμεθα, ἦν ἴωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ μὴ ἄκοντες ὁρᾶν δοκῶμεν τοὺς πολεμίους· πολὺ δὲ κ' ἀκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἡμᾶς φοβήσονται, ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι οὐ φοβούμενοι πτήσσομεν αὐτοὺς οἴκοι καθήμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ αἰσθανόμεθα προσιόντας, ἀπαντῶμέν τε αὐτοῖς, ἴν' ὡς τάχιστα συμμείξωμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀναμένομεν ἕως ἂν ἡ ἡμετέρα χώρα κακῶται, ἀλλὰ φθάνοντες ἤδη δημιουργοῦμεν τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν. [3.3.19] καίτοι, ἔφη, εἴ τι ἐκείνους μὲν φοβερωτέρους ποιήσομεν, ἡμᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς θαρραλεωτέρους, πολὺ τοῦτο ἡμῖν ἐγὼ πλεονέκτημα νομίζω, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως ἡμῖν μὲν ἐλάττω λογίζομαι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις μείζω. πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον, <ὥς> καὶ ὁ πατήρ αἰεὶ λέγει καὶ σὺ φῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν ὡς αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ταῖς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμας. [3.3.20] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε· Κυαξάρης δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, ἐγὼ ἄχθομαι ὑμᾶς τρέφων μηδ' ὑπονοεῖτε· τό γε μέντοι ἰέναι εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἤδη καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι πρὸς πάντα. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὁμογνωμονοῦμεν, συσκευαζώμεθα καὶ ἦν τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν θάττον συγκαταινῇ, ἐξίωμεν ὡς τάχιστα.

[3.3.21] Ἐκ τούτου τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις εἶπον συσκευάζεσθαι· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυε πρῶτον μὲν Διὶ βασιλεῖ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οὓς ἡγεῖτο ἵλεως καὶ εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἡγεμόνας <ἂν> γενέσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ παραστάτας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ συμμάχους καὶ συμβούλους τῶν ἀγαθῶν. συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ ἥρωας γῆς Μηδίας οἰκήτορας καὶ κηδεμόνας. [3.3.22] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαλλιέργησέ τε καὶ ἀθρόον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ

στράτευμα πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις, τότε δὴ οἰωνοῖς χρησάμενος αἰσίοις ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα διέβη τὰ ὄρια, ἐκεῖ αὖ καὶ Γῆν ἱλάσκετο χοαῖς καὶ θεοὺς θυσίαις καὶ ἥρωας Ἀσσυρίας οἰκήτορας ἠὺμενίζετο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας αὐθις Διὶ πατρώϊω ἔθυε, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος θεῶν ἀνεφαίνετο, οὐδενὸς ἡμέλει.

[3.3.23] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καλῶς ταῦτα εἶχεν, εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς προαγαγόντες οὐ πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, τοῖς δ' ἵπποις καταδρομὴν ποιησάμενοι περιεβάλοντο πολλὴν καὶ παντοίαν λείαν. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ μεταστρατοπεδευόμενοι καὶ ἔχοντες ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ δηιοῦντες τὴν χώραν ἀνέμενον τοὺς πολεμίους. [3.3.24] ἡνίκα δὲ προσιόντες ἐλέγοντο οὐκέτι δέχ' ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν, τότε δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει· ὦ Κυαζάρη, ὥρα δὴ ἀπαντᾶν καὶ μήτε τοῖς πολεμίοις δοκεῖν μήτε τοῖς ἡμετέροις φοβουμένους μὴ ἀντιπροσιέναι, ἀλλὰ δῆλοι ὦμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἄκοντες μαχοῦμεθα. [3.3.25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνέδοξε τῷ Κυαζάρη, οὕτω δὴ συντεταγμένοι προῆσαν τοσοῦτον καθ' ἡμέραν ὅσον ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς καλῶς ἔχειν. καὶ δεῖπνον μὲν αἰεὶ κατὰ φῶς ἐποιοῦντο, πυρὰ δὲ νύκτωρ οὐκ ἔκαιον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· ἔμπροσθεν μέντοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκαιον, ὅπως ὁρῶιεν μὲν εἴ τινες νυκτὸς προσίοιεν διὰ τὸ πῦρ, μὴ ὁρῶντο δ' ὑπὸ τῶν προσιόντων. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπυρπόλουν ἀπάτης ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων. ὥστ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατάσκοποι ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὰς προφυλακὰς αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ ὀπισθεν τὰ πυρὰ εἶναι ἔτι πρόσω τοῦ στρατοπέδου οἰόμενοι εἶναι.

[3.3.26] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς, ἐπεὶ ἤδη ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατεύματα ἐγίνοντο, τάφρον περιεβάλοντο, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι βασιλεῖς, ὅπου ἂν στρατοπεδεύωνται, τάφρον περιβάλλονται εὐπετῶς διὰ τὴν πολυχειρίαν· ἴσασι γὰρ ὅτι ἱππικὸν στράτευμα ἐν νυκτὶ ταραχῶδές ἐστι καὶ δύσχρηστον ἄλλως τε καὶ βάρβαρον. [3.3.27] πεποδισμένους γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὺς ἵππους ἐπὶ ταῖς φάτναις, καὶ εἴ τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἔργον μὲν νυκτὸς λῦσαι ἵππους, ἔργον δὲ χαλινῶσαι, ἔργον δ' ἐπισάξαι, ἔργον δὲ θωρακίσασθαι, ἀναβάντας δ' ἐφ' ἵππων ἐλάσαι διὰ στρατοπέδου παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον. τούτων δὴ ἕνεκα πάντων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰ ἐρύματα περιβάλλονται, καὶ ἅμα αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸ ἐν ἐχυρῷ εἶναι ἐξουσίαν παρέχειν ὅταν βούλωνται μάχεσθαι. [3.3.28] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ἐγίνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιόντες ἀπεῖχον ὅσον παρασάγγην, οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι οὕτως

ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐν περιτεταφρευμένῳ μὲν καταφανεῖ δέ, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐν ἀφανεστάτῳ, κώμας τε καὶ γηλόφους ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος, νομίζων πάντα τὰ πολέμια ἐξαίφνης ὀρώμενα φοβερώτερα τοῖς ἐναντίοις εἶναι. καὶ ἐκείνην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὥσπερ ἔπρεπε προφυλακὰς ποιησάμενοι ἑκάτεροι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

[3.3.29] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἡγεμόνες ἀνέπαυον τὰ στρατεύματα ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ· Κῦρος δὲ καὶ Κυαξάρης συνταξάμενοι περιέμενον, ὡς εἰ προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, μαχούμενοι. ὡς δὲ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι οὐκ ἐξίοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐρύματος οὐδὲ μάχην ποιήσονται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἔλεξε τοιάδε· [3.3.30] Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ τυγχάνομεν συντεταγμένοι οὕτως ἵεναι πρὸς τὸ ἔρυμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ δηλοῦν ὅτι θέλομεν μάχεσθαι. οὕτω γάρ, ἔφη, ἐὰν μὴ ἀντεπεξίσωσιν ἐκεῖνοι, οἱ μὲν ἡμέτεροι μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες ἀπίασιν, οἱ πολέμιοι δὲ τὴν τόλμαν ἰδόντες ἡμῶν μᾶλλον φοβήσονται. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως ἐδόκει. [3.3.31] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Κυαξάρη, οὕτω ποιήσωμεν. εἰ γὰρ ἤδη ἐκφανέντες πορευσόμεθα, ὡς σὺ κελεύεις, νῦν τε προσιόντας ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι θεάσσονται οὐδὲν φοβούμενοι, εἰδότες ὅτι ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἰσι τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν, ἐπειδὴν τε μηδὲν ποιήσαντες ἀπίωμεν, πάλιν καθορῶντες ἡμῶν τὸν πλῆθος πολὺ ἐνδεέστερον τοῦ ἑαυτῶν καταφρονήσουσι, καὶ αὖριον ἐξίασι πολὺ ἐρρωμενεστέραις ταῖς γνώμαις. [3.3.32] νῦν δ', ἔφη, εἰδότες μὲν ὅτι πάρεσμεν, οὐχ ὀρῶντες δὲ ἡμᾶς, εὖ τοῦτο ἐπίστω, οὐ καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ φροντίζουσι τί ποτε τοῦτ' ἔστι, καὶ διαλεγόμενοι περὶ ἡμῶν ἐγὼ δ' ὅτι οὐδὲν παύονται. ὅταν δ' ἐξίσωσι, τότε δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἅμα φανεροὺς τε ἡμᾶς γενέσθαι καὶ ἵεναι εὐθὺς ὁμόσε, εἰληφότας αὐτοὺς ἔνθα πάλα ἐβουλόμεθα. [3.3.33] λέξαντος δ' οὕτω Κύρου συνέδοξε ταῦτα καὶ Κυαξάρη καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. καὶ τότε μὲν δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ πρὸ τῶν φυλακῶν καύσαντες ἐκοιμήθησαν. [3.3.34] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρῶι Κῦρος μὲν ἐστεφανωμένος ἔθυε, παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοτίμοις ἐστεφανωμένοις πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ παρεῖναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ θυσία, συγκαλέσας αὐτοὺς ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες, οἱ μὲν θεοί, ὡς οἳ τε μάντις φασὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖ, μάχην τ' ἔσεσθαι προαγγέλλουσι καὶ νίκην διδόασιν καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑπισχνοῦνται ἐν τοῖς

ἱεροῖς. [3.3.35] ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν μὲν παραινῶν ποίους τινὰς χρή εἶναι ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε κἂν αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν· οἶδα γὰρ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα ἐπισταμένους καὶ μεμελετηκότας καὶ ἀσκοῦντας διὰ τέλους οἷάπερ ἐγώ, ὥστε κἂν ἄλλους εἰκότως ἂν διδάσκοιτε. τάδε δὲ εἰ μὴ τυγχάνετε κατανενοηκότες, ἀκούσατε· [3.3.36] οὓς γὰρ νεωστὶ συμμάχους τε ἔχομεν καὶ πειρώμεθα ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὁμοίους ποιεῖν, τούτους δὲ ἡμᾶς δεῖ ὑπομιμνήσκειν ἐφ' οἷς τε ἐτρεφόμεθα ὑπὸ Κρυζάρου, ᾧ τε ἡσκοῦμεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τε αὐτοὺς παρακεκλήκαμεν, ὧν τε ἄσμενοι ἀνταγωνισταὶ ἔφασαν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι. [3.3.37] καὶ τοῦτο δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπομιμνήσκετε ὅτι ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα δείξει ὧν ἕκαστός ἐστιν ἄξιος. ὧν γὰρ ἂν ὀψιμαθεῖς ἄνθρωποι γένωνται, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἴ τις αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ ὑπομιμνήσκοντος δέοιντο, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὑποβολῆς δύναιτο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ εἶναι. [3.3.38] καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πράττοντες ἅμα καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πείραν λήψεσθε. ὁ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμενος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε καὶ ἄλλους βελτίους ποιεῖν εἰκότως ἂν ἤδη καὶ ἐαυτῷ συνειδείῃ τελέως ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ ὧν, ὁ δὲ τὴν τούτων ὑπόμνησιν αὐτὸς μόνος ἔχων καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγαπῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡμιτελῆ αὐτὸν νομίζοι. [3.3.39] τούτου δ' ἔνεκα οὐκ ἐγώ, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς κελεύω λέγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἀρέσκειν ὑμῖν πειρῶνται· ὑμεῖς γὰρ καὶ πλησιάζετε αὐτοῖς ἕκαστος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μέρει. εὖ δ' ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἦν θαρροῦντας τούτοις ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπιδεικνύετε, καὶ τούτους καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ θαρρεῖν διδάξετε. [3.3.40] τέλος εἶπεν ἀπιόντας ἀριστᾶν ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ σπονδὰς ποιησαμένους ἤκειν εἰς τὰς τάξεις αὐτοῖς στεφάνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπῆλθον, αὐθις τοὺς οὐραγοὺς προσεκάλεσε, καὶ τούτοις τοιάδε ἐνετέλλετο.

[3.3.41] Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, ὑμεῖς καὶ τῶν ὁμοτίμων γεγόνατε καὶ ἐπιλεγμένοι ἐστέ, οἱ δοκεῖτε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς κρατίστοις ὅμοιοι εἶναι, τῇ δ' ἡλικίᾳ καὶ φρονιμώτεροι. καὶ τοίνυν χώραν ἔχετε οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐντιμον τῶν πρωτοστατῶν· ὑμεῖς γὰρ ὀπισθεν ὄντες τοὺς τ' ἀγαθοὺς ἂν ἐφορῶντες καὶ ἐπικελεύοντες αὐτοῖς ἔτι κρείττους ποιοῖτε, καὶ εἴ τις μαλακίζοιτο, καὶ τοῦτον ὀρῶντες οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέποιτε αὐτῷ. [3.3.42] συμφέρεي δ' ὑμῖν, εἴπερ τῷ καὶ ἄλλῳ, τὸ νικᾶν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος τῆς στολῆς. ἦν δ' ἄρα ὑμᾶς καὶ οἱ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνακαλοῦντες ἔπεσθαι παρεγγυῶσιν, ὑπακούετε αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὅπως μὴδ' ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῶν ἡττηθήσεσθε, ἀντιπαρακελεύόμενοι αὐτοῖς θάττον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ ἀπιόντες, ἔφη, ἀριστήσαντες καὶ ὑμεῖς ἦκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις

ἔστεφανωμένοι ἐς τὰς τάξεις. [3.3.43] οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ δὴ ἡρισθηκότες ἐξήρισαν τε θρασέως καὶ παρετάττοντο ἐρρωμένως. παρέταττε δὲ αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ἄρματος παρελαύνων καὶ τοιάδε παρεκελεύετο.

[3.3.44] Ἄνδρες Ἀσσύριοι, νῦν δεῖ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι· νῦν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ψυχῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγὼν καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς ἐν ἣ ἔφυτε καὶ [περὶ] οἴκων ἐν οἷς ἐτράφητε, καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικῶν τε καὶ τέκνων καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν πέπασθε ἀγαθῶν. νικήσαντες μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων τούτων ὑμεῖς ὥσπερ πρόσθεν κύριοι ἔσεσθω· εἰ δ' ἡττηθήσεσθε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι παραδώσετε ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. [3.3.45] ἅτε οὖν νίκης ἐρῶντες μένοντες μάχεσθε. μῶρον γὰρ τὸ κρατεῖν βουλομένους τὰ τυφλὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἄοπλα καὶ ἄχειρα ταῦτα ἐναντία τάττειν τοῖς πολεμίοις φεύγοντας· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ζῆν βουλόμενος φεύγειν ἐπιχειροίη, εἰδὼς ὅτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες σώζονται, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀποθνήσκουσι μᾶλλον τῶν μενόντων· μῶρος δὲ καὶ εἴ τις χρημάτων ἐπιθυμῶν ἦτταν προσίεται. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν νικῶντες τά τε ἑαυτῶν σώζουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων προσλαμβάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἡττώμενοι ἅμα ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν πάντα ἀποβάλλουσιν; ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀσσύριος ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

[3.3.46] Ὁ δὲ Κυαζάρης πέμπων πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἤδη καιρὸς εἶη ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· εἰ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, ἔτι ὀλίγοι εἰσὶν οἱ ἔξω τοῦ ἐρύματος, ἐν ᾧ ἂν προσίωμων πολλοὶ ἔσονται· μὴ οὖν ἀναμείνωμεν ἕως ἂν πλείους ἡμῶν γένωνται. ἀλλ' ἴωμεν ἕως ἔτι οἰόμεθα εὐπετῶς ἂν αὐτῶν κρατῆσαι. [3.3.47] ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο· ὦ Κυαζάρη, εἰ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖν αὐτῶν ἔσονται οἱ ἡττηθέντες, εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐροῦσι φοβουμένους τὸ πλῆθος τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐ νομιοῦσιν ἡττηθῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἄλλης σοι μάχης δεήσει, ἐν ἣ ἄμεινον ἂν ἴσως βουλεύσαιντο ἢ νῦν βεβούλευνται, παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὥσθ' ὁπόσοις ἂν βουλώμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι. [3.3.48] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄγγελοι ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ὥιχοντο.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκε Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ὁμοτίμων αὐτομόλους ἄγοντες. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἡρώτα τοὺς αὐτομόλους τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ἐξίoiέν τε ἤδη σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ παρατάττοι αὐτοὺς αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔξω ὦν καὶ παρακελεύοιτο μὲν δὴ τοῖς αἰεὶ ἔξω οὔσι πολλὰ τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ὥς ἔφασαν λέγειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας. [3.3.49] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπε· Τί

δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ καὶ σὺ συγκαλέσας ἕως ἔτι ἔξεστι παρακελεύσαιο, εἰ ἄρα τι καὶ σὺ ἀμείνους ποιήσῃς τοὺς στρατιώτας; [3.3.50] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· ὦ Χρυσάντα, μηδέν σε λυπούντων αἱ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου παρακελεύσεις· οὐδεμία γάρ ἐστιν οὕτω καλὴ παραίνεσις ἣτις τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀκούσαντας ἀγαθοὺς ποιήσει· οὐκ ἂν οὖν τοξότας γε, εἰ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦτο μεμελετηκότες εἶεν, οὐδὲ μὴν ἀκοντιστάς, οὐδὲ μὴν ἱππέας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν τά γε σώματα ἱκανοὺς πονεῖν, ἣν μὴ πρόσθεν ἡσκηκότες ὦσι. [3.3.51] καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἄρκεϊ τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, ἦν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀμείνοντας παρακελευσάμενος ποιήσῃς. Ἥ καὶ δύναιτ' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς λόγος ῥηθεὶς αὐθημερὸν αἰδοῦς μὲν ἐμπλῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων, ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν κωλύσαι, προτρέψαι δὲ ὡς χρὴ ἐπαίνου μὲν ἔνεκα πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύεσθαι, λαβεῖν δ' ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις βεβαίως τοῦτο ὡς αἰρετώτερόν ἐστι μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν μᾶλλον ἢ φεύγοντας σώζεσθαι; [3.3.52] ἄρ' οὐκ, ἔφη, εἰ μέλλουσι τοιαῦτα διάνοιαι ἐγγραφῆσεσθαι ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἔμμονοι ἔσεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν νόμους ὑπάρξαι δεῖ τοιούτους δι' ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ἔντιμος καὶ ἐλευθέριος ὁ βίος παρασκευασθῇσεται, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς ταπεινός τε καὶ ἀλγεινός καὶ ἀβίωτος ὁ αἰὼν ἐπανακείσεται; [3.3.53] ἔπειτα διδασκάλους οἶμαι δεῖ καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τούτοις γενέσθαι οἱ τινες δεῖξουσὶ τε ὀρθῶς καὶ διδάξουσιν καὶ ἐθιοῦσιν ταῦτα δρᾶν, ἔστ' ἂν ἐγγένηται αὐτοῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς καὶ εὐκλεεῖς εὐδαιμονεστάτους τῶι ὄντι νομίζειν, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς καὶ δυσκλεεῖς ἀθλιωτάτους ἀπάντων ἡγεῖσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ δεῖ διατεθῆναι τοὺς μέλλοντας τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβου τὴν μάθησιν κρεῖττονα παρέξεσθαι. [3.3.54] εἰ δέ τοι ἰόντων εἰς μάχην σὺν ὅπλοις, ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν μαθημάτων ἐξίστανται, ἐν τούτῳ δυνήσεταιί τις ἀπορραψωιδήσας παραχρῆμα ἄνδρας πολεμικοὺς ποιῆσαι, πάντων ἂν ῥᾷστον εἴη καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ διδάξαι τὴν μεγίστην τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρετὴν. [3.3.55] ἐπεὶ ἔγωγ', ἔφη, οὐδ' ἂν τούτοις ἐπίστευον ἐμμόνοις ἔσεσθαι οὓς νῦν ἔχοντες παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἡσκοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐώρων παρόντας, οἱ καὶ παράδειγμα αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε οἷους χρὴ εἶναι καὶ ὑποβαλεῖν δυνήσεσθε, ἦν τι ἐπιλανθάνωνται. τοὺς δ' ἀπαιδεύτους παντάπασιν ἀρετῆς θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, εἴ τι πλεον ἂν ὠφελήσῃε λόγος καλῶς ῥηθεὶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἢ τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους μουσικῆς αἴσιμα καλῶς αἰσθὲν εἰς μουσικὴν.

[3.3.56] Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα διελέγοντο. ὁ δὲ Κναζάρης πάλιν πέμπων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξαμαρτάνοι διατρίβων καὶ οὐκ ἄγων ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ τότε τοῖς ἀγγέλοις· Ἄλλ' εὖ μὲν ἴστω, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐπω εἰσὶν ἕξω ὅσους δεῖ· καὶ ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλετε αὐτῶι ἐν ἅπασιν· ὁμως δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐκείνῳι δοκεῖ, ἄζω ἤδη. [3.3.57] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ὡς δ' ἤρξατο ἄγειν, ἤδη θᾶπτον ἡγεῖτο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο εὐτάκτως μὲν διὰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι τε καὶ μεμελετηκέναι ἐν τάξει πορεύεσθαι, ἐρρωμένως δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ σώματα ἐκπεπονησθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ πάντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς πρωτοστάτας εἶναι, ἡδέως δὲ διὰ τὸ φρονίμως ἔχειν· ἠπίσταντο γὰρ καὶ ἐκ πολλοῦ οὕτως ἐμεμαθήκεσαν ἀσφαλέστατον εἶναι καὶ ρᾶιστον τὸ ὁμόσε ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίῳις, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἀκοντισταῖς καὶ ἰππεῦσιν. [3.3.58] ἕως δ' ἔτι ἕξω βελῶν ἦσαν, παρηγγύα ὁ Κῦρος σύνθημα Ζεὺς σύμμαχος καὶ ἡγεμών. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦκε τὸ σύνθημα ἀνταποδιδόμενον, ἐξῆρχεν αὐτὸς ὁ Κῦρος παιᾶνα τὸν νομιζόμενον· οἱ δὲ θεοσεβῶς πάντες συνεπήχησαν μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ· ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οἱ δεισιδαίμονες ἤττον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φοβοῦνται. [3.3.59] ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ παιᾶν ἐγένετο, ἅμα πορευόμενοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι φαιδροὶ [πεπαιδευμένοι] καὶ παρορῶντες εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὀνομάζοντες παραστάτας, ἐπιστάτας, λέγοντες πολλὸν τὸ Ἄγετ' ἄνδρες φίλοι, Ἄγετ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, παρεκάλουν ἀλλήλους ἔπεσθαι. οἱ δ' ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες ἀντιπαρεκελεύοντο τοῖς πρώτοις ἡγεῖσθαι ἐρρωμένως. ἦν δὲ μεστὸν τὸ στράτευμα τῷ Κύρῳ προθυμίας, φιλοτιμίας, ρώμης, θάρρους, παρακελευσμοῦ, σωφροσύνης, πειθοῦς, ὅπερ οἶμαι δεινότατον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις. [3.3.60] τῶν δ' Ἀσσυρίων οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων προμαχοῦντες, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἤδη προσεμίνγνυε τὸ Περσικὸν πλῆθος, ἀνέβαινόν τε ἐπὶ τὰ ἅρματα καὶ ὑπεξῆγον πρὸς τὸ ἐαυτῶν πλῆθος· οἱ δὲ τοξόται καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ καὶ σφενδονῆται αὐτῶν ἀφίεσαν τὰ βέλη πολλὸν πρὶν ἐξικνεῖσθαι. [3.3.61] ὡς δ' ἐπίοντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπέβησαν τῶν ἀφειμένων βελῶν, ἐφθέγγατο δὴ ὁ Κῦρος· Ἄνδρες ἄριστοι, ἤδη θᾶπτόν τις ἰὼν ἐπιδεικνύτω ἐαυτὸν καὶ παρεγγυάτω. οἱ μὲν δὴ παρεδίδοσαν· ὑπὸ δὲ προθυμίας καὶ μένους καὶ τοῦ σπεύδειν συμμεῖξαι δρόμου τινὲς ἤρξαν, συνεφείπετο δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ φάλαγξ δρόμῳι. [3.3.62] καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπιλαθόμενος τοῦ βάδην δρόμῳι ἡγεῖτο, καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγγετο Τίς ἔψεται; Τίς ἀγαθός; Τίς ἄνδρα πρῶτος καταβαλεῖ; οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ταῦτο τοῦτο

ἐφθέγγοντο, καὶ διὰ πάντων δὲ ὥσπερ παρηγγύα οὕτως ἐχώρει Τίς ἔψεται; Τίς ἀγαθός; [3.3.63] οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι οὕτως ἔχοντες ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. οἱ γε μὴν πολέμιοι οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο μένειν, ἀλλὰ στραφέντες ἔφευγον εἰς τὸ ἔρυμα. [3.3.64] οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι κατὰ τε τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφεπόμενοι ὠθομένων αὐτῶν πολλοὺς κατεστρώννυσαν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἐπίπτοντας ἐπεισπηδῶντες ἐφόνευσαν ἄνδρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἵππους· ἓνια γὰρ τῶν ἀρμάτων εἰς τὰς τάφρους ἠναγκάσθη φεύγοντα ἐμπεσεῖν. [3.3.65] καὶ οἱ τῶν Μήδων δ' ἱππεῖς ὀρῶντες ταῦτα ἤλαυνον εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' ἐνέκλιναν καὶ αὐτοί. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἵππων διωγμὸς ἦν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ φόνος δὲ ἀμφοτέρων. [3.3.66] οἱ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ ἐρύματος τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐστηκότες ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς τάφρου τοξεύειν μὲν ἢ ἀκοντιζεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατακαίνοντας οὔτε ἐφρόνουν οὔτε ἐδύναντο διὰ τὰ δεινὰ ὁράματα καὶ διὰ τὸν φόβον. τάχα δὲ καὶ καταμαθόντες τῶν Περσῶν τινὰς διακεκοφότας πρὸς τὰς εἰσόδους τοῦ ἐρύματος ἐτράποντο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κεφαλῶν τῶν ἔνδον. [3.3.67] ἰδοῦσαι δ' αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἤδη φυγὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀνέκραγον καὶ ἔθεον ἐκπεπληγμέναι, αἱ μὲν καὶ τέκνα ἔχουσαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ νεώτεραι, καταρρηγνύμεναί τε πέπλους καὶ δρυπτόμεναι, καὶ ἱκετεύουσαι πάντας ὅτῳ ἐντυγχάνοιεν μὴ φεύγειν καταλιπόντας αὐτάς, ἀλλ' ἀμῦναι καὶ αὐταῖς καὶ τέκνοις καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. [3.3.68] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς σὺν τοῖς πιστοτάτοις στάντες ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρεκελεύοντο. [3.3.69] ὥς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Κῦρος τὰ γινόμενα, δείσας μὴ καὶ εἰ βιάσαιντο εἴσω, ὀλίγοι ὄντες ὑπὸ πολλῶν σφαλεῖν τι, παρηγγύησεν ἐπὶ πόδ' ἀνάγειν ἔξω βελῶν [καὶ πείθεσθαι]. [3.3.70] ἔνθα δὴ ἔγνω τις ἂν τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πεπαιδευμένους ὥς δεῖ· ταχὺ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐπείθοντο, ταχὺ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγελλον. ὥς δ' ἔξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, ἔστησαν κατὰ χώραν, πολὺ μᾶλλον χοροῦ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ὅπου ἔδει ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι.

Βιβλίον δ'

[4.1.1] Μείνας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος μέτριον χρόνον αὐτοῦ σὺν τῷ στρατεύ-ματι καὶ δηλώσας ὅτι ἔτοιμοί εἰσι μάχεσθαι εἴ τις ἐξέρχοιτο, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήκει, ἀπήγαγεν ὅσον ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. φυλακὰς δὲ καταστησάμενος καὶ σκοποὺς προπέμψας, στὰς εἰς τὸ μέσον συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [4.1.2] Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ ἐπαινῶ ὅσον δύνamai, καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ πάντες, οἶμαι· νίκης τε γὰρ τετυχήκαμεν καὶ σωτηρίας. τούτων μὲν οὖν χρή χαριστήρια ὧν ἂν ἔχωμεν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποτελεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ σύμπαντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἤδη ἐπαινῶ· τὸ γὰρ γεγεννημένον ἔργον σύμπασιν ὑμῖν καλῶς ἀποτετέλεσται· ὧν δ' ἕκαστος ἄξιος, ἐπειδὴν παρ' ὧν προσήκει πύθωμαι, τότε τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστωι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειράσομαι ἀποδιδόναι. [4.1.3] τὸν δ' ἐμοῦ ἐγγύτατα ταξίαρχον Χρυσάνταν οὐδὲν ἄλλων δέομαι πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς οἶδα οἷος ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα ὅσαπερ οἶμαι καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐποιεῖτε· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ παρηγγύησα ἐπανάγειν καλέσας αὐτὸν ὀνομαστί, ἀνατεταμένος οὗτος τὴν μάχαιραν ὡς παῖσων πολέμιον ὑπήκουσέ τε ἐμοὶ εὐθὺς ἀφείς τε ὃ ἔμελλε ποιεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον ἔπραττεν· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐπανῆγε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλα ἐπισπερχῶς παρηγγύα· ὥστ' ἔφθασεν ἔξω βελῶν τὴν τάξιν ποιήσας πρὶν τοὺς πολέμιους κατανοῆσαι ὅτι ἀνεχωροῦμεν καὶ τόξα ἐντείνασθαι καὶ τὰ παλτὰ ἐπαφεῖναι· ὥστε αὐτοὺς τε ἀβλαβὴς καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας ἀβλαβεῖς διὰ τὸ πειθεσθαι παρέχεται. [4.1.4] ἄλλους δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ τετρωμένους, περὶ ὧν ἐγὼ σκεψάμενος ἐν ὁποίῳ χρόνῳ ἐτρώθησαν, τότε τὴν γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφانوῦμαι. Χρυσάνταν δὲ ὡς καὶ ἐργάτην τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ ἄρχειν χιλιαρχίαι μὲν ἤδη τιμῶ· ὅταν δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀγαθὸν ὁ θεὸς δῶι, οὐδὲ τότε ἐπιλήσομαι αὐτοῦ. [4.1.5] καὶ πάντας δὲ βούλομαι ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, ὑπομνήσαι· ἃ γὰρ νῦν εἶδετε ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇδε, ταῦτα ἐνθυμούμενοι μήποτε παύεσθε, ἵνα παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ κρίνητε πότερον ἢ ἀρετὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἡ φυγὴ σώζει τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ πότερον οἱ μάχεσθαι ἐθέλοντες ῥᾷον ἀπαλλάττουσιν ἢ οἱ οὐκ ἐθέλοντες, καὶ ποῖαν τινὰ ἡδονὴν τὸ νικᾶν παρέχει· ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν ἄριστ' ἂν κρίναιτε πεῖράν τε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες καὶ ἄρτι γεγεννημένου τοῦ πράγματος. [4.1.6] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, αἰεὶ διανοοῦμενοι βελτίους ἂν εἴητε· νῦν δὲ ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ

σώφρονες ἄνδρες δειπνοποιεῖσθε καὶ σπονδὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖσθε καὶ παιᾶνα ἐξάρχεσθε καὶ ἅμα τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖτε. [4.1.7] εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἤλασε καὶ πρὸς Κυαζάρην ἐλθὼν καὶ συνησθείς ἐκείνῳ κοινῇ ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ ἰδὼν τ' ἀκεῖ καὶ ἐρόμενος εἴ τι δέοιτο, ἀπήλυνεν εἰς τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ὡς ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν.

[4.1.8] Οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ἅτε καὶ τεθνηκότος τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ σχεδὸν σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων, ἠθύμουν μὲν πάντες, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀπεδίδρασκον αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ὀρῶντες δὲ ταῦτα ὃ τε Κροῖσος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἠθύμουν· πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἦν χαλεπά· ἀθυμίαν δὲ πλείστην παρεῖχε πᾶσιν ὅτι τὸ ἡγούμενον τῆς στρατιᾶς φῦλον διέφθαρτο τὰς γνώμας. οὕτω δὴ ἐκλείπουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπέρχονται τῆς νυκτός. [4.1.9] ὥς δ' ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν ἐφάνη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον, εὐθύς διαβιβάζει ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτους· κατελέλειπτο δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πολλὰ μὲν πρόβατα, πολλοὶ δὲ βόες, πολλαὶ δὲ ἅμαξαι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεσταί· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διέβαινον ἤδη καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κυαζάρην Μῆδοι πάντες καὶ ἠριστοποιοῦντο ἐνταῦθα. [4.1.10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς αὐτοῦ ταξιάρχους καὶ ἔλεξε τοιάδε. Οἶά μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ὅσα ἀγαθὰ, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀφεῖναι, θεῶν ἡμῖν αὐτὰ διδόντων. νῦν γὰρ ὅτι οἱ πολέμιοι ἡμᾶς ἀποδεδράκασιν αὐτοὶ ὀράτε· οἵτινες δὲ ἐν ἐρύματι ὄντες ἐκλιπόντες τοῦτο φεύγουσι, πῶς ἂν τις τούτους οἶοιτ' ἂν μεῖναι ἰδόντας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ; οἵτινες δὲ ἡμῶν ἄπειροι ὄντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, πῶς νῦν γ' ἂν ὑπομείνεια, ἐπεὶ ἤττηνται τε καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν πεπόνθασιν; ὧν δὲ οἱ βέλτιστοι ἀπολώλασι, πῶς οἱ πονηρότεροι ἐκείνων μάχεσθαι ἂν ἡμῖν ἐθέλοιεν; [4.1.11] καὶ τις εἶπε· Τί οὖν οὐ διώκομεν ὡς τάχιστα, καταδήλων γε οὕτω τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὄντων; καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὅτι ἵππων προσδεόμεθα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κράτιστοι τῶν πολεμίων, οὓς μάλιστα καιρὸς ἦν ἢ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακαθεῖν, οὗτοι ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχοῦνται· οὓς ἡμεῖς τρέπεσθαι μὲν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἱκανοί, διώκοντες δὲ αἰρεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοί. [4.1.12] Τί οὖν, ἔφασαν, οὐκ ἐλθὼν Κυαζάρῃ λέγεις ταῦτα; καὶ ὃς εἶπε· Συνέπεσθε τοίνυν μοι πάντες, ὡς εἰδῆι ὅτι πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ. ἐκ τούτου εἰποντό τε πάντες καὶ ἔλεγον οἷα ἐπιτήδεια ἐδόκουν εἶναι ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐδέοντο.

[4.1.13] Καὶ ὁ Κυμαζάρχης ἅμα μὲν ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι ἤρχον τοῦ λόγου, ὥσπερ ὑπεφθόνει· ἅμα δ' ἴσως καλῶς ἔχειν ἐδόκει αὐτῷ μὴ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτός τε περὶ εὐθυμίαν ἐτύγγχανεν ὧν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μήδων ἑώρα πολλοὺς τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντας· εἶπε δ' οὖν ὧδε. [4.1.14] Ἄλλ', ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι μὲν κάλλιστα ἀνθρώπων μελετᾶτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι μὴδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡδονὴν ἀπλήστως διακεῖσθαι καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ ἀκούων οἶδα· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ τῆς μεγίστης ἡδονῆς πολὺ μάλιστα συμφέρειν ἐγκρατῇ εἶναι. μεῖζω δὲ ἡδονὴν τί παρέχει ἀνθρώποις εὐτυχίας ἢ νῦν ἡμῖν παραγεγένηται; [4.1.15] ἦν μὲν τοίνυν, ἐπεὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, σωφρόνως διαφυλάττωμεν αὐτήν, ἴσως δυναίμεθ' ἂν ἀκινδύνως εὐδαιμονοῦντες γηρᾶν· εἰ δ' ἀπλήστως χρώμενοι ταύτῃ ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλην πειρασόμεθα διώκειν, ὁρᾷτε μὴ πάθωμεν ἅπερ πολλοὺς μὲν λέγουσιν ἐν θαλάττῃ πεπονθέναι, διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν οὐκ ἐθέλοντας παύσασθαι πλέοντας ἀπολέσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ νίκης τυχόντας ἑτέρας ἐφιεμένους καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀποβαλεῖν. [4.1.16] καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι ἥττους ὄντες ἡμῶν ἔφευγον, ἴσως ἂν καὶ διώκειν τοὺς ἥττους ἀσφαλῶς εἶχε. νῦν δὲ κατανόησον πόστῳ μέρει αὐτῶν πάντες μαχεσάμενοι νενικήκαμεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἅμαχοί εἰσιν· οὓς εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀναγκάσομεν μάχεσθαι, ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' ἀμαθίαν καὶ μαλακίαν ἀπίασιν· εἰ δὲ γνώσονται ὅτι ἀπιόντες οὐδὲν ἥττον κινδυνεύουσιν ἢ μένοντες, ὅπως μὴ ἀναγκάσομεν αὐτούς, κἂν μὴ βούλονται, ἀγαθοὺς γενέσθαι. [4.1.17] ἴσθι γὰρ ὅτι οὐ σὺ μᾶλλον τὰς ἐκείνων γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖς ἢ ἐκεῖνοι σῶσαι. ἐννόει δ' ὅτι καὶ αἱ σύες ἐπειδὴν ὀφθῶσι, φεύγουσι, κἂν πολλὰ ὦσι, σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις· ἐπειδὴν δὲ τις αὐτῶν θηρᾷ τι τῶν τέκνων, οὐκέτι φεύγει οὐδ' ἦν μία τύχηι οὕσα, ἀλλ' ἵεται ἐπὶ τὸν λαμβάνειν πειρώμενον. [4.1.18] καὶ νῦν μὲν κατακλείσαντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἔρυμα παρέσχον ἡμῖν ταμιεύεσθαι ὥσθ' ὁπόσοις ἐβουλόμεθα αὐτῶν μάχεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ πρόσσιμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαθήσονται χωρὶς γενόμενοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῖν ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, οἱ δ' ἐκ πλαγίου, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν, ὅρα μὴ πολλῶν ἐκάστῳ ἡμῶν χειρῶν δεήσει καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν. προσέτι δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἐθέλοιμ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ νῦν, ὀρῶν Μήδους εὐθυμουμένους, ἐξαναστήσας ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύοντας ἰέναι.

[4.1.19] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ σύγε μὴδένα ἀναγκάσης, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐθέλοντάς μοι ἔπεσθαι δός· καὶ ἴσως ἂν σοὶ καὶ τῶν σῶν φίλων τούτων ἤκοιμεν ἐκάστῳ ἄγοντες ἐφ' οἷς ἅπαντες

εὐθυμήσεσθε. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ἡμεῖς γε τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲ διωξόμεθα· πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ καταλάβοιμεν; ἦν δέ τι ἢ ἀπεσχισμένον τοῦ στρατεύματος λάβωμεν ἢ τι ὑπολειπόμενον, ἥξομεν πρὸς σέ ἄγοντες. [4.1.20] ἐννόει δ', ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπεὶ σὺ ἐδέου, ἤλθομεν σοὶ χαριζόμενοι μακρὰν ὁδόν· καὶ σὺ οὖν ἡμῖν δίκαιος εἴ ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, ἵνα καὶ ἔχοντές τι οἴκαδ' ἀφικώμεθα καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν σὸν θησαυρὸν πάντες ὀρῶμεν. [4.1.21] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κρυαζάρης· Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μέντοι ἐθέλων τις ἔποιτο, καὶ χάριν ἔγωγέ σοι εἰδείην ἄν. Σύμπεμψον τοίνυν μοί τινα, ἔφη, τῶν ἀξιοπίστων τούτων, ὃς ἔρεῖ ἂ ἂν σὺ ἐπιστείλῃς. Λαβὼν δὴ ἴθι, ἔφη, ὄντινα ἐθέλεις τουτωνί· [4.1.22] ἐνθα δὴ ἔτυχε παρὼν ὁ φήσας ποτὲ συγγενῆς αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ φιληθείς. εὐθύς οὖν ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀρκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, οὐτοσί. Οὗτος τοίνυν σοι ἐπέσθω. καὶ λέγε σύ, ἔφη, τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἰέναι μετὰ Κύρου. [4.1.23] οὕτω δὴ λαβὼν τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξήκει. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξήλθον, ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Νῦν δὴ σὺ δηλώσεις εἰ ἀληθῆ ἔλεγες, ὅτε ἔφης ἥδεσθαι θεώμενος ἐμέ. Οὐκουν ἀπολείψομαί γέ σου, ἔφη ὁ Μῆδος, εἰ τοῦτο λέγεις. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλους, ἔφη, προθύμως ἐξάξεις; ἐπομόσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ἔστε γ' ἂν ποιήσω καὶ σέ ἐμέ ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι. [4.1.24] τότε δὴ καὶ ἐκπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κρυαζάρου τὰ τε ἄλλα προθύμως ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς Μῆδοις καὶ προσετίθει ὅτι αὐτός γε οὐκ ἀπολείψειτο ἀνδρὸς καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγονότος.

[4.2.1] Πράττοντος δὲ τοῦ Κύρου ταῦτα θείως πως ἀφικνοῦνται ἀπὸ Ὑρκανίων ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Ὑρκάνιοι ὁμοροὶ μὲν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων εἰσίν, ἔθνος δ' οὐ πολὺ, διὸ καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἦσαν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων· εὐῖπποι δὲ καὶ τότε ἐδόκουν εἶναι καὶ νῦν ἔτι δοκοῦσιν· διὸ καὶ ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀσσύριοι ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Σκιρίταις, οὐδὲν φειδόμενοι αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἐν πόνοις οὔτ' ἐν κινδύνοις· καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ὀπισθοφυλακεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ὡς χιλίους ἱππέας ὄντας, ὅπως εἴ τι ὀπισθεν δεινὸν εἴη, ἐκείνοι πρὸ αὐτῶν τοῦτ' ἔχουσιν. [4.2.2] οἱ δὲ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἅτε μέλλοντες ὕστατοι πορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας τὰς ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ὑστάτους εἶχον. στρατεύονται γὰρ δὴ οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ μεθ' ὧνπερ καὶ οἰκοῦσι· καὶ τότε δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οὕτως οἱ Ὑρκάνιοι. [4.2.3] ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἷά τε πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ὅτι νῦν τεθναίῃ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων αὐτῶν, ἡττημένοι δ' εἶεν, φόβος δ' ἐνείη τῷ στρατεύματι, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ὡς ἀθύμως ἔχουσιν καὶ ἀπολείπουσιν, ταῦτα

ἐνθυμουμένοις ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς νῦν καλὸν εἶναι ἀποστῆναι, εἰ θέλοιν οἱ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον συνεπιθέσθαι. καὶ πέμπουσιν ἀγγέλους πρὸς Κῦρον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς μάχης τὸ τούτου ὄνομα μέγιστον ἠϋξητο. [4.2.4] οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες λέγουσι Κύρῳ ὅτι μισοῖεν τε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους δικαίως, νῦν τ', εἰ βούλοιο ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ σφεῖς σύμμαχοι ὑπάρξοιεν καὶ ἡγήσονται· ἅμα δὲ πρὸς τούτοις διηγοῦντο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ἔχοι, ἐπαίρειν βουλόμενοι μάλιστα στρατεύεσθαι αὐτόν. [4.2.5] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπήρετο αὐτούς· Καὶ δοκεῖτε ἄν, ἔφη, ἔτι ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτούς πρὶν ἐν τοῖς ἐρύμασιν εἶναι; ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, μάλα συμφορὰν τοῦτο ἡγούμεθα ὅτι ἔλαθον ἡμᾶς ἀποδράντες. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγε βουλόμενος αὐτούς ὡς μέγιστον φρονεῖν ἐπὶ σφίσιν. [4.2.6] οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι καὶ αὐρίον, ἔωθεν εἰ εὐζωνοὶ πορεύοιντο, καταλήψοιντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄχλου καὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σχολῇ πορεύεσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ ἅμα, ἔφασαν, τὴν προτέραν νύκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες νῦν μικρὸν προελθόντες ἐστρατοπέδευνται. [4.2.7] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Ἐχετε οὖν ὧν λέγετε πιστόν τι ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν ὡς ἀληθεύετε; Ὁμήρους γ', ἔφασαν, ἐθέλομεν αὐτίκα ἐλάσαντες τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγαγεῖν· μόνον καὶ σὺ ἡμῖν πιστὰ θεῶν πεποίησο καὶ δεξιὰν δός, ἵνα φέρωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ λάβωμεν παρὰ σοῦ. [4.2.8] ἐκ τούτου τὰ πιστὰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἢ μὴν, ἐὰν ἐμπεδώσωσιν ἃ λέγουσιν, ὡς φίλοις καὶ πιστοῖς χρῆσεσθαι αὐτοῖς, ὡς μήτε Περσῶν μήτε Μήδων μεῖον ἔχειν παρ' ἑαυτῷ. καὶ νῦν ἔστιν ἔτι ἰδεῖν Ὑρκανίους καὶ πιστευομένους καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας, ὥσπερ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων οἱ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι.

[4.2.9] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, ἐξῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἔτι φάους ὄντος, καὶ τοὺς Ὑρκανίους περιμένειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἵνα ἅμα ἴοιεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαι, ὥσπερ εἰκός, πάντες ἐξῆισαν, καὶ Τιγράνης ἔχων τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα· [4.2.10] τῶν δὲ Μήδων ἐξῆισαν οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ παιδί ὄντι Κύρῳ παῖδες ὄντες φίλοι γενέσθαι, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐν θήραις συγγενόμενοι ἀγασθῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι ὅτι μέγαν αὐτοῖς φόβον ἀπεληλακέναι ἐδόκει, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχοντες, διὰ τὸ ἄνδρα φαίνεσθαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐτυχῇ, καὶ μέγαν ἔτι ἰσχυρῶς ἔσεσθαι αὐτόν, οἱ δέ, ὅτε ἐτρέφετο ἐν Μήδοις, εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν τῷ συνέπραξεν, ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι ἐβούλοντο· πολλοῖς δὲ πολλὰ διὰ φιλανθρωπίαν παρὰ τοῦ πάππου ἀγαθὰ διεπέπρακτο· πολλοὶ δ', ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς Ὑρκανίους εἶδον καὶ λόγος διῆλθεν ὡς ἡγήσονται ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἐξῆισαν καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν τι ἔνεκα. [4.2.11]

οὕτω δὴ ἐξήλθον σχεδὸν ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι πλὴν ὅσοι σὺν Κυαζάρῃ ἔτυχον σκηνοῦντες· οὗτοι δὲ κατέμενον καὶ οἱ τούτων ὑπήκοοι. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες φαιδρῶς καὶ προθύμως ἐξωρμῶντο, ἅτε οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ ἀλλ' ἐθελούσιοι καὶ χάριτος ἕνεκα ἐξιόντες. [4.2.12] ἐπεὶ δ' ἔξω ἦσαν, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Μήδους ἐλθὼν ἐπήνεσέ τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπηύξατο μάλιστα μὲν θεοὺς αὐτοῖς ἴλεως ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ σφίσιν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δυνασθῆναι χάριν αὐτοῖς ταύτης τῆς προθυμίας ἀποδοῦναι. τέλος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι ἡγήσονται μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ πεζοί, ἐκείνους δ' ἔπεσθαι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐκέλευσε· καὶ ὅπου ἂν ἀναπαύωνται ἢ ἐπισχωσι τῆς πορείας, ἐντείλατο αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν παρελαύνειν τινάς, ἵνα εἰδῶσι τὸ ἀεὶ καίριον. [4.2.13] ἐκ τούτου ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ὑρκανίους. καὶ οἱ ἡρώτων Τί δέ; οὐκ ἀναμενεῖς, ἔφασαν, τοὺς ὁμήρους ἕως ἂν ἀγάγωμεν, ἵνα ἔχων καὶ σὺ τὰ πιστὰ παρ' ἡμῶν πορεύῃ; καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίνασθαι λέγεται· Ἐννοῶ γάρ, φάναι, ὅτι ἔχομεν τὰ πιστὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις χερσίν. οὕτω γὰρ δοκοῦμεν περὶσκευάσθαι ὥς ἢ μὲν ἀληθεύητε, ἱκανοὶ εἶναι ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιεῖν· ἢ δὲ ἐξαπατᾶτε, οὕτω νομίζομεν ἔχειν ὥς οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἢν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσιν, ὑμᾶς ἐφ' ἡμῖν γενήσεσθαι. καὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐπεὶ φατέ ὑστάτε ἔπεσθαι τοὺς ὑμετέρους, ἐπειδὴν ἴδητε αὐτούς, σημῆνατε ἡμῖν ὅτι οἱ ὑμέτεροί εἰσιν, ἵνα φειδώμεθα αὐτῶν. [4.2.14] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ὑρκάνιοι τὴν μὲν ὁδὸν ἡγοῦντο ὥσπερ ἐκέλευε, τὴν δὲ ῥώμην τῆς ψυχῆς ἐθαύμαζον· καὶ οὔτε Ἀσσυρίου οὔτε Λυδοῦς οὔτε τοὺς συμμάχους αὐτῶν ἐφοβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ μὴ παντάπασιν ὁ Κύρος μικράν τινα αὐτῶν οἶοιτο ῥοπὴν εἶναι καὶ προσόντων καὶ ἀπόντων.

[4.2.15] Πορευομένων δὲ ἐπεὶ νύξ ἐπεγένετο, λέγεται φῶς τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ προφανὲς γενέσθαι, ὥστε πᾶσι μὲν φρίκην ἐγγίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, θάρρος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥς δ' εὗζωνοί τε καὶ ταχὺ ἐπορεύοντο, εἰκότως πολλήν τε ὁδὸν διήνυσαν καὶ ἅμα κνέφαι πλησίον γίνονται τοῦ τῶν Ὑρκανίων στρατεύματος. [4.2.16] ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι, καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ λέγουσιν ὅτι οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ σφέτεροι· τῷ τε γὰρ ὑστάτους εἶναι γινώσκειν ἔφασαν καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν πυρῶν [4.2.17] ἐκ τούτου πέμπει τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτούς, προστάξας λέγειν, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὥς τάχιστα ὑπαντᾶν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας· συμπέμπει δὲ τινα καὶ τῶν σὺν ἑαυτῷ καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς Ὑρκανίοις ὅτι ὥς

ἂν ὁρῶσιν αὐτοὺς προσφερομένους, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ποιήσουσιν. οὕτω δὴ ὁ μὲν μένει τῶν ἀγγέλων παρὰ τῷ Κύρῳ, ὁ δὲ προσελαύνει πρὸς τοὺς Ὑρκανίους. [4.2.18] ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐσκόπει τοὺς Ὑρκανίους ὁ Κύρος ὃ τι ποιήσουσιν, ἐπέστησε τὸ στράτευμα· παρελαύνουσι δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ τῶν Μήδων προεσθηκότες καὶ ὁ Τιγράνης καὶ ἐπερωτῶσι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὅτι τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ πλησίον Ὑρκανίων στράτευμα καὶ οἴχεται ὁ ἕτερος τῶν ἀγγέλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων τις σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐροῦντες, εἰ φίλοι εἰσίν, ὑπαντιάειν τὰς δεξιὰς ἀνατείναντας πάντας. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ποιῶσι, δεξιουσθῆτε αὐτοὺς καθ' ὃν ἂν ἦ ἕκαστος καὶ ἅμα θαρρύνετε· ἦν δὲ ὅπλα αἰρωνται ἢ φεύγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι, τούτων, ἔφη, εὐθύς δεῖ πρώτων πειρᾶσθαι μηδὲνα λιπεῖν. [4.2.19] ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα παρήγγειλεν. οἱ δὲ Ὑρκανιοὶ ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγέλων ἦσθησάν τε καὶ ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους παρήσαν τὰς δεξιὰς, ὥσπερ εἴρητο, προτείνοντες· οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ Πέρσαι ἀντεδεξιούντο τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐθάρρυνον. [4.2.20] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κύρος λέγει· Ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ, ὧ Ὑρκανιοὶ, ἤδη ὑμῖν πιστεύομεν· καὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὕτως ἔχειν. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, πρῶτον ἡμῖν εἶπατε πόσον ἀπέχει ἐνθένδε ἔνθα αἱ ἀρχαί εἰσι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὸ ἀθρόον αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ὀλίγῳ πλέον ἢ παρασάγγην.

[4.2.21] Ἐνταῦθα δὴ λέγει ὁ Κύρος· Ἀγετε δὴ, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὧ Ὑρκανιοὶ, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς πρὸς συμμάχους καὶ κοινωνοὺς διαλέγομαι, εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι νῦν ὅτι ἐν τοιούτῳ ἐσμέν ἔνθα δὴ μαλακισάμενοι μὲν πάντων ἂν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων τύχοιμεν· ἴσασι γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφ' ᾧ ἤκομεν· ἦν δὲ τὸ καρτερὸν ἐμβαλόμενοι ἴωμεν ῥώμῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, αὐτίκα μάλ' ὄψεσθε ὥσπερ δούλων ἀποδιδρασκόντων ἡυρημένων τοὺς μὲν ἰκετεύοντας αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δ' οὐδὲ ταῦτα φρονεῖν δυναμένους. ἡττημένοι τε γὰρ ὄψονται ἡμᾶς καὶ οὔτε οἴομενοι ἥξειν οὔτε συντεταγμένοι οὔτε μάχεσθαι παρεσκευασμένοι κατείλημμένοι ἔσονται. [4.2.22] εἰ οὖν ἡδέως βουλόμεθα καὶ δειπνῆσαι καὶ νυκτερεῦσαι καὶ βιοτεύειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, μὴ δῶμεν τούτοις σχολὴν μήτε βουλεύσασθαι μήτε παρασκευάσασθαι ἀγαθὸν αὐτοῖς μηδέν, μηδὲ γινῶναι πάνπαν ὅτι ἀνθρωποὶ ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ἅπαντα καὶ πληγὰς ἥκειν νομιζόντων. [4.2.23] καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἔφη, ὧ Ὑρκανιοὶ, ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς προπετάσαντες ἡμῶν πορεύεσθε ἔμπροσθεν, ὅπως τῶν ὑμετέρων ὅπλων ὀρωμένων

λανθάνωμεν ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐγὼ πρὸς τῷ στρατεύματι γένωμαι τῶν πολεμίων, παρ' ἐμοὶ μὲν καταλίπετε ἕκαστοι τάξιν ἱππέων, ὥς, ἂν τι δέηι, χρῶμαι μένων παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [4.2.24] ὑμῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐν τάξει ἀθρόοι ἐλαύνετε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε, ἵνα μήποτε ἄθρόωι τινὶ ἐντυχόντες ἀποβιασθῆτε, τοὺς δὲ νεωτέρους ἀφίετε διώκειν· οὗτοι δὲ <κατα>καινόντων· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀσφαλέστατον νῦν ὥς ἐλαχίστους τῶν πολεμίων λιπεῖν. [4.2.25] ἦν δὲ νικῶμεν, ἔφη, ὁ πολλοῖς δὴ κρατοῦσι τὴν τύχην ἀνέτρεψε, φυλάξασθαι δεῖ τὸ ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν τραπέσθαι· ὥς ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν οὐκέτ' ἀνὴρ ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ σκευοφόρος· καὶ ἔξεστι τῷ βουλομένῳ χρῆσθαι ἤδη τούτῳ ὥς ἀνδραπόδῳ. [4.2.26] ἐκεῖνο δὲ χρὴ γινῶναι ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστι κερδαλεώτερον τοῦ νικᾶν· ὁ γὰρ κρατῶν ἅμα πάντα συνήρπακε, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦτο μόνον ὁρᾶτε ὅπως τὴν νίκην διασωίζόμεθα· ἐὰν γὰρ κρατηθῇ, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρπάζων ἔχεται. καὶ τοῦτο ἅμα διώκοντες μέμνησθε, ἥκειν πάλιν ὥς ἐμὲ ἔτι φάους ὄντος· ὥς σκότους γενομένου οὐδένα ἔτι προσδεξόμεθα.

[4.2.27] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς τάξεις ἐκάστους καὶ ἐκέλευεν ἅμα πορευομένους τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον δεκαδάρχοις τὰ αὐτὰ σημαίνειν· ἐν μετώπῳ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ δεκάδαρχοι, ὥστε ἀκούειν· τοὺς δὲ δεκαδάρχους τῇ δεκάδι ἕκαστον κελεύειν παραγγέλλειν. ἐκ τούτου προηγοῦντο μὲν οἱ Ὑρκάνιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἔχων σὺν τοῖς Πέρσαις ἐπορεύετο· τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, παρέταξε. [4.2.28] τῶν δὲ πολεμίων, ἐπεὶ φῶς ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν ἐθαύμαζον τὰ ὀρώμενα, οἱ δ' ἐγίνωσκον ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἠγγελλον, οἱ δ' ἐβόων, οἱ δ' ἔλυνον ἵππους, οἱ δὲ συνεσκεύαζοντο, οἱ δ' ἐρρίπτουν τὰ ὅπλα ἀπὸ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, οἱ δ' ὠπλίζοντο, οἱ δ' ἀνεπήδων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οἱ δ' ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπὶ τὰ ὀχήματα, οἱ δὲ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐλάμβανον ὥς διασωσόμενοι, οἱ δὲ κατορύττοντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἠλίσκοντο, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμων· οἶεσθαι δὲ δεῖ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά τε καὶ παντοδαπὰ ποιεῖν αὐτούς, πλὴν ἐμάχετο οὐδεὶς, ἀλλ' ἀμαχητὶ ἀπώλλυντο. [4.2.29] Κροῖσος δὲ ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς, ὥς θέρος ἦν, τὰς τε γυναῖκας ἐν ταῖς ἀρμαμάξαις προαπεπέμψατο τῆς νυκτός, ὥς ἂν ῥαῖον πορεύοιντο κατὰ ψῦχος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπηκολούθει. [4.2.30] καὶ τὸν Φρύγα τὰ αὐτὰ ποιῆσαί φασι τὸν τῆς παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἄρχοντα Φρυγίας. ὥς δὲ παρήισθοντο τῶν φευγόντων καὶ καταλαμβανόντων αὐτούς,

πυθόμενοι τὸ γιγνόμενον ἔφευγον δὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνὰ κράτος. [4.2.31] τὸν δὲ τῶν Καππαδοκῶν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἀραβίων ἔτι ἐγγὺς ὄντας καὶ ὑποστάντας ἀθωρακίστους κατακαίνουσιν οἱ Ὑρκάνιοι. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἦν τῶν ἀποθανόντων Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Ἀραβίων· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῶν ὄντες χώραι ἀσυντονώτατα πρὸς τὴν πορείαν εἶχον. [4.2.32] οἱ μὲν δὴ Μῆδοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, οἷα δὴ εἰκὸς κρατοῦντας, τοιαῦτα ἐποιοῦν διώκοντες. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τοὺς παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἰππέας καταλειφθέντας περιελαύνειν ἐκέλευε τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ εἴ τινας σὴν ὅπλοις ἴδοιεν ἐξιόντας, κατακαίνειν· τοῖς δ' ὑπομένουσιν ἐκήρυξεν, ὅπόσοι τῶν πολεμίων στρατιωτῶν ἦσαν ἰππεῖς ἢ πελτασταὶ ἢ τοξόται, ἀποφέρειν τὰ ὄπλα συνδεδεμένα, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς καταλείπειν· ὅστις δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ποιήσῃ, αὐτίκα τῆς κεφαλῆς στερήσεσθαι· τὰς δὲ κοπίδας προχείρους ἔχοντες ἐν τάξει περιέεστασαν. [4.2.33] οἱ μὲν δὴ τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες ἐρρίπτουν, ἀποφέροντες εἰς ἓν χωρίον ὅποι ἐκέλευε· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οἷς ἐπέταξεν ἔκαιον.

[4.2.34] Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐνενόησεν ὅτι ἦλθον μὲν οὔτε σῖτα οὔτε ποτὰ ἔχοντες, ἄνευ δὲ τούτων οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο ποιεῖν οὐδέν. σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα ταῦτα γένοιτο, ἐνθυμεῖται ὅτι ἀνάγκη πᾶσι τοῖς στρατευομένοις εἶναι τινα ὅτῳ καὶ σκηνῆς μελήσει καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰσιούσιν ἔσται. [4.2.35] καὶ τοίνυν ἔγνω ὅτι τούτους εἰκὸς μάλιστα πάντων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νῦν κατειληφθαι [ἦν] διὰ τὸ ἀμφὶ συσκευασίαν ἔχειν· ἐκήρυξε δὴ παρῆναι τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους πάντας· εἰ δέ που μὴ εἴη ἐπίτροπος, τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἀπὸ σκηνῆς· τῷ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντι πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ ἀνεῖπεν. οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς δεσπότης πειθομένους ταχὺ ἐπείθοντο. [4.2.36] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγένοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκέλευε καθίζεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσοις ἐστὶ πλέον ἢ δυοῖν μνηοῖν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτους εἶδεν, αὐθις ἐκέλευσεν ὅσοις μνηδὸς ἦν· ἐν τούτῳ σχεδὸν πάντες ἐκαθίζοντο. [4.2.37] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔμαθεν, εἶπεν ὧδε αὐτοῖς· Ἄγετέ νυν, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, οἱ τινες ὑμῶν τὰ μὲν κακὰ μισεῖτε, μαλακοῦ δὲ τινος παρ' ἡμῶν βούλοισθ' ἂν τυγχάνειν, ἐπιμελήθητε προθύμως ὅπως διπλάσια ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ἐκάστῃ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ παρεσκευασμένα ἢ ἢ τοῖς δεσπότηαις καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις καθ' ἡμέραν ἐποιεῖτε· καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ πάντα ὅποσα καλὴν δαῖτα παρέξει ἔτοιμα ποιεῖτε, ὥς αὐτίκα μάλα παρέσονται ὁπότεροι ἂν κρατῶσι, καὶ ἀξιώσουσιν ἐκπλεῶ ἔχειν

πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. εὖ οὖν ἴστε ὅτι συμφέροι ἂν ὑμῖν ἀμέμπτως δέχεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. [4.2.38] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες πολλῇ σπουδῇ τὰ παρηγγελμένα ἔπραττον· ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔλαξε τοιαύδε· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, γινώσκομεν ὅτι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν προτέροις τῶν ἀπόντων συμμάχων ἀρίστου τυχεῖν καὶ τοῖς μάλιστα ἐσπουδασμένοις σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς χρῆσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' ἂν τὸ ἄριστον πλεον ὠφελῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπιμελεῖς φανῆναι, οὐδ' ἂν αὕτη ἢ εὐωχία ἰσχυροτέρους τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι ὅσον εἰ δυναίμεθα τοὺς συμμάχους προθύμους ποιεῖσθαι. [4.2.39] εἰ δὲ τῶν νυνὶ διωκόντων καὶ κατακαινόντων τοὺς ἡμετέρους πολεμίους καὶ μαχομένων, εἴ τις ἐναντιοῦται, τούτων δόξομεν οὕτως ἀμελεῖν ὥστε καὶ πρὶν εἰδέναι πῶς πράττουσιν ἡριστηκότες φαίνεσθαι, ὅπως μὴ αἰσχροὶ μὲν φανούμεθα, ἀσθενεῖς δ' ἐσόμεθα συμμάχων ἀποροῦντες. τὸ δὲ τῶν κινδυνευόντων καὶ πονούντων ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως εἰσιόντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν, αὕτη ἂν ἡμᾶς ἢ θοίνῃ πλείω εὐφράνειεν, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι, ἢ τὸ παραχρῆμα τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίσασθαι. [4.2.40] ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, ὥς εἰ μὴδ' ἐκείνους αἰσχυντέον ἦν, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν νῦν προσῆκεν οὔτε πλησμονῆς πω οὔτε μέθης· οὐ γὰρ πω διαπέπρακται ἡμῖν ἡ βουλόμεθα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ πάντα νῦν ἀκμάζει ἐπιμελείας δεόμενα. ἔχομεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πολεμίους πολλαπλασίους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους λελυμένους· οὐς καὶ φυλάττεσθαι ἔτι προσήκει καὶ φυλάττειν, ὅπως ὥσι καὶ οἱ ποιήσοντες ἡμῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἔτι δ' οἱ ἵππεῖς ἡμῖν ἄπεισι, φροντίδα παρέχοντες ποῦ εἰσὶ· κἂν ἔλθωσιν, εἰ παραμενοῦσιν. [4.2.41] ὥστ', ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν μοι δοκεῖ τοιοῦτον σῖτον ἡμᾶς προσφέρεσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοιοῦτον ποτὸν ὁποῖον ἂν τις οἶται μάλιστα σύμφορον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μήτε ὑπνου μήτε ἀφροσύνης ἐμπίμπλασθαι. [4.2.42] ἔτι δὲ καὶ χρήματα πολλά ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ὧν οὐκ ἄγνοῶ ὅτι δυνατόν ἡμῖν κοινῶν ὄντων τοῖς συγκατειληφόσι νοσφίσασθαι ὅποσα ἂν βουλώμεθα· ἀλλ' οὐ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ λαβεῖν κερδαλεώτερον εἶναι τοῦ δικαίους φαινομένους ἐκείνοις τούτῳ πρίασθαι ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ νῦν ἀσπάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς. [4.2.43] δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ τὸ νεῖμαι τὰ χρήματα, ἐπειδὴν ἔλθωσι, Μήδοις καὶ Ὑρκανίοις καὶ Τιγράνηι ἐπιτρέψαι· καὶ ἦν τι μείον ἡμῖν δάσωνται, κέρδος ἡγεῖσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὰ κέρδη ἡδίων ἡμῖν παραμενοῦσι. [4.2.44] τὸ μὲν γὰρ νῦν πλεονεκτῆσαι ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἂν τὸν πλοῦτον ἡμῖν παράσχοι· τὸ δὲ ταῦτα προεμένους ἐκεῖνα κτήσασθαι ὅθεν ὁ πλοῦτος φύεται, τοῦτο,

ὥς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, ἀεναώτερον ἡμῖν δύναιτ' ἂν τὸν ὄλβον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρέχειν. [4.2.45] οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἴκοι ἡμᾶς τούτου ἔνεκα ἄσκειν καὶ γαστροὺς κρείττους εἶναι καὶ κερδέων ἀκαίρων, ἴν', εἴ ποτε δέοι, δυναίμεθα αὐτοῖς συμφόρως χρῆσθαι· ποῦ δ' ἂν ἐν μείζοσι τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐπιδειξαίμεθ' ἂν τὴν παιδείαν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρῶ. [4.2.46] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε. συνεῖπε δ' αὐτῷ Ὑστάσπας ἀνὴρ Πέρσης τῶν ὁμοτίμων ὧδε· Δεινὸν γάρ τ' αὖ εἴη, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ ἐν θήρῃ μὲν πολλάκις ἄσιτοι καρτεροῦμεν, ὅπως θηρίον τι ὑποχείριον ποιησώμεθα καὶ μάλα μικροῦ ἴσως ἄξιον· ὄλβον δὲ ὅλον πειρώμενοι θηρᾶν εἰ ἐμποδὼν τι ποιησαίμεθα γενέσθαι ἡμῖν ἃ τῶν μὲν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄρχει, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς πείθεται, οὐκ ἂν πρέποντα ἡμῖν δοκοῦμεν ποιεῖν. [4.2.47] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ὑστάσπας οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ταῦτα συνήνουν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ ὁμονοοῦμεν ταῦτα, πέμψατε ἀπὸ λόχου ἕκαστος πέντε ἄνδρας τῶν σπουδαιοτάτων· οὗτοι δὲ περιούντες, οὓς μὲν ἂν ὀρῶσι πορσύνοντας τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπαινούντων· οὓς δ' ἂν ἀμελοῦντας, κολαζόντων ἀφειδέστερον ἢ ὥς δεσπότης. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν.

[4.3.1] Τῶν δὲ Μήδων τινὲς ἤδη, οἱ μὲν ἀμάξας προωρμημένας καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες προσήλυνον μεστὰς ὧν δεῖται στρατιά, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄρμαμάξας γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γνησίων, τῶν δὲ καὶ παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ κάλλος συμπεριαγομένων, ταύτας εἰληφότες προσῆγον. [4.3.2] πάντες γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευόμενοι ἔχοντες τὰ πλείστου ἄξια στρατεύονται, λέγοντες ὅτι μᾶλλον μάχονται ἂν εἰ τὰ φίλτατα παρείη· τούτοις γὰρ φασιν ἀνάγκην εἶναι προθύμως ἀλέξειν. ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ χαριζόμενοι.

[4.3.3] Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος θεωρᾶν τὰ τῶν Μήδων ἔργα καὶ Ὑρκανίων ὥσπερ κατεμέμφετο καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, εἰ οἱ ἄλλοι τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀκμάζειν τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτῶν ἐδόκουν καὶ προσκτᾶσθαι τι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐν ἀργότεραι χώραι ὑπομένειν. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ ἀπάγοντες καὶ ἀποδεικνύντες Κύρῳ ἃ ἦγον πάλιν ἀπήλυνον, μεταδιώκοντες τοὺς ἄλλους· ταῦτα γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν προστετάχθαι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. δακνόμενος δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπὶ τούτοις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμῶς κατεχώριζε· συνεκάλει δὲ πάλιν τοὺς ταξιάρχους, τάδε.

[4.3.4] Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰ κατάσχοιμεν τὰ νῦν προφαινόμενα, μεγάλα μὲν ἂν ἅπασι Πέρσαις ἀγαθὰ γένοιτο, μέγιστα δ' ἂν εἰκότως ἡμῖν δι' ὧν πράττεται, πάντες οἶμαι

γινώσκωμεν· ὅπως δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς κύριοι γιγνοίμεθα, μὴ αὐτάρκεις ὄντες κτήσασθαι αὐτά, εἰ μὴ ἔσται οἰκεῖον ἵππικόν Πέρσαις τοῦτο ἐγὼ οὐκέτι ὀρῶ. [4.3.5] ἐννοεῖτε γὰρ δὴ, ἔφη· ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι ὅπλα οἷς δοκοῦμεν <ἂν> τρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμόσε ἰόντες· καὶ δὴ τρεπόμενοι ποίους ἢ ἱππέας ἢ τοξότας ἢ πελταστὰς ἄνευ ἵππων ὄντες δυναίμεθ' ἂν φεύγοντας ἢ λαβεῖν ἢ κατακανεῖν; τίνες δ' ἂν φοβοῖντο ἡμᾶς προσιόντες κακοῦν ἢ τοξόται ἢ ἀκοντισταὶ ἢ ἱππεῖς, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς κίνδυνος ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακόν τι παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πεφυκότων δένδρων; [4.3.6] εἰ δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὐκ εὐδηλον ὅτι οἱ νῦν παρόντες ἡμῖν ἱππεῖς νομίζουσι πάντα τὰ ὑποχείρια γιγνόμενα ἑαυτῶν εἶναι οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἡμέτερα, ἴσως δὲ νῆ Δία καὶ μᾶλλον; [4.3.7] νῦν μὲν οὖν οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει κατ' ἀνάγκην. εἰ δ' ἡμεῖς ἵππικόν κτησαίμεθα μὴ χεῖρον τούτων, οὐ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καταφανὲς ὅτι τοὺς τ' ἂν πολεμίους δυναίμεθα καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ποιεῖν ὅσαπερ νῦν σὺν τούτοις, τούτους τε ἔχομεν ἂν τότε μετριώτερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς φρονοῦντας; ὁπότε γὰρ παρῆναι ἢ ἀπεῖναι βούλοιντο, ἥττον ἂν ἡμῖν μέλοι, εἰ αὐτοὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἀρκοῖμεν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. [4.3.8] εἶεν· ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οἶμαι οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντιγνωμονήσειε, μὴ οὐχὶ τὸ πᾶν διαφέρειν Περσῶν γενέσθαι οἰκεῖον ἵππικόν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο ἴσως ἐννοεῖτε, πῶς ἂν τοῦτο γένοιτο. ἄρ' οὖν σκεψόμεθα, εἰ βουλοίμεθα καθιστάναι ἵππικόν, τί ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει καὶ τίνος ἐνδεῖ; [4.3.9] οὐκοῦν ἵπποι μὲν οὗτοι πολλοὶ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατελιημμένοι καὶ χαλινοὶ οἷς πείθονται καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα δεῖ ἵπποις ἔχουσι χρῆσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἷς γε δεῖ ἄνδρα ἱππέα χρῆσθαι ἔχομεν, θώρακας μὲν ἐρύματα τῶν σωμάτων, παλτὰ δὲ οἷς καὶ μεθιέντες καὶ ἔχοντες χρώμεθ' ἂν. [4.3.10] τί δὴ τὸ λοιπόν; δῆλον ὅτι ἀνδρῶν δεῖ. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μάλιστα ἔχομεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἡμέτερόν ἐστιν ὥς ἡμεῖς ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἀλλ' ἑρεῖ τις ἴσως ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιστάμεθα. μὰ Δί' οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἐπισταμένων νῦν πρὶν μαθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἠπίστατο. ἀλλ' εἴποι ἂν τις ὅτι παῖδες ὄντες ἐμάνθανον. [4.3.11] καὶ πότερα παῖδές εἰσι φρονημώτεροι ὥστε μαθεῖν τὰ φραζόμενα καὶ δεικνύμενα ἢ ἄνδρες; πότεροι δὲ ἂν μάθωσιν ἱκανώτεροι τῷ σώματι ἐκπονεῖν, οἱ παῖδες ἢ οἱ ἄνδρες; [4.3.12] ἀλλὰ μὴν σχολή γε ἡμῖν μαθάνειν ὅση οὔτε παισὶν οὔτε ἄλλοις ἀνδράσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τοξεύειν ἡμῖν μαθητέον ὥσπερ τοῖς παισὶ προεπιστάμεθα γὰρ τοῦτο· οὔτε μὴν ἀκοντίζειν· ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μὴν ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνδράσι τοῖς μὲν γεωργαίαι ἀσχολίαν

παρέχουσι, τοῖς δὲ τέχναι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλα οἰκεῖα· ἡμῖν δὲ στρατεύεσθαι οὐ μόνον σχολὴ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνάγκη. [4.3.13] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐχ ὥσπερ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν χαλεπὰ μὲν, χρήσιμα δέ· ἱππικὴ δὲ οὐκ ἐν ὁδῷ μὲν ἡδίων ἢ αὐτοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν πορεύεσθαι; ἐν δὲ σπουδῇ οὐχ ἡδὺ ταχὺ μὲν φίλῳ παραγενέσθαι, εἰ δέοι, ταχὺ δέ, εἴτε ἄνδρα εἴτε θῆρα δέοι διώκεσθαι, καταλαβεῖν; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐχὶ εὐπετές, τὸ ὅτι ἂν δέῃ ὄπλον φέρειν τὸν ἵππον τοῦτο συμφέρειν; οὐκ οὖν ταυτό γ' ἐστὶν ἔχειν τε καὶ φέρειν. [4.3.14] ὅ γε μὴν μάλιστ' ἂν τις φοβηθεῖη, μὴ εἰ δεήσει ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν ἡμᾶς πρότερον πρὶν ἀκριβοῦν τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, κἄπειτα μήτε πεζοὶ ἔτι ὦμεν μήτε πῶ ἵππεῖς ἱκανοί, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀμήχανον· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν βουλώμεθα, ἐξέσται ἡμῖν πεζοῖς εὐθὺς μάχεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν πεζικῶν ἀπομαθησόμεθα ἵππεύειν μαθάνοντες. [4.3.15] Κῦρος μὲν οὕτως εἶπε· Χρυσάντας δὲ συναγορεύων αὐτῷ ὧδε ἔλεξεν.

Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οὕτως ἐπιθυμῶ ἵππεύειν μαθεῖν ὥς νομίζω, ἣν ἵππεὺς γένωμαι, ἄνθρωπος πτηνὸς ἔσεσθαι. [4.3.16] νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀγαπῶ ἣν γ' ἐξ ἴσου τῷ θεῷ ὀρμηθεὶς ἀνθρώπων μόνον τῇ κεφαλῇ πρόσχω, κἂν θηρίον παραθέον ἰδὼν δυνασθῶ διατεινόμενος φθάσαι ὥστε ἀκοντίσαι ἢ τοξεύσαι πρὶν πάνυ πρόσω αὐτὸ γενέσθαι. ἣν δ' ἵππεὺς γένωμαι, δυνήσομαι μὲν ἄνδρα ἐξ ὅσῃς μήκους καθαιρεῖν· δυνήσομαι δὲ θηρία διώκων τὰ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς παίειν καταλαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ ἀκοντίζειν ὥσπερ ἐστηκότα· [καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀμφοτέδεα ταχέα ἦι, ὅμως δὲ πλησίον γίγνηται ἀλλήλων, ὥσπερ τὰ ἐστηκότα ἐστίν.] [4.3.17] ὧν δὲ δὴ μάλιστα δοκῶ ζῶων, ἔφη, ἐζηλωκέναί ἱποκενταύρους, εἰ ἐγένοντο ὥστε προβουλεύεσθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπου φρονήσει, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τὸ δέον παλαμᾶσθαι, ἵππου δὲ τάχος ἔχειν καὶ ἰσχύν, ὥστε τὸ μὲν φεῦγον αἰρεῖν, τὸ δ' ὑπομένον ἀνατρέπειν, οὐκ οὖν πάντα κ' ἀγὼ ταῦτα ἵππεὺς γενόμενος συγκομίζομαι πρὸς ἑμαυτόν; [4.3.18] προνοεῖν μὲν γε ἔξω πάντα τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γνώμῃ, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶν ὀλοφορήσω, διώξομαι δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ, τὸν δ' ἐναντίον ἀνατρέψω τῇ τοῦ ἵππου ῥύμῃ, ἀλλ' οὐ συμπεφυκὼς δεδήσομαι ὥσπερ οἱ ἱποκενταυροὶ. [4.3.19] οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε κρεῖττον ἢ συμπεφυκέναι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἱποκενταύρους οἶμαι ἔγωγε πολλοῖς μὲν ἀπορεῖν τῶν ἀνθρώποις ἡρῆμένων ἀγαθῶν ὅπως δεῖ χρῆσθαι, πολλῶν δὲ τῶν ἵπποις πεφυκῶτων ἡδέων πῶς [αὐτῶν] χρῆ ἀπολαύειν. [4.3.20] ἐγὼ δὲ ἣν ἵππεύειν μάθω, ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου γένωμαι, τὰ τοῦ ἱποκενταύρου δήπου διαπράξομαι· ὅταν δὲ καταβῶ, δειπνήσω καὶ

ἀμφιέσομαι καὶ καθευδήσω ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι· ὥστε τί ἄλλο ἢ διαιρετὸς ἵπποκένταυρος καὶ πάλιν σύνθετος γίνομαι; [4.3.21] ἔτι δ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῖσδε πλεονεκτήσω τοῦ ἵπποκενταύρου· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δυοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν ἑώρα τε καὶ δυοῖν ὥτοιιν ἤκουεν· ἐγὼ δὲ τέτταρσι μὲν ὀφθαλμοῖς τεκμαροῦμαι, τέτταρσι δὲ ὥσιν αἰσθήσομαι· πολλὰ γάρ φασι καὶ ἵππον ἀνθρώπῳ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς προορῶντα δηλοῦν, πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς ὥσιν προακούοντα σημαίνειν. ἐμὲ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, γράφε τῶν ἱππεύειν ὑπερεπιθυμούντων. Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφασαν οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς γε. [4.3.22] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει· Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ σφόδρα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ ταῦτα, εἰ καὶ νόμον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησαίμεθα αἰσχρὸν εἶναι, οἷς ἂν ἵππους ἐγὼ πορίσω, ἣν τις φανῇ πεζῇ ἡμῶν πορευόμενος, ἣν τε πολλὴν ἣν τε ὀλίγην ὁδὸν δέῃ διελθεῖν; ἵνα καὶ παντάπασιν ἵπποκενταύρους ἡμᾶς οἶωνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι. [4.3.23] ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐπήρετο, οἱ δὲ πάντες συνήνεσαν· ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου χρῶνται Πέρσαι οὕτω, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν καλῶν κ' ἀγαθῶν ἐκὼν ὀφθείη Περσῶν οὐδαμῇ πεζὸς ἰών. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἦσαν.

[4.4.1] Ἦνίκα δ' ἦν ἔξω μέσου ἡμέρας, προσήλανον μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι ἱππεῖς καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἵππους τε ἄγοντες αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἄνδρας· ὅσοι γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα παρεδίδοσαν, οὐ κατέκαινον· [4.4.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ προσήλασαν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κῦρος εἰ σῶοι οἱ πάντες εἶεν αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔφασαν, ἐκ τούτου ἡρώτα τί ἔπραξαν. οἱ δὲ διηγοῦντο ἅ τ' ἐποίησαν καὶ ὥς ἀνδρείως ἕκαστα . . ἐμεγαληγόρουν. [4.4.3] ὁ δὲ διήκουέ τε ἡδέως πάντων ἃ ἐβούλοντο λέγειν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοὺς οὕτως· Ἀλλὰ καὶ δηλοῖ τοι, ἔφη, ἐστὲ ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐγένεσθε· καὶ γὰρ μείζους φαίνεσθε καὶ καλλίους καὶ γοργότεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἰδεῖν. [4.4.4] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπυνθάνετο ἤδη αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπόσῃν ὁδὸν δῆλασαν καὶ εἰ οἰκοῖτο ἡ χώρα. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον ὅτι καὶ πολλὴν διελάσειαν καὶ πᾶσα οἰκοῖτο καὶ μεστὴ εἴη καὶ οἰῶν καὶ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ σίτου καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν. [4.4.5] Δυοῖν ἂν, ἔφη, ἐπιμελητέον ἡμῖν εἴη, ὅπως τε κρείττους ἐσόμεθα τῶν ταῦτα ἐχόντων καὶ ὅπως αὐτοὶ μενοῦσιν· οἰκουμένη μὲν γὰρ χώρα πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα· ἐρήμη δ' ἀνθρώπων οὕσα ἐρήμη καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνεται. [4.4.6] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀμυνομένους, ἔφη, οἶδα ὅτι κατεκάνετε, ὀρθῶς ποιοῦντες· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα σῶζει τὴν νίκην· τοὺς δὲ παραδιδόντας αἰχμαλώτους ἡγάγετε· οὓς εἰ ἀφείμεν, τοῦτ' αὖ σύμφορον ἂν, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι,

ποιήσαιμεν· [4.4.7] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἂν φυλάττεσθαι οὐδὲ φυλάττειν ἡμᾶς τούτους δέοι, οὐδ' αὖ σιτοποιεῖν τούτοις· οὐ γὰρ λιμῶι γε δήπου κατακανοῦμεν αὐτούς· ἔπειτα δὲ τούτους ἀφέντες πλείοσιν αἰχμαλώτοις χρησόμεθα. [4.4.8] ἦν γὰρ κρατῶμεν τῆς χώρας, πάντες ἡμῖν οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῦντες αἰχμάλωτοι ἔσονται· μᾶλλον δὲ τούτους ζῶντας ἰδόντες καὶ ἀφεθέντας μενοῦσιν οἱ ἄλλοι καὶ πείθεσθαι αἰρήσονται μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτω γινώσκω· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τις ὁρᾷ ἄμεινον, λεγέτω. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες συνήνουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν. [4.4.9] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος καλέσας τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους λέγει τοιάδε· [4.4.10] Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, νῦν τε ὅτι ἐπείθεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς περιεποιήσασθε, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, ἦν οὕτω ποιῆτε, οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν καινὸν ἔσται ἡμῖν ἀλλ' ἢ οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρξει ὑμῖν ὅσπερ καὶ πρότερον· οἰκήσετε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς οἰκίας καὶ χώραν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργάσεσθε καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς συνοικήσετε καὶ παίδων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἄρξετε ὥσπερ νῦν· ἡμῖν μέντοι οὐ μαχεῖσθε οὐδὲ ἄλλωι οὐδενί· [4.4.11] ἥνικα δ' ἂν τις ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μαχοῦμεθα. ὅπως δὲ μηδ' ἐπαγγέλλῃ μηδεὶς ὑμῖν στρατεύειν, τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς ἡμᾶς κομίσασθε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν κομίζουσιν ἔσται εἰρήνη καὶ ἃ λέγομεν ἀδόλως· ὅπόσοι δ' ἂν τὰ πολεμικὰ μὴ ἀποφέρωσιν ὅπλα, ἐπὶ τούτους ἡμεῖς καὶ δὴ στρατευσόμεθα. [4.4.12] ἐὰν δέ τις ὑμῶν καὶ ἰὼν ὡς ἡμᾶς εὐνοϊκῶς καὶ πράττων τι καὶ διδάσκων φαίνεται, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς ὡς εὐεργέτην καὶ φίλον, οὐχ ὡς δοῦλον περιέψομεν. ταῦτ' οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτοὶ τε ἴστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις διαγγέλλετε. [4.4.13] ἦν δ' ἄρα, ἔφη, ὑμῶν βουλομένων ταῦτα μὴ πείθωνται τινες, ἐπὶ τούτους ἡμᾶς ἄγετε, ὅπως ὑμεῖς ἐκείνων, μὴ ἐκείνοι ὑμῶν ἄρχωσιν. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ προσεκύουν τε καὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο ταῦτα ποιήσιν.

[4.5.1] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοι ὦιχοντο, ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· ὦρα δὴ, ὦ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἀρμένιοι, δειπνεῖν πᾶσιν ἡμῖν· παρεσκευάσται δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὡς ἡμεῖς βέλτιστα ἐδυνάμεθα. ἀλλ' ἴτε καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπετε τοῦ πεποιημένου σίτου τὸν ἡμισυν· ἱκανὸς δὲ ἀμφοτέροις πεποιήται· ὄψον δὲ μὴ πέμπετε μηδὲ πιεῖν· ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἔχομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρεσκευασμένα. [4.5.2] καὶ ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἔφη, διάγετε αὐτούς ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς, τοὺς μὲν ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τὰς μεγίστας, γινώσκετε δέ, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς ἂν δοκῇ κάλλιστα ἔχειν· καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ δειπνεῖτε ὅπουπερ ἡδιστον ὑμῖν· σῶαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν καὶ ἀκέραιοι αἱ σκηναί· παρεσκευάσται δὲ καὶ <ὑμῖν> ἐνθάδε ὥσπερ καὶ τούτοις. [4.5.3] καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἴστε ἀμφοτέροι ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἔξω ὑμῖν ἡμεῖς

νυκτοφυλακήσομεν, τὰ δ' ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς αὐτοὶ ὁρᾶτε καὶ τὰ ὄπλα εὖ τίθεσθε· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς οὕτω φίλοι ἡμῖν. [4.5.4] οἱ μὲν δὴ Μῆδοι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Τιγράνῃν ἐλοῦντο, καί, ἦν γὰρ παρεσκευασμένα, [καί] ἱμάτια μεταλαβόντες ἐδείπνουν, καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις δὲ ἔπεμπον τῶν ἄρτων τοὺς ἡμίσεις. ὄψον δὲ οὐκ ἔπεμπον οὐδ' οἶνον, οἰόμενοι ἔχειν τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κῦρον ἔτι ἄφθονα ταῦτα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος [ταῦτα] ἔλεγεν ὄψον μὲν τὸν λιμόν, πιεῖν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ παραρρέοντος ποταμοῦ. [4.5.5] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος δειπνίσας τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐπεὶ συνεσκότασε, κατὰ πεμπάδας καὶ κατὰ δεκάδας πολλοὺς αὐτῶν διέπεμψε καὶ ἐκέλευσε κύκλῳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κρυπτεῦειν, νομίζων ἅμα μὲν φυλακὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἂν τις ἔξωθεν προσίῃ, ἅμα δέ, ἂν τις ἔξω φέρων χρήματα ἀποδιδράσκη, ἀλώσεσθαι αὐτόν· καὶ ἐγένετο οὕτω· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀπεδίδρασκον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐάλωσαν. [4.5.6] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὰ μὲν χρήματα τοὺς λαβόντας εἶα ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάζαι ἐκέλευσεν· ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐδὲ βουλόμενος ἂν ἡῦρες ραιδίως τὸν νύκτωρ πορευόμενον. [4.5.7] οἱ μὲν δὴ Πέρσαις οὕτω διῆγον· οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ ἔπινον καὶ εὐωχοῦντο καὶ ἡυλοῦντο καὶ πάσης εὐθυμίας ἐνεπίμπλαντο· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἦλθον, ὥστε μὴ ἀπορεῖν ἔργου τοὺς ἐγρηγορότας.

[4.5.8] Ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ὁ τῶν Μήδων βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν νύκτα ἐν ἧ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτός τε ἐμεθύσκετο μεθ' ὧνπερ ἐσκήνου ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίαι, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δὲ Μήδους ὤιετο παρεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἀκούων θόρυβον πολύν· οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τῶν Μήδων, ἅτε τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπεληλυθόντων, ἀνειμένως ἔπινον καὶ ἐθορύβουν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου στρατεύματος καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ εἰληφότες. [4.5.9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐπὶ θύρας οὐδεὶς ἦκε πλὴν οἵπερ καὶ συνεδείπνουν, καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤκουε κενὸν εἶναι τῶν Μήδων καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, καὶ ἐώρα, ἐπειδὴ ἐξῆλθεν, οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐβριμοῦτό τε τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς Μήδοις τῷ καταλιπόντας αὐτὸν ἔρημον οἶχέσθαι, καὶ εὐθύς, ὥσπερ λέγεται ὠμὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀγνώμων, τῶν παρόντων κελεύει τινὰ λαβόντα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππείας πορεύεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον στράτευμα καὶ λέγειν τάδε. [4.5.10] Ὡμην μὲν ἔγωγε, οὐδ' ἂν σέ, ὦ Κῦρε, περὶ ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀπρονοήτως βουλεύσαι, εἰ δὲ Κῦρος οὕτω γινώσκῃ, οὐκ ἂν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Μῆδοι, ἐθελῆσαι οὕτως ἔρημον ἐμὲ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ νῦν, ἂν μὲν Κῦρος βούληται, εἰ δὲ μή, ὑμεῖς γε τὴν ταχίστην πάρεστε. [4.5.11] ταῦτα δὲ ἐπέστειλεν. ὁ δὲ ταπτόμενος πορεύεσθαι

ἔφη· Καὶ πῶς, ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εὐρήσω ἐκείνους; Πῶς δὲ Κῦρος, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἐφ' οὓς ἐπορεύοντο; Ὅτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ἀκούω ἀφεστηκότας τῶν πολεμίων Ὑρκανίους τινὰς καὶ ἐλθόντας δεῦρο οἶχεσθαι ἡγουμένους αὐτῷ. [4.5.12] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κυαξάρης πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ Κύρῳ ὠργίζετο τῷ μὴδ' εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ταῦτα, καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ μᾶλλον ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους, ὡς ψιλῶσων αὐτόν, καὶ ἰσχυρότερον ἔτι ἢ πρόσθεν τοῖς Μήδοις ἀπειλῶν ἀπεκάλει, καὶ τῷ πεμπομένῳ δὲ ἠπεῖλει, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς ταῦτα ἀπαγγέλλοι.

[4.5.13] Ὁ μὲν δὴ πεμπόμενος ἐπορεύετο ἔχων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ὡς ἑκατόν, ἀνιῶμενος ὅτι οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς τότε ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τοῦ Κύρου. ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁδῷ πορευόμενοι διασχιθέντες τρίβῳ τινὶ ἐπλανῶντο, καὶ οὐ πρόσθεν ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ φίλιον στράτευμα πρὶν ἐντυχόντες ἀποχωροῦσιν τισὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἠνάγκασαν αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι· καὶ οὕτως ἀφικνοῦνται τὰ πυρὰ κατιδόντες ἀμφὶ μέσας πῶς νύκτας. [4.5.14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένοντο πρὸς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, οἱ φύλακες, ὥσπερ εἰρημένον ἦν ὑπὸ Κύρου, οὐκ εἰσέφρηκαν αὐτοὺς πρὸ ἡμέρας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινε, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας ὁ Κῦρος τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀγαθοῖς ἐξαίρεσθαι ἐκέλευε. [4.5.15] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον· ὁ δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ὁμοτίμους εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες, ὁ μὲν θεὸς προφαίνει πολλὰ κ' ἀγαθὰ· ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὀλίγοι ἐσμέν ὡς ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι αὐτῶν. εἴτε γὰρ ὅποσα ἂν προσεργασώμεθα, μὴ φυλάζομεν, πάλιν ταῦτα ἀλλότρια ἔσται· εἴτε καταλείβομεν τινὰς ἡμῶν αὐτῶν φύλακας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν γιγνομένοις, αὐτίκα οὐδεμίαν ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες ἀναφανούμεθα. [4.5.16] δοκεῖ οὖν μοι ὡς τάχιστα ἰέναι τινὰ ὑμῶν εἰς Πέρσας καὶ διδάσκειν ἅπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, καὶ κελεύειν ὡς τάχιστα ἐπιπέμειν στράτευμα, εἴπερ ἐπιθυμοῦσι Πέρσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἀσίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν κάρπωσιν γενέσθαι. [4.5.17] ἴθι μὲν οὖν σύ, ἔφη, ὁ πρεσβύτατος, καὶ ἰὼν ταῦτα λέγε, καὶ ὅτι οὓς ἂν πέμπωσι στρατιώτας, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθωσι παρ' ἐμέ, ἐμοὶ μελήσει περὶ τροφῆς αὐτοῖς. ἃ δ' ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς, ὁρᾷς μὲν αὐτός, κρύπτε δὲ τούτων μὴδέν, ὃ τι δὲ τούτων ἐγὼ πέμπω εἰς Πέρσας καλῶς καὶ νομίμως ποιοίην ἂν τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὸν πατέρα ἐρώτα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀρχάς. πεμψάντων δὲ καὶ ὀπτήρας ὧν πράττομεν καὶ φραστήρας ὧν ἐρωτῶμεν. καὶ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, συσκευάζου καὶ τὸν λόχον προπομπὸν ἄγε.

[4.5.18] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἐκάλει, καὶ ἅμα ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Κυαζάρου ἄγγελος παρίσταται, καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τὴν τε πρὸς Κῦρον ὀργὴν καὶ τὰς πρὸς Μήδους ἀπειλὰς αὐτοῦ ἔλεγε· καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ὅτι ἀπιέναι Μήδους κελεύει, καὶ εἰ Κῦρος μένειν βούλεται. [4.5.19] οἱ μὲν οὖν Μῆδοι ἀκούσαντες τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐσίγησαν, ἀποροῦντες μὲν πῶς χρή καλοῦντος ἀπειθεῖν, φοβούμενοι δὲ πῶς χρή ἀπειλοῦντι ὑπακοῦσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδότες τὴν ὁμότητα αὐτοῦ. [4.5.20] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὃ ἄγγελέ τε καὶ Μῆδοι, οὐδέν, ἔφη, θαυμάζω εἰ Κυαζάρης, πολλοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τὸτ' ἰδὼν, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅ τι πράττομεν, ὁκνεῖ περὶ τε ἡμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἐπειδὰν δὲ αἰσθηται πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολωλότας, πάντας δὲ ἀπεληλαμένους, πρῶτον μὲν παύσεται φοβούμενος, ἔπειτα γινώσεται, ὅτι οὐ νῦν ἔρημος γίγνεται, ἡνίκα οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθροὺς ἀπολλύουσιν. [4.5.21] ἀλλὰ μὴν μέμψεώς γε πῶς ἐσμέν ἄξιοι, εὖ τε ποιοῦντες ἐκείνον καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα αὐτοματίσαντες; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκείνον ἔπεισα ἐᾶσαι με λαβόντα ὑμᾶς ἐξέλθειν· ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐχ ὥς ἐπιθυμοῦντες τῆς ἐξόδου ἡρωτήσατε εἰ ἐξίοιτε καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἦκετε, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου κελευσθέντες ἐξίεναι ὅτῳ ὑμῶν μὴ ἀχθομένῳ εἴη. καὶ ἡ ὀργὴ οὖν αὕτη σάφ' οἶδα ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν πεπανθήσεται καὶ σὺν τῷ φόβῳ λήγοντι ἄπεισι. [4.5.22] νῦν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, σύ τε, ὃ ἄγγελε, ἀνάπαυσαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πεπόνηκας, ἡμεῖς τε, ὃ Πέρσαι, ἐπεὶ προσδεχόμεθα πολεμίους ἥτοι μαχομένους γε ἢ πεισομένους παρέσεσθαι, ταχθῶμεν ὥς κάλλιστα· οὕτω γὰρ ὀρωμένους εἰκὸς πλεον προανύτειν ὧν χρήζομεν. σὺ δ', ἔφη, ὁ τῶν Ὑρκανίων ἄρχων, ὑπόμεινον προστάξας τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν σῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξοπλίζειν αὐτούς. [4.5.23] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσας ὁ Ὑρκάνιος προσῆλθε, λέγει ὁ Κῦρος· Ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη, ὃ Ὑρκάνιε, ἡδομαι αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι οὐ μόνον φιλίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος πάρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύνεσιν φαίνῃ μοι ἔχειν. καὶ νῦν ὅτι συμφέροι ἡμῖν ταῦτ' ἀπὸ δῆλον· ἐμοὶ τε γὰρ πολέμιοι Ἀσσύριοι, σοὶ τε νῦν ἔτι ἐχθιόνες εἰσιν ἢ ἐμοί· [4.5.24] οὕτως οὖν ἡμῖν ἀμφοτέροις βουλευτέον ὅπως τῶν μὲν νῦν παρόντων μηδεὶς ἀποστατήσῃ ἡμῖν συμμάχων, ἄλλους δέ, ἂν δυνάμεθα, προσληψόμεθα. τοῦ δὲ Μήδου ἤκουες ἀποκαλοῦντος τοὺς ἱππέας· εἰ δ' οὗτοι ἀπίαςιν, ἡμεῖς μόνοι οἱ πεζοὶ μενοῦμεν. [4.5.25] οὕτως οὖν δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ ὅπως ὁ ἀποκαλῶν οὗτος καὶ αὐτὸς μένειν παρ' ἡμῖν βουλήσεται. σὺ μὲν οὖν εὐρὼν σκηνὴν δὸς αὐτῷ ὅπου κάλλιστα διάξει πάντα τὰ δέοντα ἔχων· ἐγὼ δ' αὖ πειράσομαι

αὐτῷ ἔργον τι προστάζει ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἥδιον πράξει ἢ ἅπεισι· καὶ διαλέγου δὲ αὐτῷ ὁπόσα ἐλπίς γενέσθαι ἀγαθὰ πᾶσι τοῖς φίλοις, ἂν ταῦτ' εὖ γένηται· ποιήσας μέντοι ταῦτα ἤκε πάλιν παρ' ἐμέ.

[4.5.26] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὑρκάνιος τὸν Μῆδον ὤχετο ἄγων ἐπὶ σκηνὴν· ὁ δ' εἰς Πέρσας ἰὼν παρὴν συνεσκευασμένος· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος αὐτῷ ἐπέστελλε πρὸς μὲν Πέρσας λέγειν ἃ καὶ πρόσθεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται, Κυαξάρη δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὰ γράμματα. ἀναγνῶναι δέ σοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιστελλόμενα, ἔφη, βούλομαι, ἵνα εἰδὼς αὐτὰ ὁμολογήῃς, ἂν τί σε πρὸς ταῦτα ἐρωτᾷ. ἐνὴν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τάδε.

[4.5.27] Κῦρος Κυαξάρη χαίρειν. ἡμεῖς σε οὔτε ἔρημον κατελίπομεν· οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὅταν ἐχθρῶν κρατῇ, τότε φίλων ἔρημος γίγνεται· οὐδὲ μὴν ἀποχωροῦντές γέ σε οἴομεθα ἐν κινδύνῳ καθιστάναι· ἀλλὰ ὅσῳ πλέον ἀπέχομεν, τοσούτῳ πλέονια σοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖν νομίζομεν· [4.5.28] οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τῶν φίλων καθηήμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς φίλοις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρέχουσιν, ἀλλ' οἱ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μήκιστον ἀπελαύνοντες μᾶλλον τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ καθιστᾷσι. [4.5.29] σκέψαι δὲ οἶμαι ὄντι μοι περὶ σέ οἷος ὢν περὶ ἐμέ ἔπειτά μοι μέμφη. ἐγὼ μὲν γέ σοι ἡγαγον συμμάχους, οὐχ ὅσους σὺ ἔπεισας, ἀλλ' ὁπόσους ἐγὼ πλείστους ἐδυνάμην· σὺ δέ μοι ἔδωκας μὲν ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ ὄντι ὅσους πείσαι δυνασθεῖν· νῦν δ' ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντος οὐ τὸν θέλοντα ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀποκαλεῖς. [4.5.30] τοιγαροῦν τότε μὲν ὠϊόμην ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν χάριν ὀφείλειν· νῦν δὲ σὺ με ἀναγκάζεις σοῦ μὲν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἀκολουθήσασιν πειρᾶσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν χάριν ἀποδιδόναι. [4.5.31] οὐ μέντοι ἔγωγε σοὶ ὅμοιος δύναμαι γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν πέμπων ἐπὶ στράτευμα εἰς Πέρσας ἐπιστέλλω, ὁπόσοι ἂν ἴωσιν ὡς ἐμέ, ἢν τι σὺ αὐτῶν δέῃ πρὶν ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, σοὶ ὑπάρχειν, οὐχ ὅπως ἂν θέλωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν σὺ βούλῃ χρησθαι αὐτοῖς. [4.5.32] συμβουλευέω δέ σοι καίπερ νεώτερος ὢν μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἃ ἂν δῶις, ἵνα μὴ σοὶ ἀντὶ χαρίτων ἔχθραι ὀφείλωνται, μηδ' ὅταν τινὰ βούλῃ πρὸς σέ ταχὺ ἐλθεῖν, ἀπειλοῦντα μεταπέμπεσθαι, μηδὲ φάσκοντα ἔρημον εἶναι ἅμα πολλοῖς ἀπειλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ διδάσκησις αὐτοὺς σοῦ μὴ φροντίζειν. [4.5.33] ἡμεῖς δὲ πειρασόμεθα παρεῖναι, ὅταν τάχιστα διαπραξώμεθα ἃ σοὶ τ' ἂν καὶ ἡμῖν νομίζομεν πραχθέντα κοινὰ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὰ. ἔρρωσο.

[4.5.34] Ταύτην αὐτῷ ἀπόδος καὶ ὃ τι ἂν σε τούτων ἐρωτᾷ, ἥι γέγραπται σύμφαθι. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐπιστέλλω σοὶ περὶ Περσῶν ἥτις γέγραπται. τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε, καὶ δοὺς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀπέπεμπε,

προσεντειλάμενος οὕτω σπεύδειν ὥσπερ οἶδεν ὅτι συμφέρει ταχὺ παρῆναι.

[4.5.35] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἑώρα μὲν ἐξωπλισμένους ἤδη πάντας καὶ τοὺς Μήδους καὶ τοὺς Ὑρκανίους καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Τιγράνην· καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι δὲ ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἤδη δὲ τινες τῶν προσχώρων καὶ ἵππους ἀπῆγον καὶ ὄπλα ἀπέφερον. [4.5.36] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν παλὰ ὅπουπερ τοὺς πρόσθεν καταβάλλειν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ ἕκαιον οἷς τοῦτο ἔργον ἦν ὀπόσων μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐδέοντο· τοὺς δ' ἵππους ἐκέλευε φυλάττειν μένοντας τοὺς ἀγαγόντας ἕως ἂν τι σημανθῇ αὐτοῖς· τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Ὑρκανίων καλέσας τοιάδε ἔλεξεν.

[4.5.37] Ἄνδρες φίλοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, μὴ θαυμάζετε ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμᾶς συγκαλῶ· καινὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν ὄντα τὰ παρόντα πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἀσύντακτα· ἃ δ' ἂν ἀσύντακτα ἦι, ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἀεὶ πράγματα παρέχειν, ἕως ἂν χώραν λάβῃ. [4.5.38] καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἡμῖν πολλὰ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα χρήματα, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τὸ μήτε ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι ποῖα τούτων ἐκάστου ἐστὶν ἡμῶν, μήτε τούτους εἰδέναι ὅστις ἐκάστωι αὐτῶν δεσπότης, περαίνοντας μὲν δὴ τὰ δέοντα οὐ πάνυ ἔστιν ὁρᾶν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ἀποροῦντας δὲ ὅ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν σχεδὸν πάντας. [4.5.39] ὥς οὖν μὴ οὕτως ἔχη, διορίσατε αὐτά· καὶ ὅστις μὲν ἔλαβε σκηνὴν ἔχουσιν ἱκανὰ καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας καὶ στρωμνὴν καὶ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τᾶλλα οἷς οἰκεῖται σκηνὴ καλῶς στρατιωτικῇ, ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο δεῖ προσγενέσθαι ἢ τὸν λαβόντα εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτων ὡς οἰκείων ἐπιμέλестhai δεῖ· ὅστις δ' εἰς ἐνδεόμενά του κατεσκήνωσε, τούτοις ὑμεῖς σκεψάμενοι τὸ ἐλλεῖπον ἐκπληρώσατε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ οἶδ' ὅτι ἔσται. [4.5.40] πλείω γὰρ ἅπαντα ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον πλῆθος εἶχον οἱ πολέμοι. ἦλθον δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ χρημάτων ταμίαι, οἷ τε τοῦ Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως καὶ ἄλλων δυναστῶν, οἱ ἔλεγον ὅτι χρυσίον εἴη παρὰ σφίσιν ἐπίσημον, δασμούς τινας λέγοντες. [4.5.41] καὶ ταῦτα οὖν κηρύττετε πάντα ἀποφέρειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅπου ἂν καθέξησθε· καὶ φόβον ἐπιτίθεσθε τῷ μὴ ποιοῦντι τὸ παραγγελλόμενον· ὑμεῖς δὲ διάδοτε λαβόντες ἱππεῖ μὲν τὸ διπλοῦν, πεζῶι δὲ τὸ ἀπλοῦν, ἵνα ἔχητε, ἢν τις προσδέησθε, καὶ ὅτου ὠνήσεσθε. [4.5.42] τὴν δ' ἀγορὰν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κηρυζάτω μὲν ἤδη, ἔφη, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδένα, πωλεῖν δὲ τοὺς κατήλους ὅ τι ἔχει ἕκαστος πράσιμον, καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμένους ἄλλα ἄγειν, ὅπως <εὖ> οἰκῆται ἡμῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον. [4.5.43] ταῦτα μὲν

ἐκήρυττον εὐθύς. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι εἶπον ὧδε· Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφασαν, ἡμεῖς ἄνευ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν διανεμόμεν ταῦτα; [4.5.44] ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὧδε προσηνέχθη· Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, γινώσκετε ὥς ὁ τι ἂν δέηι πραχθῆναι, ἐπὶ πᾶσι πάντας ἡμᾶς δεήσει παρεῖναι, καὶ οὔτε ἐγὼ ἀρκέσω πράττων τι πρὸ ὑμῶν ὁ τι ἂν δέηι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἄλλως πλείω μὲν πράγματα ἔχοιμεν, μείω δὲ διαπραττοίμεθα ἢ οὕτως; [4.5.45] ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη· ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ διεφυλάξαμεν τε ὑμῖν τάδε, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν πιστεύετε καλῶς διαπεφυλάχθαι· ὑμεῖς δ' αὖ διανείματε, καὶ ἡμεῖς πιστεύσομεν ὑμῖν καλῶς διανενεμηκέναι. [4.5.46] καὶ ἄλλο δέ τι αὖ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα κοινὸν ἀγαθὸν πράττειν. ὁρᾶτε γὰρ δῆ, ἔφη, νυνὶ πρῶτον ἵπποι ὅσοι ἡμῖν πάρεσιν, οἱ δὲ προσάγονται· τούτους οὖν εἰ μὲν ἐάσομεν ἀναμβάτους, ὠφελήσουσι μὲν οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς, πράγματα δὲ παρέξουσιν ἐπιμέλестhai· ἦν δὲ ἱππείας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καταστήσωμεν, ἅμα πραγμάτων τε ἀπαλλαξόμεθα καὶ ἰσχὺν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς προσθησόμεθα. [4.5.47] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ἔχετε οἷστισιν ἂν δοίητε αὐτούς, μεθ' ὧν ἂν καὶ κινδυνεύοιτε ἡδίων, εἰ τι δέοι, ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἐκείνοις δίδοτε· εἰ μέντοι ἡμᾶς βούλεσθε παραστάτας μάλιστα ἔχειν ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς δότε. [4.5.48] καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὅτε ἄνευ ἡμῶν προσελάσαντες ἐκινδυνεύετε, πολὺν μὲν φόβον ἡμῖν παρείχετε μὴ τι πάθητε, μάλα δὲ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἡμᾶς ἐποιήσατε ὅτι οὐ παρήμεν ὅπουπερ ὑμεῖς· ἦν δὲ λάβωμεν τοὺς ἵππους, ἐψόμεθα ὑμῖν. [4.5.49] κἂν μὲν δοκῶμεν ὠφελεῖν πλεον ἂπ' αὐτῶν συναγωνιζόμενοι, οὕτω προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείψομεν· ἦν δὲ πεζοὶ γενόμενοι δοκῶμεν καιριωτέρως ἂν παρεῖναι, τό τε καταβῆναι ἐν μέσσω καὶ εὐθύς πεζοὶ ὑμῖν παρεσόμεθα· τοὺς δ' ἵππους μηχανησόμεθα οἷς ἂν παραδοίημεν. [4.5.50] ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἔλεξεν· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο· Ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐτ' ἄνδρας ἔχομεν οὓς ἀναβιβάσαιμεν ἂν ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς ἵππους, οὐτ' εἰ εἴχομεν, σοῦ ταῦτα βουλομένου ἄλλο ἂν ἀντὶ τούτων ἡιρούμεθα. καὶ νῦν, ἔφασαν, τούτους λαβὼν ποιεῖ ὅπως ἄριστόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι. [4.5.51] Ἀλλὰ δέχομαί τε, ἔφη, καὶ ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἡμεῖς τε ἱππεῖς γενοίμεθα καὶ ὑμεῖς διέλοιτε τὰ κοινά. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἔφη, ἐξαιρεῖτε ὁ τι ἂν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγῶνται· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ Κυαζάρῃ ἐκλέξασθε ὅποι' ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτῷ μάλιστα χαρίζεσθαι. [4.5.52] καὶ οἱ γελάσαντες εἶπον ὅτι γυναικας ἐξαιρετέον εἶη. Γυναικᾶς τε τοῖνυν ἐξαιρεῖτε, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὁ τι ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐκείνῳ ἐξέλητε, τοὺς ἐμοί, ὦ Ὑρκάνιοι, ἐθελουσίους τούτους

ἐπισπομένους πάντας ἀμέμπτους ποιεῖτε εἰς δύναμιν. [4.5.53] ὑμεῖς δ' αὖ, ὦ Μῆδοι, τοὺς πρώτους συμμάχους γενομένους τιμᾶτε τούτους, ὅπως εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι ἡγήσωνται ἡμῖν φίλοι γενόμενοι. νείματε δὲ πάντων τὸ μέρος καὶ τῷ παρὰ Κυαζάρου ἦκοντι αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνδιαμένειν δὲ παρακαλεῖτε, ὥς ἐμοὶ τοῦτο συνδοκοῦν, ἵνα καὶ Κυαζάρῃ μᾶλλον εἰδῶς περὶ ἐκάστου ἀπαγγείλῃ τὰ ὄντα. [4.5.54] Πέρσαις δ', ἔφη, τοῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ, ὅσα ἂν περιττὰ γένηται ὑμῶν καλῶς κατεσκευασμένων, ταῦτα ἀρκέσει· καὶ γάρ, ἔφη, μάλα πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐν χλιδῇ τεθράμμεθα ἀλλὰ χωριτικῶς, ὥστε ἴσως ἂν ἡμῶν καταγελάσατε, εἴ τι σεμνὸν ἡμῖν περιτεθεῖη, ὥσπερ, ἔφη, οἷδ' ὅτι πολὺν ὑμῖν γέλωτα παρέξομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων καθήμενοι, οἶμαι δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καταπίπτοντες.

[4.5.55] Ἐκ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὴν διαίρεσιν, μάλα ἐπὶ τῷ ἱππικῷ γελῶντες· ὁ δὲ τοὺς ταξιάρχους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἵππους λαμβάνειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων σκευὴ καὶ τοὺς ἵπποκόμους, καὶ ἀριθμήσαντας <δια>λαβεῖν κληρωσαμένους εἰς τάξιν ἴσους ἐκάστοις. [4.5.56] αὐθις δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἀνειπεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, εἴ τις εἴῃ ἐν τῷ Ἀσσυρίων ἢ Σύρων ἢ Ἀραβίων στρατεύματι ἀνὴρ δοῦλος ἢ Μήδων ἢ Περσῶν ἢ Βακτρίων ἢ Καρῶν ἢ Κιλικίων ἢ Ἑλλήνων ἢ ἄλλοθεν ποθεν βεβιασμένος, ἐκφαίνεσθαι. [4.5.57] οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τοῦ κήρυκος ἄσμενοι πολλοὶ προυφάνησαν· ὁ δ' ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς τὰ εἶδη βελτίστους ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐλευθέρους αὐτοὺς ὄντας δεήσει ὅπλα ὑποφέρειν ἢ ἂν αὐτοῖς διδῶσι· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ὅπως ἂν ἔχωσιν ἔφη αὐτῷ μελήσειν. [4.5.58] καὶ εὐθὺς ἄγων πρὸς τοὺς ταξιάρχους συνέστησεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τὰ τε γέρρα καὶ τὰς ψιλὰς μαχαίρας τούτοις δοῦναι, ὅπως ἔχοντες σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἔπωνται, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τούτοις ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ Πέρσαις λαμβάνειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θώρακας καὶ τὰ ξυστὰ ἔχοντας ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχεῖσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω ποιῶν κατήρχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς τῶν ὁμοτίμων ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ ἕκαστον καθιστάναι ἄλλον ἄρχοντα τῶν ὁμοτίμων.

[4.6.1] Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ ταῦτα εἶχον. Γωβρύας δ' ἐν τούτῳ παρῆν Ἀσσύριος πρεσβύτης ἀνὴρ ἐφ' ἵππου σὺν ἱππικῇ θεραπείᾳ· εἶχον δὲ πάντες τὰ ἐφίππων ὅπλα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ὅπλα παραλαμβάνειν τεταγμένοι ἐκέλευον παραδιδόναι τὰ ξυστὰ, ὅπως κατακαίοιεν ὥσπερ τᾶλλα. ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας εἶπεν ὅτι Κῦρον πρῶτον βούλοιο ἰδεῖν· καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἱππέας αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον, τὸν δὲ

Γωβρύαν ἄγουσι πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον. [4.6.2] ὁ δ' ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, ἔλεξεν ὧδε· ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ μὲν γένος Ἀσσύριος· ἔχω δὲ καὶ τεῖχος ἰσχυρὸν καὶ χώρας ἐπάρχῳ πολλῆς· καὶ ἵππον ἔχω εἰς χιλίαν, ἣν τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεῖ παρειχόμεν καὶ φίλος ἦν ἐκείνῳ ὡς μάλιστα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τέθηκεν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχει ἔχθιστος ὢν ἐμοί, ἥκω πρὸς σὲ καὶ ἰκέτης προσπίπτω καὶ δίδωμί σοι ἐμαυτὸν δοῦλον καὶ σύμμαχον, σὲ δὲ τιμωρὸν αἰτοῦμαι ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι· καὶ παῖδα οὕτως ὡς δυνατόν σε ποιοῦμαι· ἅπαις δ' εἰμὶ ἀρρένων παίδων. [4.6.3] ὃς γὰρ ἦν μοι μόνος καὶ καλὸς κἀγαθός, ὃ δέσποτα, καὶ ἐμὲ φιλῶν καὶ τιμῶν ὥσπερ ἂν εὐδαίμονα πατέρα παῖς τιμῶν τιθεῖν, τοῦτον ὁ νῦν βασιλεὺς οὗτος καλέσαντος τοῦ τότε βασιλέως, πατὴρ δὲ τοῦ νῦν, ὡς δώσοντος τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ ἐμῷ παιδί, ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεπεμψάμην μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι δῆθεν τῆς βασιλείας θυγατρὸς ὁποίμην τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν γαμέτην· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεὺς εἰς θήραν αὐτοῦ παρακαλέσας καὶ ἀνεῖς αὐτῷ θηρᾶν ἀνὰ κράτος, ὡς πολλὸν κρεῖττων αὐτοῦ ἱππεὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι, ὁ μὲν ὡς φίλῳ συνεθήρα, φανείσης δ' ἄρκτου διώκοντες ἀμφοτέροι, ὁ μὲν νῦν ἄρχων οὗτος ἀκοντίσας ἡμαρτεν, ὡς μήποτε ὠφελεν, ὁ δ' ἐμὸς παῖς βαλὼν, οὐδὲν δέον, καταβάλλει τὴν ἄρκτον. [4.6.4] καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἀνιαιθεὶς ἄρ' οὗτος κατέσχεν ὑπὸ σκότου τὸν φθόνον· ὡς δὲ πάλιν λέοντος παρατυχόντος ὁ μὲν αὖ ἡμαρτεν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι θαυμαστὸν παθὼν, ὁ δ' αὖ ἐμὸς παῖς αὐτῆς τυχὼν κατειργάσατό τε τὸν λέοντα καὶ εἶπεν· Ἄρα βέβληκα δις ἐφεξῆς καὶ καταβέβληκα θήρα ἐκατεράκις, ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οὐκέτι κατίσχει ὁ ἀνόσιος τὸν φθόνον, ἀλλ' αἰχμὴν παρά τινος τῶν ἐπομένων ἀρπάσας, παίσας εἰς τὰ στέρνα τὸν μόνον μοι καὶ φίλον παῖδα ἀφείλετο τὴν ψυχὴν. [4.6.5] κἀγὼ μὲν ὁ τάλας νεκρὸν ἀντὶ νυμφίου ἐκομισάμην καὶ ἔθαψα τηλικούτος ὢν ἄρτι γενειάσκοντα τὸν ἄριστον παῖδα τὸν ἀγαπητόν· ὁ δὲ κατακανὼν ὥσπερ ἐχθρὸν ἀπολέσας οὔτε μεταμελόμενος πώποτε φανερός ἐγένετο οὔτε ἀντὶ τοῦ κακοῦ ἔργου τιμῆς τινος ἠξίωσε τὸν κατὰ γῆς. ὁ γε μὴν πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ συνώικτισέ με καὶ δηλὸς ἦν συναχθόμενός μοι τῇ συμφορᾷ. [4.6.6] ἐγὼ οὖν, εἰ μὲν ἔζη ἐκεῖνος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἦλθον πρὸς σὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου κακῷ· πολλὰ γὰρ φιλικὰ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπηρετήσα ἐκείνῳ· ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐμοῦ παιδὸς φονέα ἡ ἀρχὴ περιήκει, οὐκ ἂν ποτε τούτῳ ἐγὼ δυναίμην εὖνους γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἐμὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι φίλον ἂν ποτε ἡγήσαιτο. οἶδε γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχω καὶ ὡς πρόσθεν φαιδρῶς βιοτεύων νυνὶ

διάκειμαι, ἔρημος ὢν καὶ διὰ πένθους τὸ γῆρας διάγων. [4.6.7] εἰ οὖν
σύ με δέχῃ καὶ ἐλπίδα τινὰ λάβοιμι τῷ φίλῳ παιδί τιμωρίας ἄν
τινος μετὰ σοῦ τυχεῖν, καὶ ἀνηβῆσαι ἄν ἄλλιν δοκῶ μοι καὶ οὔτε ζῶν
ἄν ἔτι αἰσχυνοίμην οὔτε ἀποθνήσκων ἀνιώμενος ἄν τελευτᾶν δοκῶ.
[4.6.8] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε· Κῦρος δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ' ἦνπερ, ὦ
Γωβρύα, καὶ φρονῶν φαίνειν ὅσαπερ λέγεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δέχομαι τε
ικέτην σε καὶ τιμώρησίν σοι τοῦ παιδὸς σὺν θεοῖς ὑπισχνοῦμαι.
λέξον δέ μοι, ἔφη, ἔάν σοι ταῦτα ποιῶμεν καὶ τὰ τεῖχῃ σε ἔχειν ἐῷμεν
καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἦνπερ πρόσθεν εἶχες, σὺ
ἡμῖν τί ἀντὶ τούτων ὑπηρετήσεις; [4.6.9] ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Τὰ μὲν τεῖχῃ, ὅταν
ἔλθῃς, οἶκόν σοι παρέξω· δασμὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας ὄνπερ ἔφερον
ἐκείνῳ σοὶ ἀποίσω, καὶ ὅποι ἂν στρατεύῃ συστρατεύσομαι τὴν ἐκ
τῆς χώρας δύναμιν ἔχων. ἔστι δέ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ θυγάτηρ παρθένος
ἀγαπητὴ γάμου ἤδη ὥραία, ἣν ἐγὼ πρόσθεν μὲν ὤμιην τῷ νῦν
βασιλεύοντι γυναιῖκα τρέφειν· νῦν δὲ αὐτὴ τέ με ἡ θυγάτηρ πολλὰ
γοωμένη ἰκέτευσε μὴ δοῦναι αὐτὴν τῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φονεῖ, ἐγὼ τε
ὡσαύτως γινώσκω. νῦν δέ σοι δίδωμι βουλευσασθαι καὶ περὶ
ταύτης οὔτως ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ ἐγὼ βουλεύων περὶ σοῦ φαίνομαι. [4.6.10]
οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἀληθευομένοις δίδωμί
σοι τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ λαμβάνω τὴν σὴν δεξιάν· θεοὶ δ' ἡμῖν μάρτυρες
ἔστων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπράχθη, ἀπιέναι τε κελεύει τὸν Γωβρύαν
ἔχοντα τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ἐπήρετο πόση τις ὁδὸς ὡς αὐτὸν εἴη, ὡς ἦξων. ὁ
δ' ἔλεξεν· Ἦν αὔριον ἴης πρῶι, τῇ ἐτέραι ἂν αὐλίζοιο παρ' ἡμῖν.

[4.6.11] Οὕτω δὴ οὗτος μὲν ὤιχετο ἡγεμόνα καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι
παρῆσαν, ἃ μὲν οἱ μάγοι ἔφρασαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελεῖν, ἀποδόντες τοῖς
μάγοις, Κύρῳ δ' ἐξηρηκότες τὴν καλλίστην σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν
Σουσίδα γυναιῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυνὴ γενέσθαι,
καὶ μουσουργοὺς δὲ δύο τὰς κρατίστας, δεύτερον δὲ Κυαζάρῃ τὰ
δεύτερα, τοιαῦτα δὲ ἄλλα ὧν ἐδέοντο ἑαυτοῖς ἐκπληρώσαντες, ὡς
μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενοι στρατεύωνται· πάντα γὰρ ἦν πολλὰ. [4.6.12]
προσέλαβον δὲ καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι ὧν ἐδέοντο· ἰσόμοιρον δὲ ἐποίησαν καὶ
τὸν παρὰ Κυαζάρου ἄγγελον· τὰς δὲ περιττὰς σκηνὰς ὅσαι ἦσαν
Κύρῳ παρέδωκαν, ὡς τοῖς Πέρσαις γένοιτο. τὸ δὲ νόμισμα ἔφασαν,
ἐπειδὴν ἅπαν συλλεχθῇ, διαδώσειν· καὶ διέδωκαν.

Βιβλίον ε'

[5.1.1] Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραζάν τε καὶ ἔλεξαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὰ μὲν Κυαζάρου ἐκέλευσε διαλαβόντας φυλάττειν οὓς ἡίδει οἰκειοτάτους αὐτῶι ὄντας· καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἐμοὶ δίδοτε, ἡδέως, ἔφη, δέχομαι· χρήσεται δ' αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ὁ ἀεὶ μάλιστα δεόμενος. φιλόμουσος δέ τις τῶν Μήδων εἶπε· Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, τῶν μουσουργῶν ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ δίδωμί σοι καὶ χάριν ἀκούσας ἐσπέρας ὧν σὺ νῦν ἔχεις, ἡκουσά τε ἡδέως κἄν μοι δῶις αὐτῶν μίαν, στρατεύεσθαι ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἥδιον ἢ οἴκοι μένειν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ δίδωμί σοι καὶ χάριν οἶομαι σοὶ πλείω ἔχειν ὅτι ἐμὲ ἡιτησας ἢ σὺ ἐμοὶ ὅτι λαμβάνεις· οὕτως ἐγώ ὑμῖν διψῶ χαρίζεσθαι. ταύτην μὲν οὖν ἔλαβεν ὁ αἰτήσας.

[5.1.2] Καλέσας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος Ἀράσπαν Μῆδον, ὃς ἦν αὐτῶι ἐκ παιδὸς ἐταῖρος, ᾧ καὶ τὴν στολὴν ἐκδὺς ἔδωκε τὴν Μηδικήν, ὅτε παρ' Ἀστυάγους εἰς Πέρσας ἀπήιε, τοῦτον ἐκέλευσε διαφυλάξαι αὐτῶι τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν σκηνήν· [5.1.3] ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου τοῦ Σουσίου· ὅτε δὲ ἤλίσκετο τὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων στρατόπεδον, ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν τῶι στρατοπέδῳ ὧν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλέα πρεσβεύων ὤιχετο· ἔπεμψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀσσύριος περὶ συμμαχίας· ξένος γὰρ ὧν ἐτύγχανε τῶι τῶν Βακτρίων βασιλεῖ· ταύτην οὖν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος διαφυλάττειν τὸν Ἀράσπαν, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς λάβῃ. [5.1.4] κελευόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας ἐρήρετο· Ἐώρακας δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣν με κελεύεις φυλάττειν; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐκ ἔγωγε. Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἡνίκα ἐξηιροῦμέν σοι αὐτήν· καὶ δῆτα, ὅτε μὲν εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτήν· χαμαὶ τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο καὶ αἰθεράπαινοι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτήν· καὶ τοίνυν ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ γνῶναι βουλόμενοι ποία εἴη ἡ δέσποινα πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν, ταχὺ πάνυ καὶ πασῶν ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ καθημένη κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὀρῶσα. [5.1.5] ὥς δὲ ἀναστῆναι αὐτήν ἐκελεύσαμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτῇ ἅπασαι αἱ ἄμφ' αὐτήν, διήνεγκε δ' ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον μὲν τῶι μεγέθει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ, καίπερ ἐν ταπεινῶι σχήματι ἐστηκυῖα. δῆλα δ' ἦν αὐτῇ καὶ τὰ δάκρυα στάζοντα, τὰ μὲν κατὰ τῶν πέπλων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας. [5.1.6] ὥς δ' ἡμῶν ὁ γεραίτατος

εἶπε, Θάρρει, ὦ γύναι· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ καγαθὸν ἀκούομεν καὶ τὸν σὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι· νῦν μέντοι ἐξαιροῦμεν ἀνδρὶ σε εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι οὔτε τὸ εἶδος ἐκείνου χεῖρονι οὔτε τὴν γνώμην οὔτε δύναμιν ἤττω ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἡμεῖς γε νομίζομεν, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, καὶ Κῦρος ἄξιός ἐστι θαυμάζεσθαι, οὗ σὺ ἔσθι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε· ὥς οὖν τοῦτο ἤκουσεν ἡ γυνή, περικατερρήξατό τε τὸν ἄνωθεν πέπλον καὶ ἀνωδύρατο· συνανεβόησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ δμωαί. [5.1.7] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐφάνη μὲν αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τοῦ προσώπου, ἐφάνη δὲ ἡ δέρη καὶ αἱ χεῖρες· καὶ εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ὥς ἐμοί τε ἔδοξε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τοῖς ἰδοῦσι μήπω φῦναι μηδὲ γενέσθαι γυνὴ ἀπὸ θνητῶν τοιαύτη ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἀλλὰ πάντως, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ θέασαι αὐτήν. [5.1.8] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· [Ναί] Μὰ Δία, πολὺ γε ἤττον, εἰ τοιαύτη ἐστὶν οἷαν σὺ λέγεις. Τί δαί; ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος. Ὅτι, ἔφη, εἰ νυνὶ σοῦ ἀκούσας ὅτι καλὴ ἐστὶ πεισθήσομαι ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενος, οὐδὲ πάνυ μοι σχολῆς οὔσης, δέδοικα μὴ πολὺ θάπτον ἐκείνη αὖθις ἀναπεῖσθαι καὶ πάλιν ἐλθεῖν θεασόμενον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἴσως ἂν ἀμελήσας ὦν με δεῖ πράττειν καθήμην ἐκείνην θεώμενος.

[5.1.9] Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος ἀναγελάσας εἶπεν· Οἶει γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἱκανὸν εἶναι κάλλος ἀνθρώπου ἀναγκάζειν τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον πράττειν παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον; εἰ μέντοι, ἔφη, τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπεφύκει, πάντας ἂν ἠνάγκαζεν ὁμοίως. [5.1.10] ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, τὸ πῦρ, ὥς πάντας ὁμοίως καίει; πέφυκε γὰρ τοιοῦτον· τῶν δὲ καλῶν τῶν μὲν ἐρῶσι τῶν δ' οὐ, καὶ ἄλλος γε ἄλλου. ἐθελούσιον γάρ, ἔφη, ἐστί, καὶ ἐρᾷ ἕκαστος ὦν ἂν βούληται· αὐτίκ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐρᾷ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφῆς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης, οὐδὲ πατὴρ θυγατρὸς, ἄλλος δὲ ταύτης· καὶ γὰρ φόβος καὶ νόμος ἱκανὸς ἔρωτα κωλύειν. [5.1.11] εἰ δέ γ', ἔφη, νόμος τεθεῖη μὴ ἐσθίοντας μὴ πεινῆν καὶ μὴ πίνοντας μὴ διψῆν μηδὲ ῥιγοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μηδὲ θάλπεσθαι τοῦ θέρους, οὐδεὶς ἂν νόμος δυνηθεῖη διαπράξασθαι ταῦτα πείθεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πεφύκασι γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατεῖσθαι. τὸ δ' ἐρᾶν ἐθελούσιόν ἐστιν· ἕκαστος γοῦν τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐρᾷ, ὥσπερ ἱματίων καὶ ὑποδημάτων. [5.1.12] Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ ἐθελούσιόν ἐστι τὸ ἐρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παύσασθαι ἔστιν ὅταν τις βούληται; ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἐώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι' ἔρωτα, καὶ δουλεύοντάς γε τοῖς ἐρωμένοις καὶ μάλα κακὸν νομίζοντας πρὶν ἐρᾶν τὸ δουλεύειν, καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ ὦν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, καὶ εὐχομένους ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ

δεδεμένους ισχυροτέραι τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ εἰ ἐν σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο. παρέχουσι γοῦν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἐρωμένοις πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῇ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαῦτα κακὰ ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττουσι τοὺς ἐρωμένους μὴ ποι ἀποδρῶσι.

[5.1.13] Καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα· Ποιοῦσι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα· εἰσὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, οἱ τοιοῦτοι μοχθηροί· διόπερ οἶμαι καὶ εὐχονται μὲν αἰεὶ ὡς ἄθλιοι ὄντες ἀποθανεῖν, μυρίων δ' οὐσῶν μηχανῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου οὐκ ἀπαλλάττονται. οἱ αὐτοὶ δέ γε οὗτοι καὶ κλέπτειν ἐπιχειροῦσι καὶ οὐκ ἀπέχονται τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τι ἀρπάσωσιν ἢ κλέψωσιν, ὁρᾷς ὅτι σὺ πρῶτος, ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον <ὄν> τὸ κλέπτειν, αἰτιᾷ τὸν κλέπτοντα καὶ ἀρπάζοντα, καὶ οὐ συγγιγνώσκεις, ἀλλὰ κολάζεις; [5.1.14] οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ καλοὶ οὐκ ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐρᾶν ἑαυτῶν οὐδ' ἐφίεσθαι ἀνθρώπους ὧν μὴ δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μοχθηρὰ ἀνθρώπια πασῶν οἶμαι τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀκρατὴ ἐστὶ, κᾶπειτα ἔρωτα αἰτιῶνται· οἱ δέ γε καλοὶ κάγαθοι ἐπιθυμοῦντες καὶ χρυσίου καὶ ἵππων ἀγαθῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καλῶν, ὅμως πάντων τούτων δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι ὥστε μὴ ἅπτεσθαι αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. [5.1.15] ἐγὼ γοῦν, ἔφη, ταύτην ἐωρακὼς καὶ πάνυ καλῆς δοξάσης μοι εἶναι ὅμως καὶ παρὰ σοί εἰμι καὶ ἱπεύω καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα ἀποτελῶ. [5.1.16] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· ἴσως γὰρ θᾶπτον ἀπῆλθες ἢ ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ ἔρως πέφυκε συσκευάζεσθαι ἄνθρωπον. καὶ πυρὸς γάρ τοι ἔστι θιγόντα μὴ εὐθὺς καίεσθαι καὶ τὰ ξύλα οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀναλάμπει· ὅμως δ' ἔγωγε οὔτε πυρὸς ἐκὼν εἶναι ἄπτομαι οὔτε τοὺς καλοὺς εἰσορῶ. οὐδέ γε σοὶ συμβουλευώ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀράσπα, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ἔἴην τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδιατρίβειν· ὡς τὸ μὲν πῦρ τοὺς ἀπτομένους καίει, οἱ δὲ καλοὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄπωθεν θεωμένους ὑφάπτουσιν, ὥστε αἵθεσθαι τῷ ἔρωτι. [5.1.17] Θάρρει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε· οὐδ' ἐὰν μηδέποτε παύσωμαι θεώμενος, οὐ μὴ κρατηθῶ ὥστε ποιεῖν τι ὧν μὴ χρή ποιεῖν. Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις· φύλαττε τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὥσπερ σε κελεύω καὶ ἐπιμελοῦ αὐτῆς· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν πάνυ ἡμῖν ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο αὕτη ἢ γυνή. [5.1.18] τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντες διελύθησαν.

Ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἅμα μὲν ὁρῶν καλὴν τὴν γυναῖκα, ἅμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν αὐτῆς, ἅμα δὲ θεραπεύων αὐτὴν καὶ οἰόμενος χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῇ, ἅμα δὲ αἰσθανόμενος οὐκ ἀχάριστον οὔσαν, ἀλλ' ἐπιμελομένην διὰ τῶν αὐτῆς οἰκετῶν ὡς καὶ εἰσιόντι εἴη

αὐτῶι τὰ δέοντα καὶ εἴ ποτε ἀσθενήσειεν, ὥς μηδενὸς ἐνδέοιτο, ἐκ πάντων τούτων ἡλίσκετο ἔρωτι, καὶ ἴσως οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ἔπασχε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐπράττετο.

[5.1.19] Βουλόμενος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐθελοντὰς μένειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς τε Μήδους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [5.1.20] Ἄνδρες Μῆδοι καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς οἶδα σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε χρημάτων δεόμενοι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐξήλθετε οὔτε Κυαξάρηι νομίζοντες τοῦτο ὑπηρετεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ βουλόμενοι τοῦτο χαρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ τιμῶντες νυκτοπορεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν σὺν ἐμοὶ ἠθελήσατε. [5.1.21] καὶ χάριν τούτων ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἔχω μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ· ἀποδιδόναι δὲ ἀξίαν οὐπω δύναμιν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι λέγων· τὸ δ' Ἐὰν μένητε παρ' ἐμοί, ἀποδώσω, τοῦτο, εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν εἰπεῖν· νομίζω γὰρ <ἂν> ἐμαυτὸν εὐοικεῖναι λέγοντι ταῦτα ἔνεκα τοῦ ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἐθέλειν παρ' ἐμοὶ καταμένειν. ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τάδε λέγω· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμῖν, κἂν ἤδη ἀπίητε Κυαξάρηι πειθόμενοι, ὅμως, ἂν ἀγαθὸν τι πράξω, πειράσομαι οὕτω ποιεῖν ὥστε καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖν. [5.1.22] οὐ γὰρ δὴ αὐτός γε ἅπειμι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὑρκανίοις τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς δεξιὰς ἃς ἔδωκα ἐμπεδώσω καὶ οὐποτε τούτους προδιδούς ἀλώσομαι, καὶ τῶι νῦν διδόντι Γωβρῦαι καὶ τείχη ἡμῖν καὶ χώραν καὶ δύναμιν πειράσομαι ποιεῖν μὴ μεταμελῆσαι τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁδοῦ. [5.1.23] καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ, θεῶν οὕτω διδόντων περιφανῶς ἀγαθὰ καὶ φοβοίμην ἂν αὐτοὺς καὶ αἰσχυνοίμην ἀπολιπὼν ταῦτα εἰκῇ ἀπελθεῖν. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὕτως, ἔφη, ποιήσω· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὅπως γινώσκετε οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἐμοὶ εἶπατε ὅ τι ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ. [5.1.24] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπε.

Πρῶτος δ' ὁ φήσας ποτὲ συγγενῆς τοῦ Κύρου εἶναι εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ βασιλεῦ· βασιλεὺς γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς σὺ φύσει πεφυκέναι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ὁ ἐν τῶι σμήνει φυόμενος τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμών· ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ αἱ μέλιτται ἐκοῦσαι μὲν πείθονται, ὅπου δ' ἂν μένηι, οὐδεμία ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέρχεται· ἐὰν δὲ ποι ἐξίῃ, οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπεται· οὕτω δεινὸς τις ἔρως αὐταῖς τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐγγίγνεται. [5.1.25] καὶ πρὸς σὲ δέ μοι δοκοῦσι παραπλησίως πως οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτω διακεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Πέρσας ὅτε παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπήιεις, τίς Μήδων ἢ νέος ἢ γέρων σοῦ ἀπελείφθη τὸ μὴ σοι ἀκολουθεῖν ἔστε Ἀστυάγης ἡμᾶς ἀπέστρεψεν; ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ Περσῶν βοηθὸς ἡμῖν ὠρμήθη, σχεδὸν αὖ ἐωρῶμεν τοὺς φίλους σου πάντας

ἐθελουσίους συνεπομένους. ὅτε δ' αὖ τῆς δεῦρο στρατείας ἐπεθύμησας πάντες σοι Μῆδοι ἐκόντες ἠκολούθησαν. [5.1.26] νῦν δ' αὖ οὕτως ἔχομεν ὡς σὺν μὲν σοὶ ὅμως καὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ὄντες θαρροῦμεν, ἄνευ δὲ σοῦ καὶ οἴκαδε ἀπίεναί φοβούμεθα. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι ὅπως ποιήσουσιν αὐτοὶ ἐροῦσιν· ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ ὦν ἐγὼ κρατῶ καὶ μενοῦμεν παρὰ σοὶ καὶ ὀρῶντες σὲ ἀνεξόμεθα καὶ καρτερήσομεν ὑπὸ σοῦ εὐεργετούμενοι.

[5.1.27] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔλεξεν ὁ Τιγράνης ὧδε· Σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, μήποτε θαυμάσης ἂν ἐγὼ σιωπῶ· ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ, ἔφη, οὐχ ὡς βουλευσούσα παρεσκεύασται ἀλλ' ὡς ποιήσουσα ὅ τι ἂν παραγγέλλῃς. [5.1.28] ὁ δὲ Ὑρκάνιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Μῆδοι, εἰ νῦν ἀπέλθοιτε, δαίμονος ἂν φαίην τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἶναι τὸ μὴ εἶσαι ὑμᾶς μέγα εὐδαίμονας γενέσθαι· ἀνθρωπίνῃ δὲ γνώμῃ τίς ἂν ἢ φευγόντων πολέμιων ἀποτρέποιτο ἢ ὅπλα παραδιδόντων οὐκ ἂν λαμβάνοι ἢ ἑαυτοὺς διδόντων καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἂν δέχοιτο, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἡμῖν ὄντος τοιούτου ὃς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, [ὥς] ὁμνυμι ὑμῖν πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς, εὖ ποιῶν ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἡδεσθαι ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζων. [5.1.29] ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες οἱ Μῆδοι τοιάδ' ἔλεγον· Σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς καὶ οἴκαδε ὅταν ἀπίεναί καιρὸς δοκῇ, σὺν σοὶ ἡμᾶς ἄγε. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἐπηύξατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, αἰτοῦμαί σε, δὸς τοὺς ἐμὲ τιμῶντας νικῆσαί με εὖ ποιοῦντα. [5.1.30] ἐκ τούτου ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους φυλακὰς καταστήσαντας ἅμφ' αὐτοὺς ἤδη ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ Πέρσας διαλαβεῖν τὰς σκηνάς, τοῖς μὲν ἱππεῦσι τὰς τούτοις πρεπούσας, τοῖς δὲ πεζοῖς τὰς τούτοις ἀρκούσας· καὶ οὕτω καταστήσασθαι ὅπως ποιοῦντες οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς πάντα τὰ δέοντα φέρωσιν εἰς τὰς τάξεις τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοὺς ἵππους τεθεραπευμένους παρέχωσι, Πέρσαις δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἔργον ἢ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπονεῖν. ταύτην μὲν οὖν οὕτω διηγὼν τὴν ἡμέραν.

[5.2.1] Πρῶν δ' ἀναστάντες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς Γωβρῦαν, Κῦρος μὲν ἐφ' ἵππου καὶ οἱ Περσῶν ἱππεῖς γεγεννημένοι εἰς δισχιλίους· οἱ δὲ τὰ τούτων γέρρα καὶ τὰς κοπίδας ἔχοντες ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶποντο, ἴσοι ὄντες τὸν ἀριθμόν· καὶ ἡ ἄλλη δὲ στρατιὰ τεταγμένη ἐπορεύετο. ἕκαστον δ' ἐκέλευσε τοῖς καινοῖς αὐτῶν θεράπουσιν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὅστις ἂν αὐτῶν ἢ τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων φαίνηται ὀπισθαν ἢ τοῦ μετώπου πρόσθεν ἦν ἢ κατὰ <τὰ> πλάγια ἔξω τῶν ἐν τάξει ἰόντων ἀλίσκηται, κολασθήσεται. [5.2.2] δευτεραῖοι δὲ ἅμφι δείλῃν γίνονται πρὸς τῷ

Γωβρύα χωρίωι, καὶ ὀρῶσιν ὑπερίσχυρόν τε τὸ ἔρυμα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν πάντα παρεσκευασμένα ὡς ἂν κράτιστα ἀπομάχοιτο· καὶ βοῦς δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀμύπολλα πρόβατα ὑπὸ τὰ ἐρυμνὰ προσηγμένα ἐώρων. [5.2.3] πέμψας δ' ὁ Γωβρύας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ἐκέλευσε περιελάσαντα ἰδεῖν ἥ ἢ πρόσοδος εὐπετεστάτη, εἴσω δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τῶν πιστῶν τινας, οἵτινες αὐτῶι τὰ ἔνδον ἰδόντες ἀπαγγελοῦσιν. [5.2.4] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτὸς μὲν τῶι ὄντι βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν εἴ που εἴη αἰρέσιμον τὸ τεῖχος, εἰ ψευδῆς φαίνοιτο ὁ Γωβρύας, περιήλανε πάντοθεν, ἐώρα τε ἰσχυρότερα πάντα ἢ προσελθεῖν· οὐς δ' ἔπεμψε πρὸς Γωβρύαν, ἀπήγγελλον τῶι Κύρῳ ὅτι τοσαῦτα εἴη ἔνδον ἀγαθὰ ὅσα ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων γενεάν, ὡς σφίσι δοκεῖν, μὴ ἂν ἐπιλιπεῖν τοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας. [5.2.5] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν φροντίδι ἦν ὃ τι ποτ' εἴη ταῦτα, ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας αὐτὸς τε ἐξήκει πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἔνδοθεν πάντας ἐξήγε φέροντας οἶνον, ἄλφιτα, ἄλευρα, ἄλλους δ' ἐλαύνοντας βοῦς, αἴγας, οἴς, σῦς, καὶ εἴ τι βρωτόν, πάντα ἱκανὰ προσήγον ὡς δειπνῆσαι πᾶσαν τὴν σὺν Κύρῳ στρατιάν. [5.2.6] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ταχθέντες διήρουν τε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδειπνοποιοῦν. ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας, ἐπεὶ πάντες αὐτῶι οἱ ἄνδρες ἔξω ἦσαν, εἰσιέναι τὸν Κῦρον ἐκέλευσεν ὅπως νομίζοι ἀσφαλέστατα. προεισπέμψας οὖν ὁ Κῦρος προσκόπους καὶ δύναμιν καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως εἰσήκει. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθεν ἀναπεπταμένας ἔχων τὰς πύλας, παρεκάλει πάντας τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. [5.2.7] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔνδον ἦσαν, ἐκφέρων ὁ Γωβρύας φιάλας χρυσᾶς καὶ πρόχους καὶ κάλπιδας καὶ κόσμον παντοῖον καὶ δαρεικοὺς ἀμέτρους τινὰς καὶ πάντα καλὰ πολλὰ, τέλος τὴν θυγατέρα, δεινόν τι κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος, πενθικῶς δ' ἔχουσαν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνηκότος, ἐξάγων ὧδ' εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ σοι, ὦ Κῦρε, τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα δωροῦμαι, τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτην ἐπιτρέπω διαθέσθαι ὅπως ἂν σὺ βούλῃ· ἰκετεύομεν δέ, ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν τοῦ υἱοῦ, αὕτη δὲ νῦν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τιμωρὸν γενέσθαι σε.

[5.2.8] Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ μὲν καὶ τότε ὑπεσχόμην ἀψευδοῦντός σου τιμωρήσειν εἰς δύναμιν· νῦν δὲ ὅτε ἀληθεύοντά σε ὀρῶ, ἤδη ὀφείλω τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, καὶ ταύτη ὑπισχνοῦμαι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα σὺν θεοῖς ποιήσειν. καὶ τὰ μὲν χρήματα ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μὲν δέχομαι, δίδωμι δ' αὐτὰ τῇ παιδί ταύτῃ κάκειναι ὅς ἂν γήμηι αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ δῶρον ἄπειμι ἔχων παρὰ σοῦ ἀνθ' οὗ οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι, [εἰ ἐκεῖ πλεῖστά ἐστιν,] οὐδὲ τὰ πανταχοῦ [ἀντὶ τούτου οὗ σύ μοι δεδώρησαι] ἥδιον ἂν ἔχων

ἀπέλθοιμι. [5.2.9] καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας θαυμάσας τε τί τοῦτ' εἶη καὶ ὑποπεύσας μὴ τὴν θυγατέρα λέγοι, οὕτως ἤρετο· Καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅτι, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Γωβρύα, πολλοὺς μὲν οἶμαι εἶναι ἀνθρώπους οἱ οὔτε ἀσεβεῖν ἂν θέλοιεν οὔτε ἀδικεῖν οὔτε ἂν ψεύδοιντο ἐκόντες εἶναι· διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα αὐτοῖς ἠθελῆκέναι προέσθαι μήτε χρήματα πολλὰ μήτε τυραννίδα μήτε τείχη ἐρυμνὰ μήτε τέκνα ἀξίεραστα, ἀποθνήσκουσι πρότερον πρὶν δῆλοι γενέσθαι οἷοι ἦσαν· [5.2.10] ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ νυνὶ καὶ τείχη ἐρυμνὰ καὶ πλοῦτον παντοδαπὸν καὶ δύναμιν τὴν σὴν καὶ θυγατέρα ἀξιόκτητον ἐγχειρίσας πεποιήκάς με δῆλον γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐτ' ἂν ἀσεβεῖν περὶ ξένους θέλωμι οὐτ' ἂν ἀδικεῖν χρημάτων ἔνεκα οὔτε συνθήκας ἂν ψευδοίμην ἐκὼν εἶναι. [5.2.11] τούτων ἐγώ, εὖ ἴσθι, ἕως ἂν ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ὦ καὶ δοκῶν εἶναι τοιοῦτος ἐπαινῶμαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οὐποτ' ἐπιλήσομαι, ἀλλὰ πειράσομαί σε ἀντιτιμῆσαι πᾶσι τοῖς καλοῖς. [5.2.12] καὶ ἀνδρὸς δ', ἔφη, τῇ θυγατρὶ μὴ φοβοῦ ὥς ἀπορήσεις ἀξίου ταύτης· πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ φίλοι εἰσὶν ἐμοί· ὧν τις γαμῇ ταύτην· εἰ μέντοι χρήμαθ' ἔξει τοσαῦτα ὅσα σὺ δίδως ἢ καὶ ἄλλα πολλαπλάσια τούτων, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν· σὺ μέντοι εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι εἰσὶ τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ὧν μὲν σὺ δίδως χρημάτων οὐδὲ μικρὸν τούτων ἔνεκά σε μᾶλλον θαυμάζουσιν· ἐμὲ δὲ ζηλοῦσι νυνὶ καὶ εὐχονται πᾶσι θεοῖς γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐπιδεῖξασθαι ὥς πιστοὶ μὲν εἰσιν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐμοῦ τοῖς φίλοις, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὥς οὐποτ' ἂν ὑφείντο ζῶντες, εἰ μὴ τις θεὸς βλάπτοι· ἀντὶ δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης ἀγαθῆς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν τὰ Σύρων πρὸς τοῖς σοῖς καὶ Ἀσσυρίων πάντα προέλοιντο· τοιοῦτους ἄνδρας εὖ ἴσθι ἐνταῦθα καθημένους. [5.2.13] καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπε γελάσας· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, δεῖξον δὴ μοι ποῦ οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἵνα σε τούτων τινὰ αἰτήσωμαι παῖδά μοι γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀμέλει, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ σε δεήσει πυνθάνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἂν σὺν ἡμῖν ἔπηι, αὐτὸς σὺ ἔξεις καὶ ἄλλωι δεικνύναι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον.

[5.2.14] Τοσαῦτ' εἰπὼν δεξιάν τε λαβὼν τοῦ Γωβρύα καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐξήκει, καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἐξῆγεν ἅπαντας· καὶ πολλὰ δεομένου τοῦ Γωβρύα ἔνδον δειπνεῖν οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐδείπνει καὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν σύνδειπνον παρέλαβεν. [5.2.15] ἐπὶ στιβάδος δὲ κατακλινεῖς ἤρετο αὐτὸν ὧδε· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη ὦ Γωβρύα, πότερον οἶοι σοὶ εἶναι πλείω ἢ ἐκάστωι ἡμῶν στρώματα; καὶ ὡς εἶπεν· Ὑμῖν νῆ Δί' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, ἔφη, καὶ στρώματα πλείω ἐστὶ καὶ κλῖναι, καὶ οἰκία γε πολὺ μείζων ἢ ὑμετέρα τῆς ἐμῆς, οἱ γε οἰκίαι μὲν χρῆσθε

γῆι τε καὶ οὐρανῶι, κλῖναι δ' ὑμῖν εἰσιν ὅποσαι εὖναι γένοιντ' ἂν ἐπὶ γῆς· στρώματα δὲ νομίζετε οὐχ ὅσα πρόβατα φύει, ἀλλ' ὅσα ὄρη τε καὶ πεδία ἀνίησι. [5.2.16] τὸ μὲν δὴ πρῶτον συνδειπνῶν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὀρῶν τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν παρατιθεμένων βρωμάτων πολὺ σφᾶς ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθεριωτέρους εἶναι αὐτῶν· [5.2.17] ἐπεὶ δὲ κατενόησε τὴν μετριότητα τῶν συσσίτων· ἐπ' οὐδενὶ γὰρ βρώματι οὐδὲ πώματι Πέρσης ἀνὴρ τῶν πεπαιδευμένων οὐτ' ἂν ὄμμασιν ἐκπεπληγμένος καταφανῆς γένοιτο οὔτε ἀρπαγῇ οὔτε τῶι νῶι μὴ οὐχὶ προσκοπεῖν ἅπερ ἂν καὶ μὴ ἐπὶ σίτῳ ὦν· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἵππικοὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ταραττεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων δύνανται ἅμα ἱππεύοντες καὶ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ λέγειν τὸ δέον, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ σίτῳ οἴονται δεῖν φρόνιμοι καὶ μέτριοι φαίνεσθαι· τὸ δὲ κεκινήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν βρωμάτων καὶ τῆς πόσεως πάνυ αὐτοῖς ὑικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες δοκεῖ εἶναι· [5.2.18] ἐνενόησε δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐπηρώτων τε ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα οἷα ἐρωτηθῆναι ἥδιον ἢ μὴ καὶ ἔσκωπτον οἷα σκωφθῆναι ἥδιον ἢ μὴ· ἃ τε ἔπαιζον ὡς πολὺ μὲν ὕβρεως ἀπῆν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ χαλεπαίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· [5.2.19] μέγιστον δ' αὐτῶι ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸ ἐν στρατεῖαί ὄντας τῶν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν κίνδυνον ἐμβαινόντων μηδενὸς οἶεσθαι δεῖν πλείω παρατίθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο νομίζειν ἡδίστην εὐωχίαν εἶναι τοὺς συμμάχεσθαι μέλλοντας ὅτι βελτίστους παρασκευάζειν· [5.2.20] ἥνικα δὲ [Γωβρύας] ὡς εἰς οἶκον ἀπιὼν ἀνίστατο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται· Οὐκέτι θαυμάζω, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ ἐκπώματα μὲν καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσίον ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν πλέονα κεκτήμεθα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐλάττονος ὑμῶν ἄξιοί ἐσμεν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελούμεθα ὅπως ἡμῖν ταῦτα ὡς πλεῖστα ἔσται, ὑμεῖς δὲ μοι δοκεῖτε ἐπιμέλεσθαι ὅπως αὐτοὶ ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσεσθε. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν· [5.2.21] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, Ἄγ', ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, ὅπως πρῶι παρέσῃ ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξωπλισμένους, ἵνα καὶ τὴν δύναμίν σου ἴδωμεν, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τῆς σῆς χώρας ἄξεις ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶμεν ἃ τε δεῖ φίλια καὶ πολέμια ἡμᾶς νομίζειν.

[5.2.22] Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπόντες ἀπῆλθον ἑκάτερος ἐπὶ τὰ προσήκοντα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, παρῆν ὁ Γωβρύας ἔχων τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ ἡγεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος, ὥσπερ προσήκει ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι, οὐ μόνον τῷ πορεύεσθαι τὴν ὁδὸν προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλ' ἅμα προϊὼν ἐπεσκοπεῖτο εἴ τι δυνατόν εἴη τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσθενεστέρους ποιεῖν ἢ αὐτοὺς ἰσχυροτέρους. [5.2.23] καλέσας οὖν τὸν Ὑρκάνιον καὶ τὸν

Γωβρύαν [τούτους γὰρ ἐνόμιζεν εἰδέναι μάλιστα ὧν αὐτὸς ὤιετο δεῖσθαι μαθεῖν], Ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες φίλοι, οἶμαι σὺν ὑμῖν ἂν ὡς πιστοῖς βουλευόμενος περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε οὐκ ἂν ἐξαμαρτάνειν· ὁρᾷ γὰρ ὅτι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ ἐμοὶ σκεπτέον ὅπως ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἡμῶν μὴ ἐπικρατήσῃ. ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, τῶνδε ἀποσφαλέντι ἔστιν ἴσως καὶ ἄλλη ἀποστροφή· ὑμῖν δ', εἰ οὗτος ἐπικρατήσῃ, ὁρᾷ ἅμα πάντα τὰ ὄντα ἀλλότρια γιγνόμενα. [5.2.24] καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐμὲ μισῶν, ἀλλ' οἰόμενος ἀσύμφορον αὐτῷ μεγάλους εἶναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ στρατεύει διὰ τοῦτο ἐφ' ἡμᾶς· ὑμᾶς δὲ καὶ μισεῖ, ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζων ὑφ' ὑμῶν. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίναντο ἀμφοτέρω κατὰ ταῦτά, περαίνειν ὃ τι μέλλει ὡς ταῦτ' εἰδόσι σφίσι καὶ μέλον αὐτοῖς ἰσχυρῶς ὅπῃ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο.

[5.2.25] Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἤρξατο ὧδε· Λέξατε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ὑμᾶς νομίζει μόνους πολεμικῶς ἔχειν ὁ Ἀσσύριος πρὸς ἑαυτόν, ἢ ἐπίστασθε καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ αὐτῷ πολέμιον; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ Ὑρκάνιος, πολεμιώτατοι μὲν εἰσιν αὐτῷ Καδούσιοι, ἔθνος πολὺ τε καὶ ἄλκιμον· Σάκαι γε μὴν ὄμοροι ἡμῖν, οἱ κακὰ πολλὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου· ἐπειρᾶτο γὰρ κάκείνους ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς καταστρέψασθαι. [5.2.26] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἡδέως ἂν ἐπιβῆναι μεθ' ἡμῶν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ; ἔφασαν καὶ σφόδρ' ἂν, εἴ πῃ γε δύναιντο συμμεῖξαι. Τί δ', ἔφη, ἐν μέσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ συμμεῖξαι; Ἀσσύριοι, ἔφασαν, τὸ αὐτὸ ἔθνος δι' οὐπὲρ νυνὶ πορεύημι. [5.2.27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ Κῦρος, Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, οὐ σὺ τοῦ νεανίσκου τούτου ὃς νῦν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν καθέστηκεν ὑπερηφανίαν πολλήν τινα τοῦ τρόπου κατηγόρεις; Τοιαῦτα γάρ, οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, ἔπαθον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Πότερα δῆτα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς σὲ μόνον τοιοῦτος ἐγένετο ἢ καὶ εἰς ἄλλους τινάς; [5.2.28] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ εἰς ἄλλους γε πολλούς· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενοῦντας οἷα ὑβρίζει τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐνὸς δὲ ἀνδρὸς πολὺ δυνατωτέρου ἢ ἐγὼ νῖόν, καὶ ἐκείνου ἐταῖρον ὄντα ὥσπερ τὸν ἐμόν, συμπίνοντα παρ' ἑαυτῷ συλλαβὼν ἐξέτεμεν, ὡς μὲν τινες ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ παλλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπήνεσεν αὐτόν ὡς καλὸς εἴη καὶ ἐμακάρισε τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα ἔσεσθαι· ὡς δ' αὐτὸς νῦν λέγει, ὅτι ἐπείρασεν αὐτοῦ τὴν παλλακίδα. καὶ νῦν οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἐστὶ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἐτελεύτησεν. [5.2.29] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, οἷε ἂν καὶ τοῦτον ἡδέως ἡμᾶς ἰδεῖν, εἰ οἶοιτο αὐτῷ βοηθοὺς ἂν γενέσθαι; Εὖ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἶδα, ὁ Γωβρύας ἀλλ' ἰδεῖν τοι αὐτόν

χαλεπόν ἐστιν, ὃ Κῦρε. Πῶς; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι εἰ μέλλει τις ἐκείνῳ συμμείξιν, παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα δεῖ παριέναι. [5.2.30] Τί οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτο χαλεπόν; Ὅτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδα ἐξελθοῦσαν <ἄν> δύναμιν ἐξ αὐτῆς πολλαπλασίαν ἧς σὺ ἔχεις νῦν· εὖ δ' ἴσθι ὅτι καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἡττόν σοι νῦν ἢ τὸ πρότερον Ἀσσύριοι καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ἀποφέρουσι καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπάγουσιν, ὅτι τοῖς ἰδοῦσιν αὐτῶν ὀλίγη ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἡ σὴ δύναμις· καὶ ὁ λόγος οὗτος πολὺς ἤδη ἔσπαρται· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἔφη, βέλτιον εἶναι φυλαττομένους πορεύεσθαι.

[5.2.31] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ Γωβρύα τοιαῦτα τοιάδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεξε. Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὃ Γωβρύα, κελεύων ὥς ἀσφαλέστατα τὰς πορείας ποιεῖσθαι. ἔγωγ' οὖν σκοπῶν οὐ δύναμαι ἐννοῆσαι ἀσφαλεστέραν οὐδεμίαν πορείαν ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν Βαβυλῶνα εἶναι, εἰ ἐκεῖ τῶν πολεμίων ἐστὶ τὸ κράτιστον. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ εἰσιν, ὥς σὺ φήεις· εἰ δὲ θαρρήσουσι, καὶ δεινοὶ ἡμῖν, ὥς ἐγὼ φημι, ἔσονται. [5.2.32] μὴ ὀρῶντες μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οἰόμενοι ἀφανεῖς εἶναι διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι ἐκείνους, σάφ' ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν φόβου ἀπαλλάσσονται ὃς αὐτοῖς ἐνεγένετο, θάρρος δ' ἐμφύσεται ἀντὶ τούτου τοσοῦτωι μείζον ὅσῳ ἂν πλείονα χρόνον ἡμᾶς μὴ ὀρῶσιν· ἦν δὲ ἤδη ἴωμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν εὐρήσομεν ἔτι κλαίοντας τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὑφ' ἡμῶν, πολλοὺς δ' ἔτι τραύματα ἐπιδεδεμένους ἃ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔλαβον, πάντας δ' ἔτι μεμνημένους τῆς μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ στρατεύματος τόλμης, τῆς δ' αὐτῶν φυγῆς τε καὶ συμφορᾶς. [5.2.33] εὖ δ' ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὃ Γωβρύα, [ἵνα καὶ τοῦτ' εἰδῆς,] οἱ πολλοὶ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μὲν θαρρῶσιν, ἀνυπόστατον τὸ φρόνημα παρέχονται· ὅταν δὲ δεισώσιν, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ᾧσι, τοσοῦτωι μείζω καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένον μᾶλλον τὸν φόβον κέκτηνται. [5.2.34] ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ κακῶν λόγων ηὐξημένος αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν [, ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ πονηρῶν χρωμάτων], ἐκ πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυσθύμων τε καὶ ἐξεσθηκόντων προσώπων ἡθροισται. ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐ ραίδιον αὐτόν ἐστιν οὔτε λόγοις κατασβέσαι οὔτε προσάγοντα πολεμίοις μένος ἐμβαλεῖν οὔτε ἀπάγοντα ἀναθρέψαι τὸ φρόνημα, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς θαρρεῖν παρακελεύῃ, τοσοῦτωι ἐν δεινότεροις ἡγοῦνται εἶναι. [5.2.35] ἐκεῖνο μέντοι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, σκεψώμεθα ἀκριβῶς ὅπως ἔχει. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἰ νῆκαι ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ὁπότεροι ἂν πλείονα ὄχλον ἀπαριθμήσωσιν, ὀρθῶς καὶ σὺ φοβῇ περὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ὄντι ἐν

δεινοῖς ἐσμεν· εἰ μέντοι ὥσπερ πρόσθεν διὰ τοὺς εὖ μαχομένους ἔτι καὶ νῦν αἱ μάχαι κρίνονται, θαρρῶν οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖης· πολὺ μὲν γὰρ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πλείονας εὐρήσεις παρ' ἡμῖν τοὺς θέλοντας μάχεσθαι ἢ παρ' ἐκείνους· [5.2.36] ὥς δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον θαρρήεις, καὶ τόδε κατανοήσον· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολέμιοι πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττονές εἰσι νῦν ἢ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι ὑφ' ἡμῶν, πολὺ δ' ἐλάττονες ἢ ὅτε ἀπέδρασαν ἡμᾶς· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ μείζονες νῦν, ἐπεὶ νενικήκαμεν, καὶ ἰσχυρότεροι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῖν προσγεγέννησθε· μὴ γὰρ ἔτι ἀτίμαζε μηδὲ τοὺς σοὺς, ἐπεὶ σὺν ἡμῖν εἰσι· σὺν γὰρ τοῖς νικῶσι, σάφ' ἴσθι, ὦ Γωβρύα, θαρροῦντες καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι ἔπονται. [5.2.37] μὴ λανθανέτω δέ σε μηδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔξεστι μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ νῦν ἰδεῖν ἡμᾶς· γοργότεροι δέ, σάφ' ἴσθι, οὐδαμῶς ἂν αὐτοῖς φανείημεν ἢ ἰόντες ἐπ' ἐκείνους. ὥς οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα γινώσκοντος ἄγε ἡμᾶς εὐθὺ [τὴν ἐπὶ] Βαβυλῶνος.

[5.3.1] Οὕτω μὲν δὴ πορευόμενοι τετραταῖοι πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Γωβρύα χώρας ἐγένοντο. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἦν, κατέστησε λαβὼν ἐν τάξει μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς τε πεζοὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων ὅσους ἐδόκει καλῶς αὐτῷ ἔχειν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἱππέας ἀφῆκε καταθεῖν, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ὅπλα ἔχοντας κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ πρόβατα ὅσα ἂν λάβωσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν. ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας συγκαταθεῖν· καὶ ἦκον πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν κατακεκυλισμένοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ λείαν πλείστην ἄγοντες. [5.3.2] ὥς δὲ παρῆν ἡ λεία, συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε τῶν Μήδων ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν Ὑρκανίων καὶ τοὺς ὁμοτίμους ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐξένισεν ἡμᾶς ἅπαντας πολλοῖς ἀγαθοῖς Γωβρύας. εἰ οὖν, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελόντες τὰ νομιζόμενα καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἱκανὰ τὴν ἄλλην τούτῳ δοίημεν λείαν, ἅρ' ἂν, ἔφη, καλὸν ποιήσαμεν τῷ εὐθὺς φανεροῖ εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας πειρώμεθα νικᾶν εὖ ποιοῦντες; [5.3.3] ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἤκουσαν, πάντες μὲν ἐπήνουν, πάντες δ' ἐνεκωμιάζον· εἷς δὲ καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Πάνυ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν· καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὁ Γωβρύας πτωχοὺς τινὰς ἡμᾶς νομίζειν, ὅτι οὐ δαρεικῶν μεστοὶ ἤκομεν οὐδὲ ἐκ χρυσῶν πίνομεν φιαλῶν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωμεν, γνοίη ἂν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔστιν ἐλευθερίου εἶναι καὶ ἄνευ χρυσοῦ. [5.3.4] Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη, τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποδόντες τοῖς μάγοις καὶ ὅσα τῇ στρατιᾷ ἱκανὰ ἐξελόντες τᾶλλα καλέσαντες τὸν Γωβρύαν δότε αὐτῷ· οὕτω δὴ λαβόντες ἐκεῖνοι ὅσα ἔδει τᾶλλα ἔδοσαν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ.

[5.3.5] Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἦιε πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα παραταξάμενος ὥσπερ ὅτε ἡ μάχη ἦν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν οἱ Ἀσσύριοι, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρῦαν προσελάσαντα εἰπεῖν ὅτι εἰ βούλεται ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐξιὼν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας μάχεσθαι, κἂν αὐτὸς σὺν ἐκείνῳ μάχοιτο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀμυνεῖ τῇ χώρῃ, ὅτι ἀνάγκη τοῖς κρατοῦσι πείθεσθαι. [5.3.6] ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας προσελάσας ἔνθα ἀσφαλὲς ἦν ταῦτα εἶπεν, ὁ δ' αὐτῷ ἐξέπεμψεν ἀποκρινόμενον τοιάδε· Δεσπότης ὁ σὸς λέγει, ὦ Γωβρύα, Οὐχ ὅτι ἀπέκτεινά σου τὸν υἱὸν μεταμέλει μοι, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ καὶ σὲ προσapéκτεινα. μάχεσθαι δὲ ἔαν βούλησθε, ἤκετε εἰς τριακοστὴν ἡμέραν· νῦν δ' οὐπω ἡμῖν σχολή· ἔτι γὰρ παρασκευαζόμεθα. [5.3.7] ὁ δὲ Γωβρύας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μήποτε σοὶ λήξειεν αὕτη ἡ μεταμέλεια· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἀνιῶ σέ τι, ἐξ οὗ αὕτη σε ἡ μεταμέλεια ἔχει.

[5.3.8] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Γωβρύας ἀπήγγειλε τὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ καλέσας τὸν Γωβρῦαν Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔλεγες μέντοι σὺ ὅτι τὸν ἐκτμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου οἶει ἂν σὺν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι; Εὐ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, δοκῶ εἰδέναι· πολλὰ γὰρ δὴ ἔγωγε κάκεϊνος ἐπαρρησιασάμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους. [5.3.9] Ὅποτε τοίνυν σοὶ δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, πρόσθι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖ ὅπως ἂν αὐτοὶ ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ εἰδῇτε· ἐπειδὴν δὲ συγγένῃ αὐτῷ, ἔαν γνῶις αὐτὸν φίλον βουλόμενον εἶναι, τοῦτο δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως λάθῃ φίλος ὢν ἡμῖν· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν φίλους τις ποιήσειεν ἄλλως πῶς πλείω ἀγαθὰ ἐν πολέμῳ ἢ πολέμιος δοκῶν εἶναι οὔτ' ἂν ἐχθροὺς πλείω τις βλάβειεν ἄλλως πῶς ἢ φίλος δοκῶν εἶναι. [5.3.10] Καὶ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, οἶδ' ὅτι κἂν πρίατο Γαδάτας τὸ μέγα τι ποιῆσαι κακὸν τὸν νῦν βασιλεῖα Ἀσσυρίων. ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν δύναιτο, τοῦτο δεῖ καὶ ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν. [5.3.11] Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰς τὸ φρούριον τὸ πρὸ τῆς χώρας, ὃ φατε Ὑρκανίοις τε καὶ Σάκαις ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇδε τῇ χώρῃ πρόβολον εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου, ἅρ' ἂν, ἔφη, οἶει ὑπὸ τοῦ φρουράρχου παρεθῆναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἐλθόντα σὺν δυνάμει; Σαφῶς γ', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, εἶπερ ἀνύποπτος ὢν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐστίν, ἀφίκοιτο πρὸς αὐτόν. [5.3.12] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἀνύποπτος ἂν εἴη, εἰ προσβάλοιμι μὲν ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰ χωρία αὐτοῦ ὡς λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, ἀπομάχοιτο δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἀνὰ κράτος· καὶ λάβοιμι μὲν αὐτοῦ τι ἐγώ, ἀντιλάβοι δὲ κάκεϊνος ἡμῶν ἢ ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ καὶ ἀγγέλους πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς τούτους οὓς φατε πολεμίους τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ εἶναι· καὶ οἱ μὲν ληφθέντες λέγοιεν ὅτι ἐπὶ

στρατεύματα ἔρχονται καὶ κλίμακας ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἄζοντες, ὁ δ' εὐνοῦχος ἀκούσας προσποιήσαιο προαγγεῖλαι βουλόμενος ταῦτα παρεῖναι; [5.3.13] καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν ὅτι οὕτω μὲν γιγνομένων σαφῶς παρείη ἂν αὐτόν, καὶ δέοιτό γ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένειν ἔστε σὺ ἀπέλθοις. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἴ γε ἅπαξ εἰσέλθοι, δύναιτ' ἂν ἡμῖν ὑποχείριον ποιῆσαι τὸ χωρίον; [5.3.14] Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, τὰ μὲν ἔνδον ἐκείνου συμπαρασκευάζοντος, τὰ δ' ἔξωθεν σοῦ ἰσχυρότερα προσάγοντος. Ἴθι οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ πειρῶ ταῦτα διδάξας καὶ διαπραξάμενος παρεῖναι· πιστὰ δὲ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἂν μείζω οὗτ' εἰποῖς οὔτε δείξαις ὧν αὐτὸς σὺ τυγχάνεις παρ' ἡμῶν εἰληφώς.

[5.3.15] Ἐκ τούτου ὦιχετο μὲν ὁ Γωβρύας· ἄσμενος δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ εὐνοῦχος συνωμολόγει τε πάντα καὶ συνέθετο ἃ ἔδει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὅτι πάντα δοκοίη ἰσχυρῶς τῷ εὐνούχῳ τὰ ἐπισταλέντα, ἐκ τούτου τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσέβαλε μὲν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπεμάχετο δὲ ὁ Γαδάτας. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἔβαλε χωρίον ὁ Κῦρος, ὁποῖον ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας. [5.3.16] τῶν δὲ ἀγγέλων οὓς ἔπεμψεν ὁ Κῦρος προειπὼν ἥι πορεύσονται, ὅπως ἄγοιεν τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ τὰς κλίμακας κομίζοιεν, τοὺς μὲν εἶασεν ὁ Γαδάτας διαφεύγειν· οὓς δ' ἔλαβε, βασανίζων ἐναντίον πολλῶν, ὥς ἤκουσεν ἐφ' ἃ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι, εὐθέως συσκευασάμενος ὥς ἐξαγγελῶν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπορεύετο. [5.3.17] τέλος δὲ πιστευθεὶς ὥς βοηθὸς εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὸ φρούριον· καὶ τέως μὲν συμπαρασκευάζεν ὃ τι δύναιτο τῷ φρουράρχῳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἦλθε, καταλαμβάνει τὸ χωρίον συνεργοὺς ποιησάμενος καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου αἰχμαλώτους. [5.3.18] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς [Γαδάτας] ὁ εὐνοῦχος τὰ ἔνδον καταστήσας ἐξῆλθε πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ τῷ νόμῳ προσκυνήσας εἶπε, Χαῖρε, Κῦρε. [5.3.19] Ἀλλὰ ποιῶ ταῦτ', ἔφη· σὺ γάρ με σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς οὐ κελεύεις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀναγκάζεις χαίρειν. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ μέγα ποιῶμαι φίλιον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ἐνθάδε συμμάχοις καταλείπων· σοῦ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Γαδάτα, ὁ Ἀσσύριος παῖδας μὲν, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ ποιεῖσθαι ἀφείλετο, οὐ μέντοι τό γε φίλους δύνασθαι κτᾶσθαι ἀπεστέρησεν· ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ἡμᾶς τοιούτους τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ φίλους πεποίησαι, οἳ σοι, ἐὰν δυνώμεθα, πειρασόμεθα μὴ χεῖρους βοηθοὶ παραστῆναι ἢ εἰ παῖδας ἐκγόνους ἐκέκτησο. ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. [5.3.20] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ὑρκάνιος ἄρτι ἠισθημένος τὸ γεγενημένον προσθεῖ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ λαβὼν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ εἶπεν· ὦ μέγα ἀγαθὸν σὺ τοῖς φίλοις Κῦρε, ὥς πολλήν με τοῖς θεοῖς ποιεῖς

χάριν ὀφείλουν ὅτι σοί με συνήγαγον. [5.3.21] Ἰθι νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον οὐπερ ἔνεκά με ἀσπάζῃ διατίθει αὐτὸ οὕτως ὡς ἂν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ φύλῳ πλείστου ἄξιον ᾖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις, μάλιστα δ', ἔφη, Γαδάται τουτωῖ, ὃς ἡμῖν αὐτὸ λαβὼν παραδίδωσι.

[5.3.22] Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Ὑρκάνιος, ἐπειδὴν Καδούσιοι ἔλθωσι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ πολῖται, καλέσωμεν καὶ τούτων, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευσώμεθα πάντες ὅσοις προσήκει πῶς ἂν συμφορώτατα χρώμεθα τῷ φρουρίῳ; [5.3.23] ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω συνήνεσεν ὁ Κῦρος· ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον οἷς ἔμελλε περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου, ἐβουλεύσαντο κοινῇ φυλάττειν οἷσπερ ἀγαθὸν ἦν φίλιον ὄν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς μὲν πρόβολος εἴη πολέμου, τοῖς δ' Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπιτετειχισμένοι. [5.3.24] τούτων γενομένων πολὺ δὴ προθυμότερον καὶ πλείους καὶ Καδούσιοι συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι· καὶ συνελέγη ἐντεῦθεν στράτευμα Καδουσίων μὲν πελτασταὶ εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ ἵππεῖς εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, Σακῶν δὲ τοξόται εἰς μυρίους καὶ ἵπποτοξόται εἰς χιλίους· καὶ Ὑρκάνιοι δὲ πεζοὺς τε ὀπόσους ἐδύναντο προσεξέπεμψαν καὶ ἱππέας ἐξεπλήρωσαν εἰς δισχιλίους· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν πλείους οἴκοι αὐτοῖς ἵππεῖς, ὅτι καὶ οἱ Καδούσιοι καὶ οἱ Σάκαι τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πολέμοι ἦσαν. [5.3.25] ὅσον δὲ χρόνον ἐκαθέζετο ὁ Κῦρος ἀμφὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ φρούριον οἰκονομίαν, τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία πολλοὶ μὲν ἀπῆγον ἵππους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπέφερον ὅπλα, φοβούμενοι ἤδη πάντας τοὺς προσχώρους.

[5.3.26] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέρχεται τῷ Κύρῳ ὁ Γαδάτας καὶ λέγει ὅτι ἤκουσιν αὐτῷ ἄγγελοι ὡς ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ἐπεὶ πύθοιτο τὰ περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου, χαλεπῶς τε ἐνέγκοι καὶ συσκευάζοιτο ὡς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ χώραν. ἐὰν οὖν ἀφῆς με, ὦ Κῦρε, τὰ τεῖχη ἂν πειραθείην διασῶσαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων μείων λόγος. [5.3.27] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἐὰν οὖν ἴῃς νῦν, πότε ἔσῃ οἴκοι; καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν· Εἰς τρίτην δειπνήσω ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ. Ἦ καὶ τὸν Ἀσσύριον ἔφη, οἷε ἐκεῖ ἤδη καταλήψεσθαι; Εὐ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἶδα· σπεύσει γὰρ ἕως ἔτι πρόσω δοκεῖς ἀπείναι. [5.3.28] Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ποσταῖος ἂν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκεῖσε ἀφικοίμην; πρὸς τοῦτο δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας λέγει· Πολὺ ἤδη, ὦ δέσποτα, ἔχεις τὸ στράτευμα καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναιο μείον ἢ ἐν ἑξ ἢ ἐπτά ἡμέραις ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐμὴν οἴκησιν. Σὺ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπιθι ὡς τάχιστα· ἐγὼ δ' ὡς ἂν δυνατόν ἢ πορεύσομαι. [5.3.29] ὁ μὲν δὴ Γαδάτας ὦιχετο· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε πάντας τοὺς

ἄρχοντας τῶν συμμάχων· καὶ ἤδη πολλοὶ τε ἐδόκουν καὶ καλοὶ
κάγαθοι παρεῖναι· ἐν οἷς δὴ λέγει ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα.

[5.3.30] Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, Γαδάτας διέπραξαν ἃ δοκεῖ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
πολλοῦ ἄξια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα πρὶν καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ὑφ' ἡμῶν
παθεῖν. νῦν δὲ ὁ Ἀσσύριος εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐμβαλεῖν
ἀγγέλλεται, δηλὸν ὅτι ἅμα μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν βουλόμενος, ὅτι
δοκεῖ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεγάλα βεβλάφθαι· ἅμα δὲ ἴσως κάκεῖνο ἐννοεῖται
ὥς εἰ οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφιστάμενοι μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνου κακὸν
πεῖσονται, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐκείνῳ ὄντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολοῦνται, ὅτι τάχα
οὐδένα εἰκὸς σὺν αὐτῷ βουλήσεσθαι εἶναι. [5.3.31] νῦν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες,
καλὸν τι ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν ποιῆσαι, εἰ προθύμως Γαδάται
βοηθήσασιν ἀνδρὶ εὐεργέτῃ· καὶ ἅμα δίκαια ποιοῖμεν ἂν χάριν
ἀποδιδόντες· ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ σύμφορά γ' ἂν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πράξασιν
ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. [5.3.32] εἰ γὰρ πᾶσι φαινοίμεθα τοὺς μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντας
νικᾶν πειρώμενοι κακῶς ποιοῦντες, τοὺς δ' εὐεργετοῦντας ἀγαθοῖς
ὑπερβαλλόμενοι, εἰκὸς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων φίλους μὲν πολλοὺς ἡμῖν
βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, ἐχθρὸν δὲ μηδένα ἐπιθυμεῖν εἶναι· [5.3.33] εἰ δὲ
ἀμελεῖσαι δόξασιν Γαδάται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποίοις λόγοις ἂν ἄλλον
πεῖθοιμεν χαρίζεσθαι τι ἡμῖν; πῶς δ' ἂν τολμῶιμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς
ἐπαινεῖν; πῶς δ' ἂν ἀντιβλέψαι τις ἡμῶν δύναιτο Γαδάται, εἰ
ἡττώμεθ' αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιοῦντος τοσοῦτοι ὄντες ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ
τούτου οὕτω διακειμένου; [5.3.34] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ πάντες
ἰσχυρῶς συνεπήνουν ταῦτα ποιεῖν.

Ἄγε τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμῖν συνδοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς
ὑποζυγίοις καὶ ὀχήμασι καταλίπωμεν ἕκαστοι τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν
ἐπιτηδειοτάτους πορεύεσθαι. [5.3.35] Γωβρύας δ' ἡμῖν ἀρχέτω αὐτῶν
καὶ ἡγείσθω αὐτοῖς· καὶ γὰρ ὁδῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ τᾶλλα ἱκανός· ἡμεῖς
δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἵπποις τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ ἀνδράσι πορευώμεθα, τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια τριῶν ἡμερῶν λαβόντες· ὅσῳ δ' ἂν κουφότερον
συσκευασώμεθα, καὶ εὐτελέστερον, τοσοῦτοι ἥδιον τὰς ἐπιούσας
ἡμέρας ἀριστήσομέν τε καὶ δειπνήσομεν καὶ καθευδήσομεν. νῦν δ',
ἔφη, πορευώμεθα ὧδε· [5.3.36] πρῶτους μὲν ἄγε σύ, Χρυσάντα, τοὺς
θωρακοφόρους, ἐπεὶ ὁμαλή τε καὶ πλατεῖα ἡ ὁδός ἐστι, τοὺς
ταξιάρχους ἔχων ἐν μετώπῳ πάντας· ἡ δὲ τάξις ἐκάστη ἐφ' ἐνὸς ἵτω·
ἄθροοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα πορευοίμεθ' ἂν.
[5.3.37] τούτου δ' ἕνεκα, ἔφη, κελεύω τοὺς θωρακοφόρους ἡγείσθαι ὅτι
τοῦτο βραδύτατόν ἐστι τοῦ στρατεύματος· τοῦ δὲ βραδυτάτου

ήγουμένου ἀνάγκη ραιδίως ἔπεσθαι πάντα τὰ θᾶπτον ἰόντα· ὅταν δὲ τὸ τάχιστον ἡγήται ἐν νυκτί, οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν καὶ διασπᾶσθαι τὰ στρατεύματα· τὸ γὰρ προταχθὲν ἀποδιδράσκει. [5.3.38] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις, ἔφη, Ἀρτάβαζος τοὺς Περσῶν πελταστὰς καὶ τοξότας ἀγέτω· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀνδαμύας ὁ Μῆδος τὸ Μήδων πεζόν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἑμβας τὸ Ἀρμενίων πεζόν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀρτούχας Ὑρκανίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θαμβράδας τὸ Σακῶν πεζόν· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Δατάμας Καδουσίους. [5.3.39] ἀγόντων δὲ καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἐν μετώπῳ μὲν τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἔχοντες, δεξιοὺς δὲ τοὺς πελταστὰς, ἀριστεροὺς δὲ τοὺς τοξότας τοῦ ἑαυτῶν πλαισίου· οὕτω γὰρ πορευόμενοι καὶ εὐχρηστότεροι γίνονται. [5.3.40] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ σκευοφόροι, ἔφη, πάντων ἐπέσθων· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείσθων ὅπως συνεσκευασμένοι τε ᾧσι πάντα πρὶν καθεῦδειν καὶ πρῶι σὺν τοῖς σκεύεσι παρῶσιν εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην χώραν καὶ ὅπως κοσμίως ἔπωνται. [5.3.41] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς σκευοφόροις, ἔφη, τοὺς Πέρσας ἱππέας Μαδάτας ὁ Πέρσης ἀγέτω, ἔχων καὶ οὗτος τοὺς ἑκατοντάρχους τῶν ἱππέων ἐν μετώπῳ· ὁ δ' ἑκατόνταρχος τὴν τάξιν ἀγέτω εἰς ἓνα, ὥσπερ οἱ πέζαρχοι. [5.3.42] ἐπὶ τούτοις †Ραμβάκας† ὁ Μῆδος ὡσαύτως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας· ἐπὶ τούτοις σύ, ὦ Τιγράνη, τὸ σεαυτοῦ ἱππικόν· καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἱππάρχοι μεθ' ὧν ἕκαστα ἀφίκοντο πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐπὶ τούτοις Σάκαι ἄγετε· ἔσχατοι δέ, ὥσπερ ἦλθον, Καδουσίοι ἰόντων· Ἀλκεύνα, σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄγων αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελοῦ τὸ νῦν εἶναι πάντων τῶν ὀπισθεν καὶ μηδένα ἕα ὕστερον τῶν σὼν ἱππέων γίνεσθαι. [5.3.43] ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ σιωπῆι πορεύεσθαι οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ σωφρονοῦντες· διὰ γὰρ τῶν ὥτων ἐν τῇ νυκτί ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἕκαστα καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ πράττεσθαι· καὶ τὸ παραχθῆναι δὲ ἐν τῇ νυκτί πολὺ μείζον ἐστι πρᾶγμα ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ δυσκαταστατώτερον· οὗ ἕνεκα ἢ τε σιωπῇ ἀσκητέα καὶ ἡ τάξις φυλακτέα. [5.3.44] τὰς δὲ νυκτερινὰς φυλακάς, ὅταν μέλλητε νυκτὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι, χρή ὡς βραχυτάτας καὶ πλείστας ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μηδένα ἢ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀγρυπνία πολλὴ οὔσα λυμαίνεται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ὥρα ᾗ πορεύεσθαι, σημαίνειν τῷ κέρατι. [5.3.45] ὑμεῖς δ' ἔχοντες ἃ δεῖ ἕκαστοι πάρεστε εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος ὁδόν· ὁ δ' ὁρμώμενος ἀεὶ τῷ κατ' οὐρὰν παρεγγυάτω ἔπεσθαι.

[5.3.46] Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὥιχοντο ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ ἅμα ἀπρόντες διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὡς μνημονικῶς ὁ Κῦρος ὀπόσοις

συνέταττε πᾶσιν ὀνομάζων ἐνετέλλετο. [5.3.47] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπιμελείαι τοῦτο ἐποίει· πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἰ οἱ μὲν βάνανσοι ἴσασι τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης ἕκαστος τῶν ἐργαλείων τὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ ὁ ἱατρὸς δὲ οἶδε καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων καὶ τῶν φαρμάκων οἷς χρῆται πάντων τὰ ὀνόματα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς οὕτως ἡλίθιος ἔσοιτο ὥστε οὐκ εἴσοιτο τῶν ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἡγεμόνων τὰ ὀνόματα, οἷς ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὀργάνοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὅταν καταλαβεῖν τι βούληται καὶ ὅταν φυλάξαι καὶ ὅταν θαρρῦναι καὶ ὅταν φοβῆσαι· καὶ τιμῆσαι δὲ ὁπότε τινὰ βούλοιο, πρέπον αὐτῷ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὀνομαστὶ προσαγορεύειν. [5.3.48] ἐδόκουν δ' αὐτῷ οἱ γιγνώσκεσθαι δοκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τοῦ καλόν τι ποιοῦντες ὀρᾶσθαι μᾶλλον ὀρέγεσθαι καὶ τοῦ αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν μᾶλλον προθυμεῖσθαι ἀπέχεσθαι. [5.3.49] ἡλίθιον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκει εἶναι αὐτῷ τὸ ὁπότε τι βούλοιο πραχθῆναι, οὕτω προστάττειν ὥσπερ ἐν οἴκῳ ἔνιοι δεσπότης προστάττουσιν, 'Ἴτω τις ἐφ' ὕδωρ, Ξύλα τις σχισάτω'. [5.3.50] οὕτω γὰρ προσταττομένων εἰς ἀλλήλοις τε ὀρᾶν πάντες ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐδεὶς περαίνειν τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ πάντες ἐν αἰτίαι εἶναι καὶ οὐδεὶς τῇ αἰτίαι οὔτε αἰσχύνεσθαι οὔτε φοβεῖσθαι ὁμοίως διὰ τὸ σὺν πολλοῖς αἰτίαι ἔχειν· διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πάντας ὠνόμαζεν αὐτὸς ὅτῳ τι προστάττοι.

[5.3.51] Καὶ Κῦρος μὲν δὴ περὶ τούτων οὕτως ἐγίνωσκεν. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τότε μὲν δειπνήσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι πάντα ἃ ἔδει ἐκοιμήθησαν. [5.3.52] ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἐν μέσῳ νυκτῶν, ἐσήμηνε τῷ κέρατι. Κῦρος δ' εἰπὼν τῷ Χρυσάντῳ ὅτι ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ ὑπομενοίῃ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐξήκει λαβὼν τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας· βραχεῖ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον Χρυσάντας παρῆν ἄγων τοὺς θωρακοφόρους. [5.3.53] τούτῳ μὲν ὁ Κῦρος δοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐκέλευεν ἡσύχως· οὐ γάρ πω ἐν ὁδῷ πάντες ἦσαν· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐστηκὼς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τὸν μὲν προσιόντα πρὸς ἐμπετο ἐν τάξει, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ὑστερίζοντα ἔπεμπε καλῶν. [5.3.54] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες ἐν ὁδῷ ἦσαν, πρὸς μὲν Χρυσάνταν ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν ἐροῦντας ὅτι ἐν ὁδῷ ἤδη πάντες· ἄγε οὖν ἤδη θᾶπτον. [5.3.55] αὐτὸς δὲ παρελαύνων τὸν ἵππον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἥσυχος κατεθεᾶτο τὰς τάξεις. καὶ οὓς μὲν ἴδοι εὐτάκτως καὶ σιωπῇ ἰόντας, προσελαύνων αὐτοῖς τίνες τε εἶεν ἡρώτα καὶ ἐπεὶ τύθοιτο ἐπῆναι· εἰ δέ τινας θορυβουμένους αἰσθοίτο, τὸ αἴτιον τούτου σκοπῶν κατασβεννύναι τὴν ταραχὴν ἐπειρᾶτο.

[5.3.56] Ἐν μόνον παραλέλειπται τῆς ἐν νυκτὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος πεζοὺς εὐζώνους οὐ πολλοὺς προύπεμπεν, ἐφορωμένους ὑπὸ Χρυσάντα καὶ ἐφορῶντας αὐτόν, ὡς ὠτακουστοῦντες καὶ εἴ πως ἄλλως δύναιντο αἰσθάνεσθαι τι, σημαίνουσιν τῷ Χρυσάντῳ ὅτι καὶ αἰρὸς δοκοίη εἶναι· ἄρχων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν ὃς καὶ τούτους ἐκόσμιε, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄξιον λόγου ἐσήμαινε, τὸ δὲ μὴ οὐκ ἠνώχλει λέγων. [5.3.57] τὴν μὲν δὴ νύκτα οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Καδουσίῳ ἰππέας, ὅτι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἔσχατοι, παρὰ τούτοις κατέλιπεν, ὡς μὴ οὗτοι ψιλοὶ ἰππέων ἴοιεν· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν παρελαύνειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὅτι καὶ οἱ πολέμοιοι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἦσαν, ὅπως εἴ τί που ἐναντιοῖτο αὐτῷ, ἀπαντῶν ἔχων τὴν ἰσχὴν ἐν τάξει καὶ μάχοιτο, εἴ τί τί που φεῦγον ὀφθεῖν, ὡς ἐξ ἐτοιμοτάτου διώκοι. [5.3.58] ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ τεταγμένοι οὓς τε διώκειν δέοι καὶ οὓς παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν· πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν τάξιν λυθῆναι οὐδέποτε εἶα. [5.3.59] Κῦρος μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα· οὐ μέντοι αὐτός γε μᾶλ' ὥραιοι ἐχρήτο, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλαχθι περιελαύνων ἐφεώρα τε καὶ ἐπεμελεῖτο, εἴ του δέοιτο. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ Κῦρον οὕτως ἐπορεύοντο.

[5.4.1] Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Γαδάτα ἰππικοῦ τῶν δυνατῶν τις ἀνδρῶν ἐπεὶ ὥραιοι αὐτόν ἀφεςτηκότα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου, ἐνόμισεν, εἴ τι οὗτος πάθοι, αὐτὸς ἂν λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου πάντα τὰ Γαδάτα· οὕτω δὲ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πιστῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ κελεύει τὸν ἰόντα, εἰ καταλάβοι ἤδη ἐν τῇ Γαδάτα ὥραιοι τὸ Ἀσσύριον στράτευμα, λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὅτι εἰ βούλοιο ἐνεδρεῦσαι, λάβοι ἂν Γαδάταν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ. [5.4.2] δηλοῦν δὲ ἐνετέλλετο ὅσῃν τε εἶχεν ὁ Γαδάτας δύναμιν καὶ ὅτι Κῦρος οὐ συνέπειτο αὐτῷ· καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδήλωσεν ἥ προσιέναι μέλλοι. προσεπέστειλε δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ οἰκέταις, ὡς πιστεύοιτο μᾶλλον, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὃ ἐτύγγανεν αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐν τῇ Γαδάτα ὥραιοι παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα· ἥξειν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, εἰ μὲν δύναιτο, ἀποκτείνας Γαδάταν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς σὺν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐσόμενος. [5.4.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταχθεὶς ἐλαύνων ὡς δυνατόν ἦν τάχιστα ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσύριον καὶ ἐδήλωσεν ἐφ' ἧς ἡκοι, ἀκούσας ἐκεῖνος τό τε χωρίον εὐθὺς παρέλαβε καὶ πολλὴν ἵππον ἔχων καὶ ἄρματα ἐνήδρευεν ἐν κώμαις ἀθρόαις. [5.4.4] ὁ δὲ Γαδάτας ὡς ἐγγὺς ἦν τούτων τῶν κωμῶν, πέμπει τινὰς προδιερευνησομένους. ὁ δὲ Ἀσσύριος ὡς ἔγνω προσιώντας τοὺς διερευνητάς, φεύγειν κελεύει ἄρματα ἐξαναστάντα

δύο ἢ τρία καὶ ἵππους ὀλίγους, ὥς δὴ φοβηθέντας καὶ ὀλίγους ὄντας. οἱ δὲ διερευνηταὶ ὥς εἶδον ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ τε ἐδίωκον καὶ τῷ Γαδάται κατέσειον· καὶ ὃς ἐξαπατηθεὶς διώκει ἀνὰ κράτος. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι, ὥς ἐδόκει ἀλώσιμος εἶναι ὁ Γαδάτας, ἀνίστανται ἐκ τῆς ἐνέδρας. [5.4.5] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γαδάταν ἰδόντες ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' αὖ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐδίωκον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων τῷ Γαδάται παῖει αὐτόν, καὶ καιρίας μὲν πληγῆς ἀμαρτάνει, τύπτει δὲ αὐτόν εἰς τὸν ὄμον καὶ τιτρώσκει. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο ἐξίσταται, ἕως σὺν τοῖς διώκουσιν ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγνώσθη ὃς ἦν, ὁμοῦ δὴ [σὺν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις] προθύμως ἐκτείνων τὸν ἵππον σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐδίωκεν. [5.4.6] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἠλίσκοντο μὲν δῆλον ὅτι οἱ βραδυτάτους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ὑπὸ τῶν ταχίστων· ἥδη δὲ μάλα πάντες πιεζόμενοι διὰ τὸ κατατετρῦσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας οἱ τοῦ Γαδάτα ἱππεῖς καθορῶσι τὸν Κῦρον προσιόντα σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· δοκεῖν δὲ χρῆ ἀσμένους καὶ ὥσπερ εἰς λιμένα ἐκ χειμῶνος προσφέρεσθαι αὐτούς. [5.4.7] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐθαύμασεν· ὥς δ' ἔγνω τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἔστε μὲν πάντες ἐναντίοι ἡλαυνον, ἐναντίος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τάξει ἦγε τὴν στρατιάν· ὥς δὲ γνόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ ὄν ἐτράποντο εἰς φυγὴν, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Κῦρος διώκειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένους, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶπετο ὥς ὤιετο συμφέρειν. [5.4.8] ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ ἄρματα ἠλίσκοντο, ἔνια μὲν καὶ ἐκπιπτόντων τῶν ἡνιόχων, τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀναστροφῇ, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως, ἔνια δὲ καὶ περιτεμνόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων [ἠλίσκετο]. καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι δὲ ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν παῖσαντα Γαδάταν. [5.4.9] τῶν μέντοι πεζῶν Ἀσσυρίων, οἱ ἔτυχον τὸ Γαδάτα χωρίον πολιορκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος κατέφυγον τὸ ἀπὸ Γαδάτα ἀποστάν, οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες εἰς πόλιν τινὰ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου μεγάλην, ἐνθα καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι κατέφυγεν ὁ Ἀσσύριος.

[5.4.10] Κῦρος μὲν δὴ διαπραξάμενος ταῦτα ἐπαναχωρεῖ εἰς τὴν Γαδάτα χώραν· καὶ προστάξας οἷς ἔδει ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἔχειν, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο, ὥς ἐπισκέψαιτο τὸν Γαδάταν πῶς ἔχοι ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος. πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπιδεδεμένος ἥδη τὸ τραῦμα ἀπαντᾷ. ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτόν ὁ Κῦρος ἦσθη τε καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ ἦια ἐπισκεψόμενος πῶς ἔχεις. [5.4.11] Ἐγὼ δέ γ', ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας, ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς σὲ ἐπαναθεασόμενος ἦια ὁποῖός τις ποτε φαίνηται ἰδεῖν ὁ τοιαύτην ψυχὴν ἔχων· ὅστις οὐτ' οἶδα ἔγωγε ὅ τι νῦν ἐμοῦ δεόμενος οὐτε μὴν ὑποσχόμενός γέ μοι ταῦτα πράξειν οὐτ' εὖ

πεπονθὼς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εἷς γε τὸ ἴδιον οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς φίλους ἔδοξά σοί τι ὀνῆσαι, οὕτω μοι προθύμως ἐβοήθησας ὥς νῦν τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐμοὶ οἴχομαι, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ σοὶ σέσωσμαι. [5.4.12] οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ ἦν οἷος ἔφυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπαιδοποιησάμην, οὐκ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ ἐκτησάμην παῖδα τοιοῦτον περὶ ἐμέ· ἐπεὶ ἄλλους τε οἶδα παῖδας καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νῦν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέα πολὺ πλεῖω ἤδη τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἀνιάσαντα ἢ σὲ νῦν δύναται ἀνιᾶν. [5.4.13] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὧδε· Ὡ Γαδάτα, ἢ πολὺ μείζον παρεῖς θαῦμα ἐμὲ νῦν θαυμάζεις. Καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν; ἔφη ὁ Γαδάτας· Ὅτι τοσοῦτοι μὲν, ἔφη, Περσῶν ἐσποινδασαν περὶ σέ, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Μήδων, τοσοῦτοι δὲ Ὑρκανίων, πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες Ἀρμενίων καὶ Σακῶν καὶ Καδουσίων. [5.4.14] καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἐπηύξατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ, ἔφη, καὶ τούτοις πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ δοῖεν οἱ θεοί, καὶ πλεῖστα τῷ αἰτίῳ τοῦ καὶ τούτους τοιούτους εἶναι. ὅπως μέντοι οὗς ἐπαινεῖς τούτους, ὦ Κῦρε, ξενίσωμεν καλῶς, δέχου τάδε ξένια οἷα ἐγὼ <δοῦναι> δύναμαι. ἅμα δὲ προσῆγε πάμπολλα, ὥστε καὶ θύειν τὸν βουλόμενον καὶ ξενίζεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἀξίως τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων καὶ καλῶς συμβάντων.

[5.4.15] Ὁ δὲ Καδούσιος ὀπισθοφυλάκει καὶ οὐ μετέσχε τῆς διώξεως· βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι, οὐτε ἀνακοινωσάμενος οὐτε εἰπὼν οὐδὲν Κύρῳ καταθεῖ τὴν πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα χώραν. διεσπασμένοις δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις αὐτοῦ ἀπὼν ὁ Ἀσσύριος ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πόλεως, οἳ κατέφυγε, συντυγχάνει μάλα συντεταγμένον ἔχων τὸ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα. [5.4.16] ὥς δ' ἔγνω μόνους ὄντας τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἐπιτίθεται, καὶ τὸν τε ἄρχοντα τῶν Καδουσῶν ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἄλλους πολλούς, καὶ ἵππους τινὰς λαμβάνει τῶν Καδουσίων καὶ ἦν ἄγοντες λείαν ἐτύγχανον ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος διώξας ἄρχι οὗ ἀσφαλὲς ὦιετο εἶναι ἀπετράπετο· οἱ δὲ Καδούσιοι ἐσώζοντο πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀμφὶ δειλὴν οἱ πρῶτοι. [5.4.17] Κῦρος δ' ὥς ἦσθετο τὸ γεγονός, ἀπῆντα τε τοῖς Καδουσίῳις καὶ ὄντινα ἴδοι τετρωμένον ἀναλαμβάνων τοῦτον μὲν ὥς Γαδάταν ἔπεμπε, ὅπως θεραπεύοιτο, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συγκατεσκήνου καὶ ὅπως τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξουσι συνεπεμελεῖτο, παραλαμβάνων Περσῶν τῶν ὁμοτίμων συνεπιμελητάς· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐπιπονεῖν ἐθέλουσι. [5.4.18] καὶ ἀνιώμενος μέντοι ἰσχυρῶς δῆλος ἦν, ὥς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δειπνούντων ἡνίκα ὥρα ἦν, Κῦρος ἔτι σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς οὐδένα ἐκῶν

ἀτημέλητον παρέλειπεν, ἀλλ' ἢ αὐτόπτης ἐφεώρα ἢ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐξανύτοι, πέμπων φανερὸς ἦν τοὺς θεραπεύοντας.

[5.4.19] Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κηρύξας συνιέναι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοὺς ἄρχοντας, τοὺς δὲ Καδουσίους ἅπαντας, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γεγεννημένον· τὸ γὰρ ἁμαρτάνειν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας οὐδὲν οἶομαι θαυμαστόν. ἄξιοί γε μέντοι ἐσμὲν τοῦ γεγεννημένου πράγματος τούτου ἀπολαῦσαί τι ἀγαθόν, τὸ μαθεῖν μήποτε διασπᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλου δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως. [5.4.20] καὶ οὐ τοῦτο, ἔφη, λέγω ὥς οὐ δεῖ ποτε καὶ ἐλάττονι ἔτι μορίῳ ἰέναι, ὅπου ἂν δέη, ἢ νῦν ὁ Καδούσιος ὦιχετο· ἀλλ' ἐάν τις κοινοῦμενος ὀρμᾶται τῷ ἱκανῷ βοηθῆσαι, ἔστι μὲν ἀπαρτηθῆναι, ἔστι δὲ τῷ ὑπομένοντι ἐξαπατήσαντι τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλλοσε τρέψαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξεληλυθότων, ἔστι δὲ ἄλλα παρέχοντα πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίῳ τοῖς φίλοις ἀσφάλειαν παρέχειν· καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐδ' ὁ χωρὶς ὢν ἀπέσται, ἀλλ' ἐξαρτήσεται τῆς ἰσχύος· ὁ δὲ ἀπεληλυθὼς μὴ ἀνακοινωσάμενος, ὅπου ἂν ᾖ, οὐδὲν διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μόνος ἐστρατεύετο. [5.4.21] ἀλλ' ἀντὶ μὲν τούτου, ἔφη, ἐάν θεὸς θέλῃ, ἀμυνόμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ εἰς μακράν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν τάχιστα ἀριστήσητε, ἄξω ὑμᾶς ἔνθα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐγένετο· καὶ ἅμα μὲν θάψομεν τοὺς τελευτήσαντας, ἅμα δὲ δεῖξομεν τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἔνθα κρατῆσαι νομίζουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἄλλους αὐτῶν κρείττους, ἦν θεὸς θέλῃ· ἐάν δὲ μὴ ἀντεπεξίωσι, καύσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς κώμας καὶ δηλώσομεν τὴν χώραν, ἵνα μὴ ἂ ἡμᾶς ἐποίησαν ὀρώντες εὐφραίνωνται, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ θεώμενοι ἀνιῶνται, καὶ ὅπως γε μηδὲ τὸ χωρίον ἡδέως ὀρῶσιν ἔνθα κατέκανον ἡμῶν τοὺς συμμαχοὺς. [5.4.22] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι, ἔφη, ἀριστᾶτε ἰόντες· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Καδούσιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπελθόντες ἄρχοντα ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔλεσθε ἥπερ ὑμῖν νόμος, ὅστις ὑμῶν ἐπιμελήσεται σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν, ἂν τι προσδέησθε· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἔλησθε, πέμψατε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν αἰρεθέντα καὶ ἀριστήσατε. [5.4.23] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξαν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπεὶ ἐξήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, κατέστησεν εἰς τάξιν τὸν ἡρημένον ὑπὸ τῶν Καδουσίῳν καὶ ἐκέλευσε πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν τάξιν, ὅπως, ἔφη, ἂν δυνώμεθα, ἀναθαρρύνωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας. οὕτω δὴ ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ ἐλθόντες ἔθαπτον μὲν τοὺς Καδουσίους, ἐδήμιον δὲ τὴν χώραν. ποιήσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπῆλθον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ

τῆς πολεμίας ἔχοντες πάλιν εἰς τὴν Γαδάτα.

[5.4.24] Ἐννοήσας δὲ ὅτι οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκότες ὄντες πλησίον Βαβυλῶνος κακῶς πείσονται, ἂν μὴ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ παρῇ, οὕτως ὅσους τε τῶν πολέμιων ἀφίει, τούτους ἐκέλευε λέγειν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς κήρυκα ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα, ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἶη τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν γῆν ἑᾶν καὶ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος βούλοιο ἑᾶν ἐργάζεσθαι τοὺς τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφεστηκόντων ἐργάτας. [5.4.25] καίτοι, ἔφη, σὺ μὲν ἂν καὶ δύνῃ κωλύειν, ὀλίγους τινὰς κωλύσεις· ὀλίγη γάρ ἐστι χώρα ἢ τῶν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἀφεστηκόντων· ἐγὼ δὲ πολλὴν ἂν σοι χώραν ἐώην ἐνεργὸν εἶναι. εἰς δὲ τὴν τοῦ καρποῦ κομιδὴν, ἑᾶν μὲν πόλεμος ἦ, ὁ ἐπικρατῶν οἶμαι καρπώσεται· ἑᾶν δὲ εἰρήνῃ, δῆλον, ἔφη ὅτι σὺ. ἑᾶν μέντοι τις ἢ τῶν ἐμῶν ὄπλα ἀνταίρηται σοὶ ἢ τῶν σῶν ἐμοί, τούτους, ἔφη, ὥς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἐκάτεροι ἀμυνόμεθα. [5.4.26] ταῦτα ἐπιστείλας τῷ κήρυκι ἔπεμψεν αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ Ἀσσύριοι ὥς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, πάντα ἐποίουν πείθοντες τὸν βασιλέα συγχωρῆσαι ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι μικρότατον τοῦ πολέμου λιπεῖν. [5.4.27] καὶ ὁ Ἀσσύριος μέντοι εἴτε ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πεισθεὶς εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω βουλευθεὶς συνήνεσε ταῦτα· καὶ ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι τοῖς μὲν ἐργαζομένοις εἰρήνην εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ὀπλοφόροις πόλεμον. [5.4.28] ταῦτα μὲν δὴ διεπέπρακτο περὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν ὁ Κῦρος· τὰς μέντοι νομὰς τῶν κτηνῶν τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταθέσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπικρατείᾳ· τὴν δὲ τῶν πολέμιων λεῖαν ἦγον ὀπόθεν δύναιτο, ὅπως εἶη ἡ στρατεία ἡδίων τοῖς συμμάχοις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ κίνδυνοι οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ λαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἢ δ' ἐκ τῶν πολέμιων τροφὴ κουφοτέραν τὴν στρατείαν ἐδόκει παρέχειν.

[5.4.29] Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεσκευάζετο ἤδη ὁ Κῦρος ὥς ἀπιών, παρὴν ὁ Γαδάτας ἄλλα τε δῶρα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα φέρων καὶ ἄγων ὥς ἂν ἐξ οἴκου μεγάλου, καὶ ἵππους δὲ ἦγε πολλοὺς ἀφελόμενος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεων οἷς ἠπιστήκει διὰ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. [5.4.30] ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασεν, ἔλεξε τοιάδε. ὦ Κῦρε, νῦν μὲν σοι ἐγὼ ταῦτα δίδωμι ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καὶ χρῶ αὐτοῖς, ἑᾶν δέῃ τι νόμιζε δ', ἔφη, καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰμὰ σὰ εἶναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἔστιν οὐτ' ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτῳ ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμοῦ φύντι καταλείψω τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον· ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, σὺν ἐμοὶ τελευτῶντι πᾶν ἀποσβῆναι τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος καὶ ὄνομα. [5.4.31] καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ὁμνυμί σοι θεοὺς, οἱ καὶ ὀρῶσι πάντα καὶ ἀκούουσι πάντα, οὔτε ἄδικον οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε ποιήσας ἔπαθον.

καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων κατεδάκρυσεν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τύχην καὶ οὐκέτι ἐδυνήθη πλείω εἰπεῖν.

[5.4.32] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀκούσας τοῦ μὲν πάθους ὠκτιρεν αὐτόν, ἔλεξε δὲ ὧδε. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους δέχομαι, ἔφη· σέ τε γὰρ ὠφελήσω εὐνουστέροις δοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢ οἱ νῦν σοι εἶχον, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἐγὼ τε οὗ δὴ πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ, τὸ Περσῶν ἱππικὸν θάττον ἐκπληρώσω εἰς τοὺς μυρίους ἱππέας· τὰ δ' ἄλλα χρήματα σὺ ἀπαγαγὼν φύλαττε, ἔστ' ἂν ἐμὲ ἴδῃς ἔχοντα ὥστε σοῦ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι ἀντιδωρούμενον· εἰ δὲ πλείω μοι δοὺς ἀπίοις ἢ λαμβάνοις παρ' ἐμοῦ, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν δυνάιμην μὴ αἰσχύνεσθαι. [5.4.33] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, πιστεύω σοι· ὁρῶ γάρ σου τὸν τρόπον· φυλάττειν μέντοι ὅρα εἰ ἐπιτήδειός εἰμι. [5.4.34] ἕως μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ἦμεν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ, καλλίστῃ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατὴρ κτήσις· τῆς γὰρ μεγίστης πόλεως Βαβυλῶνος ἐγγὺς οὖσα ὅσα μὲν ὠφελεῖσθαι ἔστιν ἀπὸ μεγάλης πόλεως, ταῦτα ἀπελαύομεν, ὅσα δὲ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, οἴκαδε δεῦρ' ἀπιόντες τούτων ἐκποδὼν ἦμεν· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἐχθροὶ ἐσμεν, δηλὸν ὅτι ἐπειδὴν σὺ ἀπέλθῃς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιβουλευσόμεθα καὶ ὁ οἶκος ὅλος, καὶ οἶμαι λυπηρῶς βιωσόμεθα ὅλως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ πλησίον ἔχοντες καὶ κρείττους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὁρῶντες. [5.4.35] τάχ' οὖν εἴποι τις ἄν· καὶ τί δήτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐνεννοοῦ πρὶν ἀποστῆναι; ὅτι, ὦ Κῦρε, ἡ ψυχὴ μου διὰ τὸ ὑβρίσθαι καὶ ὀργίζεσθαι οὐ τὸ ἀσφαλέςτατον σκοποῦσα διήγεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τοῦτο κυοῦσ', ἄρα ποτ' ἔσται ἀποτεῖσασθαι τὸν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ὃς διατελεῖ μισῶν, οὐκ ἦν τίς τι αὐτὸν ἀδικῇ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τινα ὑποπτεύσῃ βελτίονα αὐτοῦ εἶναι. [5.4.36] τοιγαροῦν οἶμαι αὐτὸς πονηρὸς ὢν πᾶσι πονηροτέροις αὐτοῦ συμμάχοις χρήσεται. ἐάν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βελτίων αὐτοῦ φανῇ, θάρρει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδέν σε δεήσει τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τοῦτο ἀρκέσει μηχανώμενος, ἕως ἂν ἔλῃ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίονα. τοῦ μέντοι ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν καὶ σὺν πονηροῖς ραϊδίως οἶμαι κρείττων ἔσται.

[5.4.37] Ἀκούσαντι ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ ἐδοξεν ἄζια ἐπιμελείας λέγειν· καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπε· Τί οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Γαδάτα, οὐχὶ τὰ μὲν τείχη φυλακῇ ἐχυρὰ ἐποιήσαμεν, ὅπως ἂν σοι σῶια ᾖ χρήσθαι ἀσφαλῶς, ὅποταν εἰς αὐτὰ ἴῃς· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν ἡμῖν στρατεύῃ, ἵνα ἦν οἱ θεοὶ ὥσπερ νῦν σὺν ἡμῖν ὣσιν, οὗτος σέ φοβῆται, ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺ τοῦτον; ὃ τι δὲ ἡδύ σοι ὁρᾶν τῶν σῶν ἢ ὅτῳ συνὼν χαίρεις, ἔχων σὺν σαυτῷ πορεύου. καὶ σὺ τ' ἂν ἐμοί, ὥς γ' ἐμοί δοκεῖ, πάνυ χρήσιμος εἴης, ἐγὼ τε σοὶ ὅσα

ἂν δύνωμαι πειράσομαι. [5.4.38] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνέπνευσέ τε καὶ εἶπεν· Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, δυναίμην ἂν συσκευασάμενος φθάσαι πρὶν σε ἐξιέναι; βούλομαι γάρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἄγειν μετ' ἐμαυτοῦ. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, φθάσεις μέντοι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπισχῆσω ἔστ' ἂν φῆις καλῶς ἔχειν. [5.4.39] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀπελθὼν φύλαξι μὲν τὰ τεῖχη σὺν Κύρῳ ὠχυρώσατο, συνεσκευάσατο δὲ πάντα ὁπόσοις ἂν οἶκος μέγας καλῶς οἰκοῖτο. ἤγετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε πιστῶν οἷς ἦδετο καὶ ὧν ἠπίσται πολλούς, ἀναγκάσας τοὺς μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς, ὡς δεδεμένους τούτοις κατέχοι αὐτούς. [5.4.40] καὶ τὸν μὲν Γαδάταν εὐθὺς ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἦiei ἔχων καὶ ὁδῶν φραστῆρα καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ χилоῦ καὶ σίτου, ὡς εἴη ἐν [τοῖς] ἀφθονωτάτοις στρατοπεδεύεσθαι.

[5.4.41] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος καθεώρα τὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πόλιν καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἡ ὁδὸς ἣν ἦiei παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος φέρειν, καλέσας τὸν Γωβρύαν καὶ τὸν Γαδάταν ἡρώτα εἰ εἴη ἄλλη ὁδός, ὥστε μὴ πάνυ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τεῖχους ἄγειν. [5.4.42] καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν· Εἰσὶ μὲν, ὦ δέσποτα, καὶ πολλαὶ ὁδοί· ἀλλ' ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ωῖόμην καὶ βούλεσθαι ἂν σε νῦν ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω τῆς πόλεως ἄγειν, ἵνα καὶ ἐπιδείξαις αὐτῷ ὅτι τὸ στράτευμά σου ἤδη πολὺ τὲ ἐστὶ καὶ καλόν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὅτε ἔλαττον εἶχες προσῆλθές τε πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐθεάτο ἡμᾶς οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας· νῦν δὲ εἰ καὶ παρεσκευασμένος τί ἐστὶν, ὥσπερ πρὸς σὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παρασκευάζοιτο ὡς μαχοῦμενός σοι, οἶδ' ὅτι ἰδόντι αὐτῷ τὴν σὴν δύναμιν πάλιν ἀπαρασκευαστότατα τὰ αὐτοῦ φανεῖται.

[5.4.43] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε· Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Γωβρύα, θαυμάζειν ὅτι ἐν ᾧ μὲν χρόνῳ πολὺ μείονα ἔχων στρατιὰν ἦλθον, πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος προσῆγον· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ πλείονα δύναμιν ἔχω, οὐκ ἐθέλω ὑπ' αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἄγειν. [5.4.44] ἀλλὰ μὴ θαύμαζε· οὐ γὰρ τὸ αὐτό ἐστὶ προσάγειν τε καὶ παράγειν. προσάγουσι μὲν γὰρ πάντες οὕτω ταξάμενοι ὡς ἂν ἄριστοι εἶεν μάχεσθαι [καὶ ἀπάγουσι δὲ οἱ σώφρονες ἢ ἂν ἀσφαλέστατα, οὐχ ἢ ἂν τάχιστα ἀπέλθοιεν], [5.4.45] παριέναι δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ἐκτεταμέναις μὲν ταῖς ἀμάξαις, ἀνειρμένοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σκευοφόροις ἐπὶ πολὺ· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα δεῖ προκεκαλύφθαι τοῖς ὅπλοφόροις καὶ μηδαμῇ τοῖς πολεμίοις γυμνὰ ὅπλων τὰ σκευοφόρα φαίνεσθαι. [5.4.46] ἀνάγκη οὖν οὕτω πορευομένων ἐπὶ λεπτόν καὶ ἀσθενὲς τὸ μάχιμον τετάχθαι· εἰ οὖν βούλονται ἄθροοι ἐκ τοῦ τεῖχους προσπεσεῖν πηι, ὅπῃ προσμείξειαν, πολὺ ἂν ἔρρωμενέστεροι συμμιγνύοιεν τῶν παρίοντων· [5.4.47] καὶ τοῖς

μὲν ἐπὶ μακρὸν πορευομένοις μακραὶ καὶ αἱ ἐπιβοήθειαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους βραχὺ πρὸς τὸ ἐγγυς καὶ προσδραμεῖν καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν. [5.4.48] ἦν δὲ μὴ μεῖον ἀπέχοντες παρίωμεν ἢ ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ νῦν ἐκτεταμένοι πορευόμεθα, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατόψονται ἡμῶν· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν παρυφασμένων ὅπλων πᾶς ὄχλος δεινὸς φαίνεται. [5.4.49] ἂν δ' οὖν τῷ ὄντι ἐπεξίωσί πηι, ἐκ πολλοῦ προορῶντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν ἀπαράσκευοι λαμβανοίμεθα. μᾶλλον δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσουσιν, ὁπότεν πρόσω δέηι ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπιέναι, ἂν μὴ τῷ ὅλῳ ὑπολάβωσι τοῦ παντὸς κρείττους εἶναι [5.4.50] φοβερά γὰρ ἡ ἀποχώρησις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἔδοξε τε ὀρθῶς τοῖς παροῦσι λέγειν καὶ ἦγεν ὁ Γωβρύας ὥσπερ ἐκέλευσε. παραμειβομένου δὲ τὴν πόλιν τοῦ στρατεύματος αἰεὶ τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ισχυρότερον ποιούμενος ἀπεχώρει.

[5.4.51] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενος οὕτως ἐν ταῖς γιγνομέναις ἡμέραις ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὰ μεθόρια τῶν Σύρων καὶ Μήδων, ἔνθεν περ ὥρματο, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τρία ὄντα τῶν Σύρων φρουρία, ἐν μὲν αὐτὸς τὸ ἀσθενέστατον βίαι προσβαλὼν ἔλαβε, τῷ δὲ δύο [φρουρίῳ] φοβῶν μὲν Κῦρος, πείθων δὲ Γαδάτας ἔπεισε παραδοῦναι τοὺς φυλάττοντας.

[5.5.1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διεπέπρακτο, πέμπει πρὸς Κυαξάρην καὶ ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἥκειν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, ὅπως περὶ τῶν φρουρίων ὧν εἰλήφесαν βουλευσαιντο ὅ τι χρήσαιντο, καὶ ὅπως θεασάμενος τὸ στράτευμα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων σύμβουλος γίγνοιτο ὅ τι δοκοίη ἐκ τούτου πράττειν· ἂν δὲ κελεύῃ, εἰπέ, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἂν ὥς ἐκεῖνον ἰοίην συστρατοπεδευσόμενος. [5.5.2] ὁ μὲν δὴ ἄγγελος ὤιχετο ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελῶν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευσε τὴν τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου σκηνήν, ἣν Κυαξάρη οἱ Μῆδοι ἐξεῖλον, ταύτην κατασκευάσαι ὥς βέλτιστα τῇ τε ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἣν εἶχον καὶ τῷ γυναιῖκα εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν γυναικῶνα τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ σὺν ταύτῃ τὰς μουσουργούς, αἵπερ ἐξηρημέναι ἦσαν Κυαξάρηι. [5.5.3] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. ὁ δὲ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς τὸν Κυαξάρην ἐπεὶ ἔλεξε τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔγνω βέλτιον εἶναι τὸ στράτευμα μένειν ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι οὕς μετεπέμψατε ὁ Κῦρος ἦκον· ἦσαν δὲ μυριάδες τέτταρες τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. [5.5.4] ὁρῶν οὖν καὶ τούτους σινομένους πολλὰ τὴν Μηδικήν, τούτων ἂν ἐδόκει ἥδιον ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἢ ἄλλον ὄχλον εἰσδέξασθαι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Περσῶν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἐρόμενος τὸν

Κυαζάρην κατὰ τὴν Κύρου ἐπιστολὴν εἴ τι δέοιτο τοῦ στρατοῦ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔφη δεῖσθαι, αὐθημερόν, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε παρόντα Κῦρον, ὥιχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα.

[5.5.5] Ὁ δὲ Κυαζάρης ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ σὺν τοῖς παραμείνασιν ἱππεῦσι Μήδων· ὥς δ' ἤισθετο ὁ Κῦρος προσιόντα αὐτόν, λαβὼν τοὺς τε τῶν Περσῶν ἱππέας, πολλοὺς ἤδη ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς Μήδους πάντας καὶ τοὺς Ἀρμενίους καὶ τοὺς Ὑρκανίους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων τοὺς εὐιπποτάτους τε καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους ἀπήντα, ἐπιδεικνὺς τῷ Κυαζάρῃ τὴν δύναμιν. [5.5.6] ὁ δὲ Κυαζάρης ἐπεὶ εἶδε σὺν μὲν τῷ Κύρῳ πολλοὺς τε καὶ καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἐπομένους, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ὀλίγην τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίαν θεραπείαν, ἄτιμόν τι αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄχος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταβάς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου ὁ Κῦρος προσῆλθεν ὥς φιλήσων αὐτὸν κατὰ νόμον, ὁ Κυαζάρης κατέβη μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ἀπεστράφη δέ· καὶ ἐφίλησε μὲν οὐ, δακρύνων δὲ φανερός ἦν. [5.5.7] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἀποστάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Κυαζάρου καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔξω ὑπὸ φοινίκας τινάς, τῶν τε Μηδικῶν πύλων ὑποβαλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ καθίσας αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαθεζόμενος εἶπεν ὧδε.

[5.5.8] Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ᾧ θεῖε, τί μοι ὀργίζῃ καὶ τί χαλεπὸν ὀρῶν οὕτω χαλεπῶς φέρεις; ἐνταῦθα δὴ ὁ Κυαζάρης ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅτι, ᾧ Κῦρε, δοκῶν γε δὴ ἐφ' ὅσον ἀνθρώπων μνήμη ἐφικνεῖται καὶ τῶν πάλαι προγόνων καὶ πατρὸς βασιλέως πεφυκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς νομιζόμενος εἶναι, ἑμαυτὸν μὲν ὀρῶ οὕτω ταπεινῶς καὶ ἀναξίως ἐλαύνοντα, σὲ δὲ τῇ ἐμῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μέγαν τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ παρόντα. [5.5.9] καὶ ταῦτα χαλεπὸν μὲν οἶμαι καὶ ὑπὸ πολεμίων παθεῖν, πολὺ δ', ᾧ Ζεῦ, χαλεπώτερον ὑφ' ὧν ἤκιστα ἐχρῆν ταῦτα πεπονθέναι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ δοκῶ δεκάκις ἂν κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύναι ἥδιον ἢ ὀφθῆναι οὕτω ταπεινὸς καὶ ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐμοῦ ἀμελήσαντας καὶ ἐπεγγελῶντας ἐμοί. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ σύ μου μόνον μείζων εἶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ δοῦλοι ἰσχυρότεροι ἐμοῦ ὑπαντιάζουσίν μοι καὶ κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὥστε δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἐμὲ κακῶς ἢ παθεῖν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. [5.5.10] καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκρατεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν δακρύνων, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἐπεσπάσατο ἐμπλησθῆναι δακρύνων τὰ ὄμματα. ἐπισχὼν δὲ μικρὸν ἔλεξε τοιάδε ὁ Κῦρος.

Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ Κυαζάρη, οὔτε λέγεις ἀληθῆ οὔτε ὀρθῶς γινώσκεις, εἰ οἶει τῇ ἐμῇ παρουσίᾳ Μήδους κατεσκευάσθαι ὥστε ἱκανοὺς εἶναι σὲ κακῶς ποιεῖν· [5.5.11] τὸ μέντοι σε θυμοῦσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι οὐ θαυμάζω. εἰ μέντοι γε δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως αὐτοῖς χαλεπαίνεις, παρήσω τοῦτο· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι βαρέως ἂν φέροις ἀκούων ἐμοῦ ἀπολογουμένου ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν· τὸ μέντοι ἄνδρα ἄρχοντα πᾶσιν ἅμα χαλεπαίνειν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις, τοῦτο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μέγα ἀμάρτημα εἶναι. ἀνάγκη γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς μέν φοβεῖν πολλοὺς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὸ πᾶσιν ἅμα χαλεπαίνειν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ὁμόνοιαν ἐμβάλλειν. [5.5.12] ὦν ἔνεκα, εὖ ἴσθι, ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπέπεμπον ἄνευ ἐμαυτοῦ τούτους, φοβούμενος μὴ τι γένοιτο διὰ τὴν σὴν ὀργὴν ὃ τι πάντας ἡμᾶς λυπήσοι. ταῦτα μέν οὖν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐμοῦ παρόντος ἀσφαλῶς ἔχει σοι· τὸ μέντοι σε νομίζειν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι, τοῦτο ἐγὼ πάνυ χαλεπῶς φέρω, εἰ ἀσκῶν ὅσον δύναμαι τοὺς φίλους ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν ἔπειτα τάναντία τούτου δοκῶ ἐξεργάζεσθαι. [5.5.13] ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, μὴ οὕτως εἰκῆ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς αἰτιώμεθα· ἀλλ', εἰ δυνατόν, σαφέστατα κατίδωμεν ποῖόν ἐστι τὸ παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀδίκημα. καὶ τὴν ἐν φίλοις διακαιοτάτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχω ὑποτιθέναί· ἐὰν γάρ τί σε φανῶ κακὸν πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ ἀδικεῖν· ἐὰν μέντοι μηδὲν φαίνωμαι κακὸν πεποιηκώς μηδὲ βουλευθείς, οὐ καὶ σὺ αὖ ὁμολογήσεις μηδὲν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι; [5.5.14] Ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πεπραχώς σοι δηλὸς ὦ καὶ προθυμούμενος πρᾶξαι ὡς ἐγὼ πλεῖστα ἐδυνάμην, οὐκ ἂν καὶ ἐπαίνου σοι ἄξιος εἴην μᾶλλον ἢ μέμψεως; Δίκαιον γοῦν, ἔφη. [5.5.15] Ἄγε τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σκοπῶμεν τὰ ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένα πάντα καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα δηλὸν ἔσται ὃ τι τε αὐτῶν ἀγαθόν ἐστι καὶ ὃ τι κακόν. [5.5.16] ἀρξώμεθα δ', ἔφη, ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ καὶ σοὶ ἀρκούντως δοκεῖ ἔχειν. σὺ γὰρ δήπου ἐπεὶ ἦισθου πολλοὺς πολεμίους ἠθροισμένους, καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν χώραν ὀρμωμένους, εὐθὺς ἔμεμπες πρὸς τε τὸ Περσῶν κοινὸν συμμάχους αἰτούμενους καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἰδία δεόμενος πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμὲ ἐλθεῖν ἡγούμενον, εἴ τινες Περσῶν ἴοιεν. οὐκ οὖν ἐγὼ ἐπέισθην τε ταῦτα ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ παρεγενόμην ἄνδρας ἄγων σοι ὡς ἦν δυνατόν πλείστους τε καὶ ἀρίστους; Ἦλθες γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. [5.5.17] Ἐν τούτῳ τοίνυν, ἔφη, πρῶτόν μοι εἰπὲ πότερον ἀδικίαν τινά μου πρὸς σὲ κατέγνως ἢ μᾶλλον εὐεργεσίαν; Δηλὸν, ἔφη ὁ Κυαζάρης, ὅτι ἔκ γε τούτων εὐεργεσίαν. [5.5.18] Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ οἱ πολέμοι ἦλθον καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ἔδει

πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐν τούτῳ κατενόησάς πού με ἢ πόνου ἀποστάντα ἢ
τινος κινδύνου φεισάμενον; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δή. [5.5.19] Τί
γάρ ἐπει νίκης γενομένης σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἡμετέρας καὶ
ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων παρεκάλουν ἐγὼ σε ὅπως κοινῇ μὲν
αὐτοὺς διώκοιμεν, κοινῇ δὲ τιμωροίμεθα, κοινῇ δὲ εἴ τι καλὸν
κάγαθόν συμβαίνοι, τοῦτο καρποίμεθα, ἐν τούτοις ἔχεις τινά μου
πλεονεξίαν κατηγοῖσαι; [5.5.20] ὁ μὲν δὲ Κυαζάρης πρὸς τοῦτο
εἰσίγα· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὧδε· Ἄλλ' ἐπει πρὸς τοῦτο σιωπᾶν
ἥδιόν σοι ἢ ἀποκρίνασθαι, τόδε γ', ἔφη, εἰπέ εἴ τι ἀδικοῖσθαι
ἐνόμισας ὅτι, ἐπεὶ σοι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει εἶναι τὸ διώκειν, σὲ μὲν
αὐτὸν ἀφῆκα τοῦ κινδύνου τούτου μετέχειν, ἰπέας δὲ τῶν σῶν
συμπέμψαι μοι ἐδεόμην σου· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο αἰτῶν ἡδίκουν, ἄλλως
τε καὶ προπαρεσχηκῶς ἐμαυτὸν σοι σύμμαχον, τοῦτ' αὖ παρὰ σοῦ,
ἔφη, ἐπιδεικνύσθω. [5.5.21] ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο εἰσίγα ὁ
Κυαζάρης, Ἄλλ' εἰ μὴδὲ τοῦτο, ἔφη, βούλει ἀποκρίνασθαι, σὺ δὲ
τοῦντεῦθεν λέγε εἴ τι αὖ ἡδίκουν ὅτι σοῦ ἀποκριναμένου ἐμοὶ ὥς οὐκ
ἂν βούλοιο, εὐθυμουμένους ὀρῶν Μήδους, τούτου παύσας αὐτοὺς
ἀναγκάζειν κινδυνεύσοντας ἰέναι, εἴ τι αὖ σοι δοκῶ τοῦτο χαλεπὸν
ποιῆσαι ὅτι ἀμελήσας τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι σοι ἐπὶ τούτοις πάλιν ἥτιουν σε
οὗ ἥδη οὔτε σοὶ μείον ὃν δοῦναι οὐδὲν οὔτε ῥᾶιον Μήδοις
ἐπιταχθῆναι· τὸν γὰρ βουλόμενου δήπου ἔπεσθαι ἥτιησά σε δοῦναι
μοι. [5.5.22] οὐκοῦν τούτου τυχὼν παρὰ σοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν, εἰ μὴ τούτους
πεῖσαιμι. ἐλθὼν οὖν ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς καὶ οὓς ἔπεισα τούτους ἔχων
ἐπορευόμην σοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο αἰτίας ἕξιον νομίζεις,
οὐδ' ὅ τι ἂν διδῶις, ὥς ἔοικε, παρὰ σοῦ δέχεσθαι ἀναίτιόν ἐστιν.
[5.5.23] οὐκοῦν ἐξωρμήσαμεν οὕτως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξήλθομεν, τί ἡμῖν
πεπραγμένον οὐ φανερόν ἐστιν; οὐ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἤλωκε τῶν
πολεμίων; οὐ τεθνᾶσι πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπὶ σὲ ἐλθόντων; ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε
ζώντων ἐχθρῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ὅπλων ἐστέρηνται, πολλοὶ δὲ ἵππων·
chrήματά γε μὴν τὰ τῶν φερόντων καὶ ἀγόντων τὰ σὰ πρόσθεν νῦν
ὀρᾶις τοὺς σοὺς φίλους καὶ ἔχοντας καὶ ἄγοντας, τὰ μὲν σοί, τὰ δ' αὖ
τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν ἀρχήν. [5.5.24] τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον,
τὴν μὲν σὴν χώραν αὐξανομένην ὀρᾶις, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων
μειουμένην· καὶ τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων φρούρια ἐχόμενα, τὰ δὲ σὰ τὰ
πρότερον εἰς τὴν Σύρων ἐπικράτειαν συντελοῦντα νῦν τάναντία σοὶ
προσκεχωρηκότα· τούτων δὲ εἴ τι κακόν σοι ἢ εἴ τι μὴ ἀγαθόν σοι
μαθεῖν μὲν ἔγωγε βούλεσθαι οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν εἴποιμι· ἀκοῦσαι

μέντοι γε οὐδὲν κωλύει. ἀλλὰ λέγε ὅ τι γινώσκεις περὶ αὐτῶν. [5.5.25]
ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος οὕτως εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο· ὁ δὲ Κριαζάρης ἔλεξε πρὸς
ταῦτα τάδε.

Ἄλλ', ὦ Κῦρε, ὥς μὲν ταῦτα ἃ σὺ πεπεοίηκας κακὰ ἐστὶν οὐκ οἶδ'
ὅπως χρή λέγειν· εὖ γε μέντοι, ἔφη, ἴσθι ὅτι ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ τοιαῦτα
ἐστὶν οἷα ὅσῳ πλείονα φαίνεται, τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον ἐμὲ βαρύνει.
[5.5.26] τὴν τε γὰρ χώραν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἂν τὴν σὴν ἐβουλόμην τῇ ἐμῇ
δυνάμει μείζω ποιεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ὀρᾶν οὕτως
αὐξανομένην· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ποιοῦντι καλά, ἐμοὶ δὲ γέ ἐστὶ πη
ταῦτα ἀτιμίαν φέροντα. [5.5.27] καὶ χρήματα οὕτως ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἡδίων
σοι δωρεῖσθαι ἢ παρὰ σοῦ οὕτω λαμβάνειν ὥς σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δίδως·
τούτοις γὰρ πλουτιζόμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον αἰσθάνομαι οἷς
πενέστερος γίγνομαι. καὶ τοὺς γ' ἐμοὺς ὑπηκόους ἰδὼν μικρά γε
ἀδικουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ ἦττον ἂν δοκῶ λυπεῖσθαι ἢ νῦν ὀρῶν ὅτι
μεγάλα ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ. [5.5.28] εἰ δέ σοι, ἔφη, ταῦτα δοκῶ
ἀγνωμόνως ἀνθυμεῖσθαι, μὴ ἐν ἐμοὶ αὐτὰ ἀλλ' εἰς σὲ τρέψας πάντα
καταθέασαι οἷά σοι φαίνεται. τί γὰρ ἂν, εἴ τις κύνας, οὓς σὺ τρέφεις
φυλακῆς ἔνεκα σαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν, τούτους θεραπεύων
γνωριμωτέρους ἑαυτῷ ἢ σοὶ ποιήσειεν, ἄρ' ἂν σε εὐφράναι τούτῳ
τῷ θεραπεύματι; [5.5.29] εἰ δὲ τοῦτό σοι δοκεῖ μικρὸν εἶναι, ἐκεῖνο
κατανοήσον· εἴ τις τοὺς σὲ θεραπεύοντας, οὓς σὺ καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ
στρατείας ἔνεκα κέκτησαι, τούτους οὕτω διατιθεῖν ὥστ' ἐκείνου
μᾶλλον ἢ σοῦ βούλεσθαι εἶναι, ἄρ' ἂν ἀντὶ ταύτης τῆς εὐεργεσίας
χάριν αὐτῷ εἰδείης; [5.5.30] τί δέ, ὃ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἀσπάζονται τε
καὶ θεραπεύουσιν οἰκειότατα, εἴ τις τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν σὴν οὕτω
θεραπεύσειεν ὥστε φιλεῖν αὐτὴν μᾶλλον ποιήσειεν ἑαυτὸν ἢ σέ, ἄρ'
ἂν σε τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ ταύτῃ εὐφράναι; πολλοῦ γ' ἂν οἶμαι καὶ δέοι·
ἀλλ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντων ἂν μάλιστα ἀδικοίη σε τοῦτο ποιήσας. [5.5.31]
ἵνα δὲ εἴπω καὶ τὸ μάλιστα τῷ ἐμῷ πάθει ἐμφορές, εἴ τις οὓς σὺ
ἡγάγες Πέρσας οὕτω θεραπεύσειεν ὥστε αὐτῷ ἡδίων ἔπεσθαι ἢ σοί,
ἄρ' ἂν φίλον αὐτὸν νομίζοις; οἶμαι μὲν οὐ, ἀλλὰ πολεμιώτερον ἂν ἢ
εἰ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατακάνοι. [5.5.32] τί δ', εἴ τις τῶν σῶν φίλων
φιλοφρόνως σου εἰπόντος λαμβάνειν ὅποσα ἐθέλοι εἶτα τοῦτο
ἀκούσας λαβὼν οἷχοιτο ἅπαντα ὅποσα δύναιτο, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν γε τοῖς
σοῖς πλουτοίη, σὺ δὲ μηδὲ μετρίοις ἔχοις χρῆσθαι, ἄρ' ἂν δύναιο τὸν
τοιοῦτον ἄμεμπτον φίλον νομίζεις; [5.5.33] νῦν μέντοι ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ
μὴ ταῦτα ἀλλὰ τοιαῦτα ὑπὸ σοῦ δοκῶ πεπονθέναι. σὺ γὰρ ἀληθῆ

λέγεις· εἰπόντος ἐμοῦ τοὺς θέλοντας ἄγειν λαβὼν ὠιχου πᾶσάν μου τὴν δύναμιν, ἐμὲ δὲ ἔρημον κατέλιπες· καὶ νῦν ἃ ἔλαβες τῇ ἐμῇ δυνάμει ἄγεις δὴ μοι καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν χώραν αὖξεις σὺν τῇ ἐμῇ ρώμῃ· ἐγὼ δὲ δοκῶ οὐδὲν συναίτιος ὦν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρέχειν ἑμαυτὸν ὥσπερ γυνὴ εὖ ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς ἐμοῖς ὑπηκόοις σὺ μὲν ἀνὴρ φαίνῃ, ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἄξιος ἀρχῆς. [5.5.34] ταῦτά σοι δοκεῖ εὐεργετήματ' εἶναι, ὦ Κῦρε; εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι εἴ τι ἐμοῦ ἐκῆδου, οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω με ἀποστερεῖν ἐφυλάττου ὡς ἀξιώματος καὶ τιμῆς. τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ πλεον τὸ τὴν γῆν πλατύνεσθαι, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀτιμάζεσθαι; οὐ γάρ τοι ἐγὼ Μῆδων ἥρχον διὰ τὸ κρείττων αὐτῶν πάντων εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀξιοῦν ἡμᾶς αὐτῶν πάντα βελτίονας εἶναι.

[5.5.35] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπε· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, ὦ θεῖε, εἴ τι κἀγὼ σοι πρότερον ἐχαρισάμην, καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ χάρισαι ὃ ἂν δεηθῶ σου· παῦσαι, ἔφη, τὸ νῦν εἶναι μεμφομένός μοι· ἐπειδὴν δὲ πείραν ἡμῶν λάβῃς πῶς ἔχομεν πρὸς σέ, ἐὰν μὲν δὴ σοι φαίνεται τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένα ἐπὶ τῷ σῶι ἀγαθῷ πεποιημένα, ἀσπαζομένου τέ μου σε ἀντασπάζου με εὐεργέτην τε νόμιζε, ἐὰν δ' ἐπὶ θάτερα, τότε μοι μέμφου. [5.5.36] Ἄλλ' ἴσως μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Κυαξάρης, καλῶς λέγεις· κἀγὼ οὕτω ποιήσω. Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἦ καὶ φιλήσω σε; Εἰ σὺ βούλει, ἔφη. Καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψῃ με ὥσπερ ἄρτι; Οὐκ ἀποστρέψομαι, ἔφη. καὶ ὃς ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν.

[5.5.37] Ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ Μῆδοί τε καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [πᾶσι γὰρ ἔμελεν ὃ τι ἐκ τούτων ἔσοιτο], εὐθὺς ἦσθησάν τε καὶ ἐφαιδρύνθησαν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ καὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἡγοῦντο, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κυαξάρῃ οἱ Μῆδοι εἶποντο [Κῦρος γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἐπένευσεν], ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ οἱ Πέρσαι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τούτοις. [5.5.38] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ κατέστησαν τὸν Κυαξάρην εἰς τὴν κατεσκευασμένην σκηνήν, οἷς μὲν ἐτέτακτο παρεσκεύαζον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ Κυαξάρῃ· [5.5.39] οἱ δὲ Μῆδοι ὅσον χρόνον σχολὴν πρὸ δείπνου ἦγεν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἦσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτούς, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ὑπὸ Κύρου ἐγκέλευστοι, δῶρα ἄγοντες, ὁ μὲν τις οἰνοχόον καλόν, ὁ δ' ὀψοποιὸν ἀγαθόν, ὁ δ' ἄρτοποιόν, ὁ δὲ μουσουργόν, ὁ δ' ἐκπώματα, ὁ δ' ἐσθῆτα καλήν· πᾶς δὲ τις ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἓν γέ τι ὦν εἰλήφει ἐδώρεῖτο αὐτῷ· [5.5.40] ὥστε τὸν Κυαξάρην μεταγινώσκειν ὡς οὔτε ὁ Κῦρος ἀφίστη αὐτοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οὐθ' οἱ Μῆδοι ἡττόν τι αὐτῷ προσεῖχον

τὸν νοῦν ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν.

[5.5.41] Ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖπνου ὥρα ἦν, καλέσας ὁ Κυαξάρης ἡξίου τὸν Κῦρον διὰ χρόνου ἰδόντα αὐτὸν συνδειπνεῖν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔφη· Μὴ δὴ σὺ κέλευε, ὦ Κυαξάρη· ἢ οὐχ ὁραῖς ὅτι οὗτοι οἱ παρόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν πάντες ἐπαιρόμενοι πάρεσιν; οὐκουν καλῶς ἂν πράττοιμι εἰ τούτων ἀμελῶν τὴν ἐμὴν ἡδονὴν θεραπεύειν δοκοίην. ἀμελεῖσθαι δὲ δοκοῦντες στρατιῶται οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ πολὺ ἀθυμότεροι γίνονται, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ πολὺ ὑβριστότεροι. [5.5.42] ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁδὸν μακρὰν ἤκων δείπνει ἤδη· καὶ εἴ τινές σε τιμῶσιν, ἀντασπάζου καὶ εὐώχει αὐτούς, ἵνα σε καὶ θαρρήσωσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπιὼν ἐφ' ἅπερ λέγω τρέψομαι. [5.5.43] αὖριον δ', ἔφη, πρῶι δεῦρ' ἐπὶ τὰς σὰς θύρας παρέσονται οἱ ἐπικαίριοι, ὅπως βουλευσώμεθα πάντες σὺν σοὶ ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν τὸ ἐκ τοῦδε. σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἔμβαλε <βουλὴν> παρὼν περὶ τούτου, πότερον ἔτι δοκεῖ στρατεύεσθαι ἢ καιρὸς ἤδη διαλύειν τὴν στρατιάν. [5.5.44] ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης ἀμφὶ δεῖπνον εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος συλλέξας τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ συμπράττειν, εἴ τι δέοι, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἃ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ηὑξάμεθα, πάρεστι σὺν θεοῖς. ὅπηι γὰρ ἂν πορευώμεθα, κρατοῦμεν τῆς χώρας· καὶ μὲν δὴ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁρῶμεν μειουμένους, ἡμᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς πλείονάς τε καὶ ἰσχυροτέρους γιγνομένους. [5.5.45] εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἔτι ἐθελήσειαν οἱ νῦν προσγεγεννημένοι σύμμαχοι παραμεῖναι, πολλῶι ἂν μᾶλλον ἀνύσαι δυναίμεθα καὶ εἴ τι βιάσασθαι καιρὸς καὶ εἴ τι πεῖσαι δέοι. ὅπως οὖν τὸ μένειν ὡς πλείστοις συνδοκῇ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἐμὸν ἔργον ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερον μηχανᾶσθαι, [5.5.46] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὅταν μάχεσθαι δέηι, ὁ πλείστους χειρωσάμενος ἀλκιμώτατος δοξάζεται εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ὅταν πεῖσαι δέηι, ὁ πλείστους ὁμογνώμονας ἡμῖν ποιήσας οὗτος δικαίως ἂν λεκτικώτατός τε καὶ πρακτικώτατος κρίνοιτο ἂν εἶναι. [5.5.47] μὴ μέντοι ὡς λόγον ἡμῖν ἐπιδειξόμενοι οἷον ἂν εἶποτε πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν τοῦτο μελετᾶτε, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς πεπεισμένους ὑφ' ἑκάστου δῆλους ἐσομένους οἷς ἂν πράττωσιν οὕτω παρασκευάζεσθε. [5.5.48] καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, ἔφη, τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθε· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως ἂν ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὅσον ἂν ἔγωγε δύνωμαι οἱ στρατιῶται περὶ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι βουλεύονται τούτου πειράσομαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

Βιβλίον ζ΄

[6.1.1] Ταύτην μὲν δὴ τὴν ἡμέραν οὕτω διαγαγόντες καὶ δειπνήσαντες ἀνεπαύοντο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρῶν ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς Κυαξάρου θύρας πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι. ἕως οὖν ὁ Κυαξάρης ἐκοσμεῖτο, ἀκούων ὅτι πολὺς ὄχλος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις εἴη, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ φίλοι τῷ Κύρῳ προσήγον οἱ μὲν Καδουσίους δεομένους αὐτοῦ μένειν, οἱ δὲ Ὑρκανίους, ὁ δὲ τις Σάκας, ὁ δὲ τις καὶ Γωβρύαν· Ὑστάσπας δὲ Γαδάταν τὸν εὐνοῦχον προσῆγε, δεόμενον τοῦ Κύρου μένειν. [6.1.2] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Κῦρος γινώσκων ὅτι Γαδάτας πάλαι ἀπωλώλει τῷ φόβῳ μὴ λυθείη ἢ στρατιά, ἐπιγέλασας εἶπεν· ὦ Γαδάτα, δηλὸς εἶ, ἔφη, ὑπὸ Ὑστάσπου τοῦδε πεπεισμένος ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἂν λέγεις. [6.1.3] καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπώμοσεν ἢ μὴν μὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑστάσπου πεισθεῖς ταῦτα γινώσκειν· ἀλλ' οἶδα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀπέλθητε, ἔρρει τὰμὰ παντελῶς· διὰ ταῦτ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς διελεγόμην, ἐρωτῶν εἰ εἰδείη τί ἐν νῶι ἔχεις [ὑπὲρ τῆς διαλύσεως τοῦ στρατεύματος] ποιεῖν. [6.1.4] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀδίκως ἄρα ἐγὼ Ὑστάσπαν τόνδε κατατιῶμαι. Ἀδίκως μέντοι νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὑστάσπας, ὦ Κῦρς· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔλεγον τῷ Γαδάτῃ τῷδε τοσοῦτον μόνον ὥς οὐχ οἶόν τέ σοι εἶη στρατεῦσθαι, λέγων ὅτι ὁ πατήρ σε μεταπέμποιτο. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, τί λέγεις; [6.1.5] ἔφη· καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησας ἐξενεγκεῖν, εἴτ' ἐγὼ ἐβουλόμην εἶτε μή; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· ὁρῶ γάρ σε ὑπερεπιθυμοῦντα ἐν Πέρσαις περίβλεπτον περιελθεῖν καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιδείξασθαι ἣν ἕκαστα διεπράξω. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔφη· Σὺ δ' οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖς οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ Ὑστάσπας, οὐδ' ἄπειμί γε, ἀλλὰ μένων στρατηγήσω, ἔστ' ἂν ποιήσω Γαδάταν τουτονὶ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου δεσπότην.

[6.1.6] Οἱ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτ' ἔπαιζον σπουδῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κυαξάρης σεμνῶς κεκοσμημένος ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου Μηδικοῦ ἐκαθέζετο. ὥς δὲ πάντες συνήλθον οὓς ἔδει καὶ σιωπῇ ἐγένετο, ὁ Κυαξάρης ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἴσως, ἐπειδὴ παρὼν τυγχάνω καὶ πρεσβύτερός εἰμι Κύρου, εἰκὸς ἄρχειν με λόγου. νῦν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι καιρὸς περὶ τούτου πρῶτον διαλέγεσθαι πότερον στρατεῦσθαι ἔτι [καιρὸς] δοκεῖ [εἶναι] ἢ διαλύειν ἤδη τὴν στρατίαν· λεγέτω οὖν τις, ἔφη, περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἣν γινώσκει. [6.1.7] ἐκ τούτου πρῶτος μὲν εἶπεν ὁ Ὑρκάνιος· Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, οὐκ οἶδα

μὲν ἔγωγε εἴ τι δεῖ λόγων ὅπου αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα δεικνύει τὸ κράτιστον. πάντες γὰρ ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν ὄντες πλείω κακὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιοῦμεν ἢ πάσχομεν· ὅτε δὲ χωρὶς ἡμεν ἀλλήλων, ἐκεῖνοι ἡμῖν ἐχρῶντο ὡς ἐκείνοις ἦν ἡδιστον, ἡμῖν γε μὴν ὡς χαλεπώτατον. [6.1.8] ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Καδούσιος εἶπεν· Ἡμεῖς δὲ τί ἂν λέγοιμεν, ἔφη, περὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε ἀπελθόντες ἕκαστοι χωρὶς εἶναι, ὅποτε γε οὐδὲ στρατευομένοις, ὡς ἔοικε, χωρίζεσθαι συμφέρει; ἡμεῖς γοῦν οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον δίχα τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους στρατεύσάμενοι δίκην ἔδομεν ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε. [6.1.9] ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ ποτε φήσας εἶναι Κύρου συγγενῆς ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κυαξάρη, τοσοῦτον διαφέρομαι τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγουσιν· οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ φασιν ἔτι δεῖν μένοντας στρατεύεσθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὅτι ὅτε μὲν οἴκοι ἦν, ἐστρατευόμην· [6.1.10] καὶ γὰρ ἐβοήθουν πολλάκις τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγομένων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων φρουρίων ὡς ἐπιβουλευσομένων πολλάκις πράγματα εἶχον φοβούμενός τε καὶ φρουρῶν· καὶ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον τὰ οἰκεῖα δαπανῶν. νῦν δ' ἔχω μὲν τὰ ἐκείνων φρουρία, οὐ φοβοῦμαι δ' ἐκείνους, εὐωχοῦμαι δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων καὶ πίνω τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὡς οὖν τὰ μὲν οἴκοι στρατεῖαν οὔσαν, τάδε δὲ ἑορτήν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, διαλύειν τήνδε τὴν πανήγυριν. [6.1.11] ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε ἐπαινῶ τὴν Κύρου δεξιάν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ψεύδεται ὢν ὑπέσχετο· εἰ δ' ἄπεισιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἀσσύριος ἀναπνεύσεται, οὐ τίνων ποινὰς ὢν τε ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν ἀδικεῖν καὶ ὢν ἐμὲ ἐποίησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ μέρει ἐκείνῳ πάλιν δώσω δίκην ὅτι ὑμῖν φίλος ἐγενόμην.

[6.1.12] Ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι Κῦρος εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδ' ἐμὲ λανθάνει ὅτι ἐὰν μὲν διαλύωμεν τὸ στράτευμα, τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα ἀσθενέστερα γίγνοιτ' ἂν, τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων πάλιν αὐξήσεται. ὅσοι τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅπλα ἀφήρηνται, ταχὺ ἄλλα ποιήσονται· ὅσοι τε ἵππους ἀπεστέρηνται, ταχὺ πάλιν ἄλλους ἵππους κτήσονται· ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἕτεροι ἐφηβήσουσιν [καὶ ἐπιγενήσονται]· ὥστε οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πάνυ ἐν τάχει πάλιν ἡμῖν πράγματα παρέχειν δυνήσονται. [6.1.13] τί δῆτα ἐγὼ Κυαξάρην ἐκέλευσα λόγον ἐμβαλεῖν περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς στρατιᾶς; εἴ ἴστε ὅτι φοβούμενος τὸ μέλλον. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀντιπάλους προσιόντας οἷς ἡμεῖς, εἰ ὧδε στρατεύσόμεθα, οὐ δυνησόμεθα μάχεσθαι. [6.1.14] προσέρχεται μὲν γὰρ δήπου χειμῶν, στέγαι δὲ εἰ καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί'

οὐχ ἵπποις οὐδὲ θεράπουσιν οὐδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὧν ἄνευ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυνάμεθα στρατεύεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ὅπου μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐληλύθαμεν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀνήλωται· ὅποι δὲ μὴ ἀφίγμεθα, διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς φοβεῖσθαι ἀνακεκομισμένοι εἰσὶν εἰς ἐρύματα, ὥστε αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔχειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ταῦτα μὴ δύνασθαι λαμβάνειν. [6.1.15] τίς οὖν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ἢ τίς οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ὃς λιμῷ καὶ ῥίγει δύναται ἂν μαχόμενος στρατεύεσθαι; εἰ μὲν οὖν οὕτω στρατευσόμεθα, ἐγὼ μὲν φημι χρῆναι ἐκόντας ἡμᾶς καταλῦσαι τὴν στρατιὰν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας ὑπ' ἀμηχανίας ἐξελαθῆναι. εἰ δὲ βουλόμεθα ἔτι στρατεύεσθαι, τὸδ' ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ὥς τάχιστα πειρᾶσθαι τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων ὀχυρῶν ὥς πλείστα παραιρεῖν, ἡμῖν δ' αὐτοῖς ὥς πλείστα ὀχυρὰ ποιεῖσθαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα γένηται, τὰ μὲν ἐπιτήδεια πλείω ἔξουσιν ὁπότεροι ἂν πλείω δύνωνται λαβόντες ἀποτίθεσθαι, πολιορκήσονται δὲ ὁπότεροι ἂν ἥττους ᾖσι. [6.1.16] νῦν δ' οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν τῶν ἐν τῷ πελάγει πλεόντων· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πλέουσι μὲν ἀεὶ, τὸ δὲ πεπλευσμένον οὐδὲν οἰκειότερον τοῦ ἀπλεύστου καταλείπουσιν. ἐὰν δὲ φρούρια ἡμῖν γένηται, ταῦτα δὴ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀλλοτριώσει τὴν χώραν, ἡμῖν δ' ὑπ' εὐδία μᾶλλον πάντ' ἔσται. [6.1.17] ὃ δ' ἴσως ἂν τινες ὑμῶν φοβηθεῖεν, εἰ δεήσει πόρρω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φρουρεῖν, μηδὲν τοῦτο ὀκνήσητε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπειπερ καὶ ὥς οἴκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία τῶν πολεμίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ πρόσσορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἀσσυρίας ἐκεῖνα κτᾶσθε καὶ ἐργάζεσθε. [6.1.18] ἐὰν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν φρουροῦντες δυνώμεθα σώιζεσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ὑμεῖς εἰρήνῃ ἔσεσθε οἱ τὰ πρόσω αὐτῶν ἔχοντες· οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι δυνήσονται τῶν ἐγγυὲς ἑαυτῶν ὄντων ἀμελοῦντες τοῖς πρόσω ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν.

[6.1.19] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐρρήθη, οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνιστάμενοι συμπροθυμήσεσθαι ταῦτ' ἔφασαν καὶ Κυαξάρης. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ τεῖχος ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν, ἣν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τειχιεῖσθαι ἔφασαν, ὥστε καὶ ταῦτα φίλια τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπάρχειν. [6.1.20] ὁ οὖν Κῦρος ἐπεὶ πάντας ἐώρα προθύμους ὄντας πράττειν ὅσα ἔλεξε, τέλος εἶπεν· Εἰ τοίνυν περαίνειν βουλόμεθα ὅσα φαμὲν χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ὥς τάχιστ' ἂν δεοὶ γενέσθαι μηχανὰς μὲν εἰς τὸ καθαιρεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων τεῖχη, τέκτονας δὲ εἰς τὸ ἡμῖν ὀχυρὰ πυργοῦσθαι. [6.1.21] ἐκ τούτου ὑπέσχετο ὁ μὲν Κυαξάρης μηχανὴν αὐτὸς ποιησάμενος παρέξειν, ἄλλην δὲ Γαδάτας καὶ Γωβρύας, ἄλλην δὲ Τιγράνης· αὐτοὺς δὲ Κῦρος ἔφη δύο πειράσεσθαι ποιήσασθαι. [6.1.22]

ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔδοξεν, ἐπορίζοντο μὲν μηχανοποιούς, παρεσκευάζοντο δ' ἕκαστοι εἰς τὰς μηχανὰς ὧν ἔδει· ἄνδρας δ' ἐπέστησαν οἱ ἐδόκουν ἐπιτηδειότατοι εἶναι ἀμφὶ ταῦτ' ἔχειν.

[6.1.23] Κῦρος δ' ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι διατριβὴ ἔσται ἀμφὶ ταῦτα, ἐκάθισεν τὸ στράτευμα ἐνθά ὣιετο ὑγιεινότατον εἶναι καὶ εὐπροσοδώτατον ὅσα ἔδει προσκομίζεσθαι· ὅσα τε ἐρυμνότητος προσεδεῖτο, ἐποίησατο, ὥς ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οἱ αἰεὶ μένοντες εἶεν, εἴ ποτε καὶ πρόσω τῇ ἰσχύϊ ἀποστρατοπεδεύοιτο. [6.1.24] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐρωτῶν οὖς ὣιετο μάλιστα εἶδέναι τὴν χώραν ὁπόθεν ἂν ὥς πλεῖστα ὠφελοῖτο τὸ στράτευμα, ἐξῆγεν αἰεὶ εἰς προνομάς, ἅμα μὲν ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα λαμβάνει τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἅμα δ' ὅπως μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνουσιν καὶ ἰσχύουσιν διαπονούμενοι ταῖς πορείαις. ἅμα δ' ὅπως ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς τὰς τάξεις ὑπομινῆσκονται. [6.1.25] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

Ἐκ δὲ Βαβυλῶνος οἱ αὐτόμολοι καὶ οἱ ἀλίσκόμενοι ταῦτ' ἔλεγον ὅτι ὁ Ἀσσύριος οἴχοιτο ἐπὶ Λυδίας, πολλὰ τάλαντα χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄγων καὶ ἄλλα κτήματα καὶ κόσμον παντοδαπόν. [6.1.26] ὁ μὲν οὖν ὄχλος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔλεγεν ὥς ὑπεκτίθεται ἤδη τὰ χρήματα φοβούμενος· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος γινώσκων ὅτι οἴχοιτο συστήσων εἴ τι δύναται ἀντίπαλον ἑαυτῷ, ἀντιπαρεσκευάζετο ἐρρωμένως, ὥς μάχης ἔτι δεῖσον· ὥστ' ἐξεπίπλη μὲν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἵππικόν, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ παρὰ τῶν φίλων λαμβάνων ἵππους· ταῦτα γὰρ παρὰ πάντων ἐδέχετο καὶ ἀπεωθεῖτο οὐδέν, οὔτε εἴ τις ὄπλον διδοίη καλὸν οὔτ' εἴ τις ἵππον· [6.1.27] κατεσκευάζετο δὲ καὶ ἄρματα ἐκ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἁρμάτων καὶ ἄλλοθεν ὁπόθεν ἐδύνατο. καὶ τὴν μὲν Τρωικὴν διφρεῖαν πρόσθεν οὔσαν καὶ τὴν Κυρηναίων ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἁρμαθλασίαν κατέλυσεν· τὸν γὰρ πρόσθεν χρόνον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ τοῖς ἅρμασιν οὕτως ἐχρῶντο ὥσπερ νῦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι. [6.1.28] ἔδοξε δ' αὐτῷ, ὁ κράτιστος εἰκὸς ἦν εἶναι τῆς δυνάμεως, ὄντων τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἅρμασι, τοῦτο ἐν ἀκροβολιστῶν μέρει εἶναι καὶ εἰς τὸ κρατεῖν οὐδὲν μέγα [βάρος] συμβάλλεσθαι. ἅρματα γὰρ τριακόσια τοὺς μὲν μαχομένους παρέχεται τριακοσίους, ἵπποις δ' οὗτοι χρῶνται διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους· ἡνίοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ μὲν ὥς εἰκὸς οἷς μάλιστα πιστεύουσιν, οἱ βέλτιστοι· ἄλλοι δὲ εἰσὶ τριακόσιοι οὗτοι, οἱ οὐδ' ὅτιοὺν τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτουσι. [6.1.29] ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν διφρεῖαν κατέλυσεν·

ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πολεμιστήρια κατεσκευάσατο ἄρματα τροχοῖς τε ἰσχυροῖς, ὥς μὴ ῥαιδίως συντρίβηται, ἄξοσί τε μακροῖς· ἦττον γὰρ ἀνατρέπεται πάντα τὰ πλατέα· τὸν δὲ δίφρον τοῖς ἡνιόχοις ἐποίησεν ὥσπερ πύργον ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων· ὕψος δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων, ὥς δύνωνται ἡνιοχεῖσθαι οἱ ἵπποι ὑπὲρ τῶν δίφρων· τοὺς δ' ἡνιόχους ἐθωράκισε πάντα πλὴν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν. [6.1.30] προσέθηκε δὲ καὶ δρέπανα σιδηρᾶ ὥς διπήχη πρὸς τοὺς ἄξονας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῶν τροχῶν καὶ ἄλλα κάτω ὑπὸ τῷ ἄξονι εἰς τὴν γῆν βλέποντα, ὥς ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους τοῖς ἄρμασιν. ὥς δὲ τότε Κῦρος ταῦτα κατεσκεύασεν, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄρμασι χρῶνται οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλειῷ χώραι. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ κάμηλοι πολλαὶ παρά τε τῶν φίλων συνειλεγμένοι καὶ <αἱ> αἰχμάλωτοι πᾶσαι συνηθροισμένοι. [6.1.31] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω συνεπεραίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ κατάσκοπόν τινα πέμψαι ἐπὶ Λυδίας καὶ μαθεῖν ὅ τι πράττοι ὁ Ἀσσύριος, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι Ἀράσπας ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὁ φυλάττων τὴν καλὴν γυναῖκα. συνεβεβήκει γὰρ τῷ Ἀράσπαι τοιάδε. ληφθεὶς ἔρωτι τῆς γυναικὸς ἠναγκάσθη προσενεγκεῖν λόγους αὐτῇ περὶ συνουσίας. [6.1.32] ἡ δὲ ἀπέφησε μὲν καὶ ἦν πιστὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καίπερ ἀπόντι· ἐφίλει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς· οὐ μέντοι κατηγόρησε τοῦ Ἀράσπου πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον, ὁκνοῦσα συμβαλεῖν φίλους ἄνδρας. [6.1.33] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Ἀράσπας δοκῶν ὑπηρετήσῃ τῷ τυχεῖν ἃ ἐβούλετο ἠπειλῆσε τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι εἰ μὴ βούλοιο ἐκοῦσα, ἄκουσα ποιήσοι ταῦτα, ἐκ τούτου ἡ γυνή, ὥς ἔδεισε τὴν βίαν, οὐκέτι κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ πέμπει τὸν εὐνοῦχον πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον καὶ κελεύει λέξαι πάντα. [6.1.34] ὁ δ' ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἀναγελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ κρείττονι τοῦ ἔρωτος φάσκοντι εἶναι, πέμπει Ἀρτάβαζον σὺν τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ κελεύει αὐτῷ εἰπεῖν βιάζεσθαι μὲν μὴ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα, πείθειν δὲ εἰ δύναιτο, οὐκ ἔφη κωλύειν. [6.1.35] ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος πρὸς τὸν Ἀράσπαν ἐλοιδόρησεν αὐτόν, παρακαταθήκην ὀνομάζων τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτοῦ λέγων ἀδικίαν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν, ὥστε τὸν Ἀράσπαν πολλὰ μὲν δακρύειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καταδύεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἀπολωλέναι δὲ τῷ φόβῳ μὴ τι καὶ πάθοι ὑπὸ Κύρου.

[6.1.36] Ὁ οὖν Κῦρος καταμαθὼν ταῦτα ἐκάλεσεν αὐτόν καὶ μόνος μόνῳ ἔλεξεν· Ὁρῶ σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀράσπα, φοβούμενόν τε ἐμὲ καὶ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ δεινῶς ἔχοντα. παῦσαι οὖν τούτων· ἐγὼ γὰρ θεοὺς τε ἀκούω ἔρωτος ἡττῆσθαι, ἀνθρώπους τε οἶδα καὶ μάλα δοκοῦντας

φρονίμους εἶναι οἷα πεπόνθασιν ὑπ' ἔρωτος· καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ἑμαυτοῦ κατέγων μὴ ἂν καρτερῆσαι ὥστε συνὼν καλοῖς ἀμελεῖν αὐτῶν. καὶ σοὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος ἐγὼ αἰτιός εἰμι· ἐγὼ γάρ σε συγκατεῖρξα τούτῳ τῷ ἀμάχῳ πράγματι. [6.1.37] καὶ ὁ Ἀράσπας ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοιος εἰ οἷός περ καὶ τᾶλλα, πρᾶιός τε καὶ συγγνώμων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀμαρτημάτων· ἐμὲ δ', ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωποὶ καταδύουσι τῷ ἄχει. ὥς γὰρ ὁ θροῦς διήλθε τῆς ἐμῆς συμφορᾶς, οἱ μὲν ἐχθροὶ ἐφῆδονταί μοι, οἱ δὲ φίλοι προσιόντες συμβουλευουσιν ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν ἑμαυτόν, μὴ τι καὶ πάθω ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὥς ἡδίκηκότος ἐμοῦ μεγάλα. [6.1.38] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Εὖ τοίνυν ἴσθι, ὦ Ἀράσπα, ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ δόξῃ οἷός τ' εἰ ἐμοί τε ἰσχυρῶς χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεγάλα ὠφελῆσαι. Εἰ γὰρ γένοιτο, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὅ τι ἐγὼ σοὶ ἐν καιρῷ ἂν γενοίμην [αὐτὸς χρήσιμος]. [6.1.39] Εἰ τοίνυν, ἔφη, προσποιησάμενος ἐμὲ φεύγειν ἐθέλοις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλθεῖν, οἶομαι ἂν σε πιστευθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. Ἐγὼγε ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων οἶδα ὅτι ὥς σὲ πεφευγὼς λόγον ἂν [παρ]έχοιμι. [6.1.40] Ἐλθοις ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἡμῖν πάντα εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν πολεμίων· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ λόγων καὶ βουλευμάτων κοινωνὸν ἂν σε ποιοῖντο διὰ τὸ πιστεύειν, ὥστε μὴδὲ ἔν σε λεληθῆναι ὧν βουλόμεθα εἰδέναι. Ὡς πορευσομένου, ἔφη, ἤδη νυνί· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἴσως ἐν τῶν πιστῶν ἔσται τὸ δοκεῖν με ὑπὸ σοῦ μελλήσαντά τι παθεῖν ἐκπεφευγέναι. [6.1.41] Ἥ καὶ δυνήσῃ ἀπολιπεῖν, ἔφη, τὴν καλὴν Πάνθειαν; Δύο γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, σαφῶς ἔχω ψυχάς· νῦν τοῦτο πεφιλοσόφηκα μετὰ τοῦ ἀδίκου σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Ἐρωτος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ μία γε οὕσα ἅμα ἀγαθὴ τέ ἐστι καὶ κακὴ, οὐδ' ἅμα καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶν ἔργων ἐρεῖ καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα βούλεται τε καὶ οὐ βούλεται πράττειν, ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι δύο ἐστὸν ψυχά, καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ κρατῇ, τὰ καλὰ πράττεται, ὅταν δὲ ἡ πονηρά, τὰ αἰσχυρὰ ἐπιχειρεῖται. νῦν δὲ ὥς σὲ σύμμαχον ἔλαβε, κρατεῖ ἡ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πάνυ πολὺ. [6.1.42] Εἰ τοίνυν καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖ πορεύεσθαι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὧδε χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἵνα κακείνοις πιστότερος ᾦς· ἐξάγγελλέ τε αὐτοῖς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, οὕτω τε ἐξάγγελλε ὥς ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ σοῦ λεγόμενα ἐμποδὼν μάλιστ' ἂν εἴη ὧν βούλονται πράττειν. εἴη δ' ἂν ἐμποδῶν, εἰ ἡμᾶς φαίης, παρασκευάζεσθαι ἐμβαλεῖν ποι τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας· ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκούοντες ἥττον ἂν παντὶ σθένει ἀθροίζοιντο, ἕκαστός τις φοβούμενος καὶ περὶ τῶν οἴκοι. [6.1.43] καὶ μένε, ἔφη, παρ' ἐκείνοις ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον· ἂ γὰρ ἂν ποιῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγύτατα ἡμῶν ᾖσι, ταῦτα

μάλιστα καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι ἔσται. συμβούλευε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκτάττεσθαι ὅπῃ ἂν δοκῇ κράτιστον εἶναι· ὅταν γὰρ σὺ ἀπέλθῃς εἰδέναι δοκῶν τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν, ἀναγκαῖον οὕτω τετάχθαι αὐτοῖς· μετατάττεσθαι γὰρ ὀκνήσουσι, καὶ ἦν πῃ ἄλλῃ μετατάττωνται ἐξ ὑπογούου, ταράζονται. [6.1.44] Ἀράσπας μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξελθὼν καὶ συλλαβὼν τοὺς πιστοτάτους θεράποντας καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς τινὰς ἃ ὦιετο συμφέρειν τῷ πράγματι ὦιχετο.

[6.1.45] Ἡ δὲ Πάνθεια ὥς ἤισθετο οἰχόμενον τὸν Ἀράσπαν, πέμψασα πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον εἶπε· Μὴ λυποῦ, ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι Ἀράσπας οἴχεται εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους· ἦν γὰρ ἐμὲ ἐάσης πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα, ἐγὼ σοι ἀναδέχομαι ἥξειν πολὺ Ἀράσπου πιστότερον φίλον· καὶ δύναμιν δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι ὀπόσῃν ἂν δύνῃται ἔχων παρέσται σοι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ νῦν βασιλεύων καὶ ἐπεχείρησέ ποτε ἐμὲ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα διασπάσαι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων· ὑβριστὴν οὖν νομίζων αὐτὸν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἄσμενος ἂν πρὸς ἄνδρα οἷος σὺ εἶ ἀπαλλαγεῖν. [6.1.46] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε πέμπειν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα· ἡ δ' ἔπεμψεν. ὥς δ' ἔγνω ὁ Ἀβραδάτας τὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικὸς σύμβολα, καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ ἤισθετο ὥς εἶχεν, ἄσμενος πορεύεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ἵππους ἔχων ἀμφὶ τοὺς χιλίους. ὥς δ' ἦν πρὸς τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν σκοποῖς, πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον εἰπὼν ὅς ἦν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος εὐθὺς ἄγειν κελεύει αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα. [6.1.47] ὥς δ' εἰδέτην ἀλλήλους ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας, ἡσπάζοντο ἀλλήλους ὥς εἰκὸς ἐκ δυσελπίστων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ λέγει ἡ Πάνθεια τοῦ Κύρου τὴν ὀσιότητα καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν κατοίκτισιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀκούσας εἶπε· Τί ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ὦ Πάνθεια, χάριν Κύρῳ ὑπὲρ τε σοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ ἀποδοίην; Τί δὲ ἄλλο, ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, ἢ πειρώμενος ὁμοίος εἶναι περὶ ἐκεῖνον οἷόσπερ ἐκεῖνος περὶ σέ;

[6.1.48] Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀβραδάτας· καὶ ὥς εἶδεν αὐτόν, λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς εἶπεν· Ἀνθ' ὧν σὺ εὖ πεποίηκας ἡμᾶς, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐκ ἔχω τί μείζον εἶπω ἢ ὅτι φίλον σοι ἐμαυτὸν δίδωμι καὶ θεράποντα καὶ σύμμαχον· καὶ ὅσα ἂν ὁρῶ σε σπουδάζοντα, συνεργὸς πειράσομαι γίνεσθαι ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστος. [6.1.49] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δὲ δέχομαι· καὶ νῦν μὲν σε ἀφήμι, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ δειπνεῖν· αὐθις δὲ καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ δεήσει σε σκηνοῦν σὺν τοῖς σοῖς τε καὶ ἐμοῖς φίλοις.

[6.1.50] Ἐκ τούτου ὁρῶν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας σπουδάζοντα τὸν Κῦρον περὶ

τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς τεθωρακισμένους ἵππους τε καὶ ἱππέας, ἐπειρᾶτο συντελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰς τὰ ἑκατὸν ἄρματα ἐκ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ὅμοια ἐκείνῳ· αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἡγησόμενος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος παρεσκευάζετο. [6.1.51] συνεζεύξατο δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρμα τετράρρυμόν τε καὶ ἵππων ὀκτώ· [ἢ δὲ Πάνθεια ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς χρημάτων χρυσοῦν τε αὐτῷ θώρακα ἐποίησατο καὶ χρυσοῦν κράνος, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ περιβραχιόνια.] τοὺς δὲ ἵππους τοῦ ἄρματος χαλκοῖς πᾶσι προβλήμασι κατεσκευάσατο.

[6.1.52] Ἀβραδάτας μὲν ταῦτα ἔπραττε· Κῦρος δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ τετράρρυμον αὐτοῦ ἄρμα κατενόησεν ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη καὶ ὀκτάρρυμον ποιήσασθαι, ὥστε ὀκτὼ ζεύγεσι βοῶν ἄγειν τῶν μηχανῶν τὸ [κατώτατον] οἴκημα· ἦν δὲ τοῦτο τριώρυγον μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σὺν τοῖς τροχοῖς. [6.1.53] τοιοῦτοι δὲ πύργοι σὺν τάξει ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ μεγάλη μὲν ἐπικουρία γενήσεσθαι τῇ ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγι, μεγάλη δὲ βλάβη τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. ἐποίησε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων καὶ περιδρόμους καὶ ἐπάλξεις· ἀνεβίβαζε δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πύργον ἕκαστον ἄνδρας εἴκοσιν. [6.1.54] ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντα συνειστήκει αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοὺς πύργους, ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀγωγίου πεῖραν· καὶ πολλὸν ῥᾶιον ἦγε τὰ ὀκτὼ ζεύγη τὸν πύργον καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρας ἢ τὸ σκευοφορικὸν βάρος ἕκαστον τὸ ζεύγος. σκευῶν μὲν γὰρ βάρος ἀμφὶ τὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἦν ζεύγει· τοῦ δὲ πύργου, ὡσπερ τραγικῆς σκηνῆς τῶν ξύλων πάχος ἐχόντων, καὶ εἴκοσιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων, τούτων ἐγένετο ἕλαττον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα ἐκάστωι ζεύγει τὸ ἀγώγιον. [6.1.55] ὥς δ' ἔγνω εὐπορον οὔσαν τὴν ἀγωγὴν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἄξων τοὺς πύργους σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι, νομίζων τὴν ἐν πολέμῳ πλεονεξίαν ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἶναι καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν.

[6.2.1] Ἦλθον δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ χρήματα ἄγοντες καὶ ἀπήγγελλον αὐτῷ ὅτι ὁ Ἰνδὸς ἐπιστέλλει τοιάδε. Ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἥδομαι ὅτι μοι ἐπήγγειλας ὣν ἐδέου, καὶ βούλομαι σοι ξένος εἶναι καὶ πέμπω σοι χρήματα· κἂν ἄλλων δέηι, μεταπέμπου. ἐπέσταλται δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν σὺ κελεύῃς. [6.2.2] ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Κελεύω τοῖνυν ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μένοντας ἔνθα κατεσκηνώκατε φυλάττειν τὰ χρήματα καὶ ζῆν ὅπως ὑμῖν ἡδιστον· τρεῖς δέ μοι ἐλθόντες ὑμῶν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ὡς παρὰ τοῦ Ἰνδοῦ περὶ συμμαχίας, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ μαθόντες ὅ τι ἂν λέγωσί τε καὶ ποιῶσιν, ὡς τάχιστα ἀπαγγείλατε ἐμοί τε καὶ τῷ Ἰνδῷ· κἂν ταῦτα

μοι καλῶς ὑπηρετήσητε, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν χάριν εἶσομαι τούτου ἢ ὅτι χρήματα πάρεστε ἄγοντες. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν δούλοις εὐκότεις κατάσκοποι οὐδὲν ἄλλο δύνανται εἰδότες ἀπαγγέλλειν ἢ ὅσα πάντες ἴσασιν· οἱ δὲ οἷοίπερ ὑμεῖς ἄνδρες πολλάκις καὶ τὰ βουλευόμενα καταμανθάνουσιν. [6.2.3] οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἴνδοι ἡδέως ἀκούσαντες καὶ ξενισθέντες τότε παρὰ Κύρῳ, συσκευασάμενοι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο, ὑποσχόμενοι ἢ μὴν μαθόντες ὅσα ἂν δύνωνται πλεῖστα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἥξιν ὡς δυνατόν τάχιστα.

[6.2.4] Ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὰ τε ἄλλα εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρεσκευάζετο μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ὡς δὴ ἀνὴρ οὐδὲν μικρὸν ἐπινοῶν πράττειν, ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ οὐ μόνον ὧν ἔδοξε τοῖς συμμάχοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔριν ἐνέβαλλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς φίλοις ὅπως αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι φανοῦνται καὶ εὐοπλότατοι καὶ ἱππικώτατοι καὶ ἀκοντιστικώτατοι καὶ τοξικώτατοι καὶ φιλοπονώτατοι. [6.2.5] ταῦτα δὲ ἐξεργάζετο ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας ἐξάγων καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἕκαστα· καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας δὲ οὓς ἐώρα ἐπιμελομένους τούτου ὅπως οἱ αὐτῶν κράτιστοι ἔσονται στρατιῶται, καὶ τούτους ἐπαινῶν τε παρώξυνε καὶ χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς ὅ τι δύναιτο. [6.2.6] εἰ δέ ποτε θυσίαν ποιοῖτο καὶ ἐορτὴν ἄγοι, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκα μελετῶσιν ἄνθρωποι πάντων τούτων ἀγῶνας ἐποίει καὶ ἄθλα τοῖς νικῶσι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐδίδου, καὶ ἦν πολλὴ εὐθυμία ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι.

[6.2.7] Τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ σχεδόν τι ἤδη ἀποτετελεσμένα ἦν ὅσα ἐβούλετο ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι πλὴν τῶν μηχανῶν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἱππεῖς ἐκπλεωὶ ἤδη ἦσαν εἰς τοὺς μυρίους, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα τὰ δρεπανηφόρα, ἃ τε αὐτὸς κατεσκεύαζεν, ἐκπλεωὶ ἤδη ἦν εἰς τὰ ἑκατόν, ἃ τε Ἀβραδάτας ὁ Σούσιος ἐπεχείρησε κατασκευάζειν ὅμοια τοῖς Κύρου, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπλεωὶ ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἑκατόν. [6.2.8] καὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ δὲ ἄρματα ἐπεπείκει Κύρος Κυαξάρην εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦτον μετασκευάσαι ἐκ τῆς Τρωικῆς καὶ Λιβυκῆς διφρείας· καὶ ἐκπλεωὶ καὶ ταῦτα ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἑκατόν. καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς καμήλους δὲ τεταγμένοι ἦσαν ἄνδρες δύο ἐφ' ἐκάστην τοξόται. καὶ ὁ μὲν πλεῖστος στρατὸς οὕτως εἶχε τὴν γνώμην ὡς ἤδη παντελῶς κεκρατηκῶς καὶ οὐδὲν ὄντα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

[6.2.9] Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω διακειμένων ἦλθον οἱ Ἴνδοι ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων οὓς ἐπεπόμφει Κύρος ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Κροῖστος μὲν ἡγεμὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς πάντων ἡρημένος εἶη τῶν πολεμίων, δεδογμένον δ' εἶη πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις βασιλεῦσι πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει

ἕκαστον παρῆναι, χρήματα δὲ εἰσφέρειν πάμπολλα, ταῦτα δὲ τελεῖν καὶ μισθουμένους οὓς δύναιντο καὶ δωρουμένους οἷς δέοι, [6.2.10] ἤδη δὲ καὶ μεμισθωμένους εἶναι πολλοὺς μὲν Θραικῶν μαχαιροφόρους, Αἰγυπτίους δὲ προσπλεῖν, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἔλεγον εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας σὺν ἀσπίσι ποδῆρеси καὶ δόρασι μεγάλοις, οἷάπερ καὶ νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ κοπίσι· προσέτι δὲ καὶ Κυπρίων στράτευμα· παρῆναι δ' ἤδη Κίλικας πάντας καὶ Φρύγας ἀμφοτέρους καὶ Λυκάονας καὶ Παφλαγόνας καὶ Καππαδόκας καὶ Ἀραβίους καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ σὺν τῷ Βαβυλῶνος ἄρχοντι τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἰωνας δὲ καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐποικούντας σὺν Κροίσῳ ἠναγκάσθαι ἔπεσθαι, πεπομφέναι δὲ Κροῖσον καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ συμμαχίας· [6.2.11] συλλέγεσθαι δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀμφὶ τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν, προῖέναι δὲ μέλλειν αὐτοὺς εἰς Θύμβραρα, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν ὁ σύλλογος τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλέα βαρβάρων τῶν κάτω [Συρίας], καὶ ἀγορὰν πᾶσι παρηγγέλλαι ἐνταῦθα κομίζειν· σχεδὸν δὲ τούτοις ταῦτ' ἔλεγον καὶ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι· ἐπεμελεῖτο γὰρ καὶ τούτου ὁ Κῦρος ὅπως ἀλίσκοιντο παρ' ὧν ἔμελλε πεύσεσθαι τι· ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ δούλοις ἐοικότας κατασκόπους ὥς αὐτομόλους· [6.2.12] ὥς οὖν ταῦτα ἤκουσεν ὁ στρατὸς τοῦ Κύρου, ἐν φροντίδι τε ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἡσυχαιτέροί τε ἢ ὥς εἰώθεσαν διεφοίτων, φαιδροὶ τε οὐ πάνυ ἐφαίνοντο, ἐκυκλοῦντό τε καὶ μεστὰ ἦν πάντα ἀλλήλους ἐρωτώντων περὶ τούτων καὶ διαλεγομένων.

[6.2.13] Ὡς δὲ ἦισθετο ὁ Κῦρος φόβον διαθέοντα ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ, συγκαλεῖ τούς τε ἄρχοντας τῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ πάντας ὁπόσων ἀθυμούντων ἐδόκει βλάβη τις γίνεσθαι καὶ προθυμουμένων ὠφέλεια. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, καὶ ἄλλος εἴ τις βούλοιο τῶν ὀπλοφόρων προσίστασθαι ἀκουσόμενος τῶν λόγων, μὴ κωλύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

[6.2.14] Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ἐγὼ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς συνεκάλεσα ἰδὼν τινὰς ὑμῶν, ἐπεὶ αἱ ἀγγελίαι ἦλθον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων, πάνυ ἐοικότας πεφοβημένοις ἀνθρώποις. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι θαυμαστὸν εἶναι εἴ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συλλέγονται δέδοικεν, ὅτι δὲ ἡμεῖς πολὺ πλείους συνειλέγμεθα νῦν ἢ ὅτε ἐνικῶμεν ἐκείνους, πολὺ δὲ ἄμεινον σὺν θεοῖς παρεσκευάσμεθα νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν, ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντες οὐ θαρρεῖτε. [6.2.15] ὦ πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, τί δῆτα ἂν ἐποιήσατε οἱ νῦν δεδοικότες, εἰ ἡγγελλόν τινες τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν νῦν ὄντα ταῦτα ἀντίπαλα ἡμῖν προσιόντα, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἠκούετε, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ πρότερον

νικήσαντες ἡμᾶς οὗτοι πάλιν ἔρχονται ἔχοντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἦν τότε νίκην ἐκτήσαντο· ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ τότε ἐκκόψαντες τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ ἀκοντιστῶν τὰς ἀκροβολίσεις νῦν οὗτοι ἔρχονται καὶ ἄλλοι ὅμοιοι τούτοις πολλαπλάσιοι· [6.2.16] ἔπειτα δὲ ὥσπερ οὗτοι ὀπλισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς τότε ἐνίκων, νῦν οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς αὐτῶν παρεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τοὺς ἵππεας προσέρχονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τόξα καὶ ἀκόντια ἀποδοδοκιμάκασι, παλτὸν δὲ ἐν ἰσχυρὸν ἕκαστος λαβὼν προσελαύνειν διανενόηται ὡς ἐκ χειρὸς τὴν μάχην ποιησόμενος· [6.2.17] ἔτι δὲ ἄρματα ἔρχεται, ἃ οὐχ οὕτως ἐστήξει ὥσπερ πρόσθεν ἀπεστραμμένα ὥσπερ εἰς φυγὴν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε ἵπποι εἰσὶ κατατεθωρακισμένοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἄρμασιν, οἱ τε ἡνίοχοι ἐν πύργοις ἐστᾶσι ξυλίνοις τὰ ὑπερέχοντα ἅπαντα συνεστεγασμένοι θώραξι καὶ κράνεσι, δρέπανά τε σιδηρᾶ περὶ τοῖς ἄξοσι προσήρμοσται, ὡς ἐλῶντες καὶ οὗτοι εὐθὺς εἰς τὰς τάξεις τῶν ἐναντίων· [6.2.18] πρὸς δ' ἔτι κάμηλοι εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ὧν προσελῶσιν, ὧν μίαν ἐκάστον ἐκατὸν ἵπποι οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοιντο ἰδόντες· ἔτι δὲ πύργους προσίασιν ἔχοντες ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἀρήξουσιν, ἡμᾶς δὲ βάλλοντες κωλύσουσι τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ μάχεσθαι· [6.2.19] εἰ δὴ ταῦτα ἀπήγγελλέ τις ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντα, οἱ νῦν φοβούμενοι τί ἂν ἐποιήσατε; ὅποτε ἀπαγγελλομένων ὑμῖν ὅτι Κροῖσος μὲν ἡιρηται τῶν πολεμίων στρατηγός, ὃς τοσοῦτοι Σύρων κακίων ἐγένετο ὅσῳ Σύροι μὲν μάχῃ ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον, Κροῖσος δὲ ἰδὼν ἡττημένους ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀρήγειν τοῖς συμμάχοις φεύγων ὦιχετο· [6.2.20] ἔπειτα δὲ διαγγέλλεται δήπου ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ἡγοῦνται ὑμῖν εἶναι μάχεσθαι, ἄλλους δὲ μισθοῦνται, ὡς ἄμεινον μαχομένους ὑπὲρ σφῶν ἢ αὐτοί. εἰ μέντοι τισὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα ὄντα δεινὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα φαῦλα, τούτους ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀφεῖναι εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· πολὺ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ὄντες πλείω ἂν ἡμᾶς ἢ παρόντες ὠφελοῖεν.

[6.2.21] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀνέστη Χρυσάντας ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. Ὡ Κῦρε, μὴ θαύμαζε εἴ τινες ἐσκυθρώπασαν ἀκούσαντες τῶν ἀγγελλομένων· οὐ γὰρ φοβηθέντες οὕτω διετέθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀχθεσθέντες· ὥσπερ γε, ἔφη, εἴ τινων βουλομένων τε καὶ οἰομένων ἤδη ἀριστήσιν ἐξαγγελθεῖν τι ἔργον ὃ ἀνάγκη εἶη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐξεργάσασθαι, οὐδεὶς ἂν οἶμαι ἡσθεῖν ἀκούσας· οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἤδη οἰόμενοι πλουτήσιν, ἐπεὶ ἡκούσαμεν ὅτι ἐστὶ περίλοιπον ἔργον ὃ δεῖ ἐξεργάσασθαι, συνεσκυθρωπάσαμεν, οὐ

φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ πεποιῆσθαι ἂν ἤδη καὶ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι. [6.2.22] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ οὐ περὶ Συρίας μόνον ἀγωνιούμεθα, ὅπου σῖτος πολὺς καὶ πρόβατά ἐστι καὶ φοίνικες οἱ καρποφόροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ Λυδίας, ἔνθα πολὺς μὲν οἶνος, πολλὰ δὲ σῦκα, πολὺ δὲ ἔλαιον, θάλαττα δὲ προσκλύζει καθ' ἣν πλείω ἔρχεται ἢ ὅσα τις εἰώρακεν ἀγαθὰ, ταῦτα, ἔφη, ἐννοοῦμενοι οὐκέτι ἀχθόμεθα, ἀλλὰ θαρροῦμεν ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα θάπτον καὶ τούτων τῶν Λυδίων ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύωμεν. ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι πάντες ἤσθησάν τε τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἐπήνεσαν.

[6.2.23] Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὧ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοι ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥς τάχιστα, ἵνα πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς φθάσωμεν ἀφικόμενοι, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ὅπου τὰ ἐπιτήδεια αὐτοῖς συλλέγεται· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσωι ἂν θάπτον ἴωμεν, τοσοῦτοι μείω μὲν τὰ παρόντα αὐτοῖς εὐρήσομεν, πλείω δὲ τὰ ἀπόντα. [6.2.24] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγω· εἰ δέ τις ἄλληι πηι γινώσκει ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι ἢ ῥᾷον ἡμῖν, διδασκέτω. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνηγόρευον μὲν πολλοὶ ὥς χρεὼν εἶη ὅτι τάχιστα πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀντέλεγε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ Κῦρος ἤρχετο λόγου τοιοῦδε.

[6.2.25] Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, αἱ μὲν ψυχαὶ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἷς δεήσει χρῆσθαι ἐκ πολλοῦ ἡμῖν σὺν θεῷ παρεσκεύασται· νῦν δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δεῖ εἰς τὸν ὁδὸν συσκευάζεσθαι αὐτοῖς τε ἡμῖν καὶ ὁπόσοις τετράποσι χρώμεθα μὴ μείον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν. ἐγὼ γὰρ λογιζόμενος εὐρίσκω πλεον ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερῶν ἐσομένην ὁδόν, ἐν ἣι οὐδὲν εὐρήσομεν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ἀνεσκεύασται γὰρ τὰ μὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσα ἐδύναντο. [6.2.26] συσκευάζεσθαι οὖν χρή σῖτον μὲν ἱκανόν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὔτε μάχεσθαι οὔτε ζῆν δυναίμεθ' ἂν· οἶνον δὲ τοσοῦτον ἕκαστον ἔχειν χρή ὅσος ἱκανὸς ἔσται ἐθίσαι ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑδροποτεῖν· πολλὴ γὰρ ἔσται τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄοινος, εἰς ἣν οὐδ' ἂν πάνυ πολὺν οἶνον συσκευασώμεθα, διαρκέσει. [6.2.27] ὥς οὖν μὴ ἐξαπίνης ἄοινοι γενόμενοι νοσήμασι περιπίπτωμεν, ὧδε χρή ποιεῖν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ σίτῳ νῦν εὐθὺς ἀρχώμεθα πίνειν ὕδωρ· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη ποιοῦντες οὐ πολὺ μεταβαλοῦμεν. [6.2.28] καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἀλφιτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι μεμαγμένην ἀεὶ τὴν μᾶζον ἐσθίει, καὶ ὅστις ἄρτοσιτεῖ, ὕδατι δεδευμένον τὸν ἄρτον, καὶ τὰ ἐφθὰ δὲ πάντα μεθ' ὕδατος τοῦ πλείστου ἐσκεύασται. μετὰ δὲ τὸν σῖτον ἐὰν οἶνον ἐπιπίνωμεν, οὐδὲν μείον ἔχουσα ἢ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεται. [6.2.29] ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δεῖπνον ἀφαιρεῖν χρή,

ἔστ' ἂν λάθωμεν ὑδροπόται γενόμενοι. ἢ γὰρ κατὰ μικρὸν παράλλαξις πᾶσαν ποιεῖ φύσιν ὑποφέρειν τὰς μεταβολάς· διδάσκει δὲ καὶ ὁ θεός, ἀπάγων ἡμᾶς κατὰ μικρὸν ἔκ τε τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὸ ἀνέχεσθαι ἰσχυρά θάλλη ἔκ τε τοῦ θάλπου εἰς τὸν ἰσχυρὸν χειμῶνα· ὃν χρή μιμουμένους εἰς ὃ δεῖ ἐλθεῖν προειθισμένους ἡμᾶς ἀφικνεῖσθαι. [6.2.30] καὶ τὸ τῶν στρωμάτων δὲ βάρος εἰς τάπιτήδεια καταδαπανᾷτε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιτήδεια περιττεύοντα οὐκ ἄχρηστα ἔσται· στρωμάτων δὲ ἐνδεηθέντες μὴ δείσητε ὥς οὐχ ἡδέως καθευδήσετε· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐμὲ αἰτιάσθε. ἐσθῆς μέντοι ὅτῳ ἐστὶν ἀφθονωτέρα παροῦσα, πολλὰ καὶ ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ κάμνοντι ἐπικουρεῖ. [6.2.31] ὅσα δὲ χρή συνεσκευάσθαι ὅσα ἐστὶν ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ ἄλμυρά· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπὶ σῆτον τε ἄγει καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖ. ὅταν δ' ἐκβαίνωμεν εἰς ἀκέραια, ὅπου ἤδη εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς σῆτον λαμβάνειν, χειρομύλας χρή αὐτόθεν παρασκευάσασθαι αἷς σιτοποιησόμεθα· τοῦτο γὰρ κουφότατον τῶν σιτοποιικῶν ὀργάνων. [6.2.32] συνεσκευάσθαι δὲ χρή καὶ ὧν ἀσθενοῦντες δέονται ἄνθρωποι· τούτων γὰρ ὁ μὲν ὄγκος μικρότατος, ἦν δὲ τύχη τοιαύτη γένηται, μάλιστα δεήσει. ἔχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ἱμάντας· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἵπποις ἱμᾶσιν ἥρτηται· ὧν κατατριβομένων καὶ ῥηγνυμένων ἀνάγκη ἀργεῖν, ἦν μὴ τις ἔχῃ περίζυγα. ὅστις δὲ πεπαίδευται καὶ παλτὸν ξύσασθαι, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ξυήλης μὴ ἐπιλαθέσθαι. ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ρίνην φέρεσθαι. [6.2.33] ὁ γὰρ λόγῃν ἀκονῶν ἐκεῖνος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τι παρακονᾷ. ἔπεστι γὰρ τις αἰσχύνῃ λόγῃν ἀκονῶντα κακὸν εἶναι. ἔχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ξύλα περίπλεω καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ ἀμάξαις· ἐν γὰρ πολλαῖς πράξεσι πολλὰ ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ ἀπαγορεύοντα εἶναι. [6.2.34] ἔχειν δὲ δεῖ καὶ τὰ ἀναγκαιότατα ὄργανα ἐπὶ ταῦτα πάντα· οὐ γὰρ πανταχοῦ χειροτέχναι παραγίγνονται· τὸ δ' ἐφ' ἡμέραν ἀρκέσον ὀλίγοι τινὲς οἱ οὐχ ἱκανοὶ ποιῆσαι. ἔχειν δὲ χρή καὶ ἄμην καὶ σμινύην κατὰ ἅμαζαν ἐκάστην, καὶ κατὰ τὸν νωτοφόρον δὲ ἀξίνην καὶ δρέπανον· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἰδία ἐκάστωι χρήσιμα καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολλάκις ὠφέλιμα γίνεται. [6.2.35] τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τροφὴν δέοντα οἱ ἡγεμόνες τῶν ὀπλοφόρων ἐξετάζετε τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ δεῖ παρῆναι ὅτου ἂν τις τούτων ἐνδέχεται· ἡμεῖς γὰρ τούτων ἐνδεεῖς ἐσόμεθα. ἃ δὲ κατὰ τὰ ὑποζύγια κελεύω ἔχειν, ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν σκευοφόρων ἄρχοντες ἐξετάζετε, καὶ τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀναγκάζετε. [6.2.36] ὑμεῖς δ' αὖ οἱ τῶν ὁδοποιῶν ἄρχοντες ἔχετε μὲν ἀπογεγραμμένους παρ' ἐμοῦ τοὺς

ἀποδεδοκιμασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν τοξοτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν σφενδονητῶν· τούτων δὲ χρή τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν πέλεκυν ἔχοντας ξυλοκόπον ἀναγκάζειν στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν τοξοτῶν σμινύην, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τῶν σφενδονητῶν ἄμην· τούτους δὲ ἔχοντας ταῦτα πρὸ τῶν ἀμαξῶν κατ' ἵλας πορεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἦν τι δέηι ὁδοποιίας, εὐθὺς ἐνεργοὶ ἦτε, καὶ ἐγὼ ἦν τι δέωμαι, ὅπως εἰδῶ ὅθεν δεῖ λαβόντα τούτοις χρῆσθαι. [6.2.37] ἄξω δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ στρατιωτικῇ ἡλικίᾳ σὺν τοῖς ὀργάνοις χαλκέας τε καὶ τέκτονας καὶ σκυτοτόμους, ὅπως ἂν τι δέηι καὶ τοιούτων τεχνῶν ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ μηδὲν ἐλλείπηται. οὗτοι δὲ ὀπλοφόρου μὲν τάξεως ἀπολελύσονται, ἃ δὲ ἐπίστανται, τῷ βουλομένῳ μισθοῦ ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἔσονται. [6.2.38] ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἔμπορος βούληται ἔπεσθαι πωλεῖν τι βουλόμενος, τῶν μὲν προειρημένων ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν ἦν τι πωλῶν ἀλίσκηται, πάντων στερήσεται· ἐπειδὰν δ' αὐται παρέλθωσιν αἱ ἡμέραι, πωλήσει ὅπως ἂν βούληται. ὅστις δ' ἂν τῶν ἐμπόρων πλείστην ἀγορὰν παρέχων φαίνεται, οὗτος καὶ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ παρ' ἑμοῦ δώρων καὶ τιμῆς τεύζεται. [6.2.39] εἰ δέ τις χρημάτων προσδεῖσθαι νομίζει εἰς ἐμπολήν, γνωστῆρας ἑμοὶ προσαγαγὼν καὶ ἐγγυητὰς ἢ μὴν πορεύσεσθαι σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ, λαμβανέτω ὧν ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν. ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα προαγορεύω· εἰ δέ τις τι καὶ ἄλλο δέον ἐνορᾷ, πρὸς ἐμὲ σημαινέτω. [6.2.40] καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἀπιόντες συσκευάζεσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ θύσομαι ἐπὶ τῇ ὁρμῇ· ὅταν δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς ἔχη, σηματοῦμεν. παρεῖναι δὲ χρή ἅπαντας τὰ προειρημένα ἔχοντας εἰς τὴν τεταγμένην χώραν πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αὐτῶν. [6.2.41] ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἡγεμόνες τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος τάξιν εὐτρεπισάμενος πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντες συμβάλλετε, ἵνα τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι χώρας καταμάθητε.

[6.3.1] Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν συνεσκευάζοντο, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐθύετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ καλὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἦν, ὠρμάτο σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξεστρατοπεδεύσατο ὡς δυνατόν ἐγγύτατα, ὅπως εἴ τις τι ἐπιλελησμένος εἴη, μετέλθοι, καὶ εἴ τις τι ἐνδεόμενος γνοίη, τοῦτο ἐπιπαρασκευάσαιτο. [6.3.2] Κυαζάρης μὲν οὖν τῶν Μήδων ἔχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος κατέμενε, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ οἶκοι ἔρημα εἴη. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπορεύετο ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα, τοὺς ἱππέας μὲν πρώτους ἔχων, καὶ πρὸ τούτων διερευνητὰς καὶ σκοποὺς αἰεὶ ἀναβιβάζων ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσθεν εὐσκοπώτατα· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦγε τὰ σκευοφόρα, ὅπου μὲν πεδινὸν εἴη, πολλοὺς ὀρμαθοὺς ποιούμενος τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ τῶν

σκευοφόρων· ὅπισθεν δὲ ἡ φάλαγξ ἐφεπομένη, εἴ τι τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπολείποιτο, οἱ προστυγχάνοντες τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπεμέλοντο ὥς μὴ κωλύοιντο πορεύεσθαι. [6.3.3] ὅπου δὲ στενωτέρα εἴη ἡ ὁδός, διὰ μέσου ποιούμενοι τὰ σκευοφόρα ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν ἐπορεύοντο οἱ ὅπλοφόροι· καὶ εἴ τι ἐμποδίζοι, οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα γιγνόμενοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐπορεύοντο δὲ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ αἱ τάξεις παρ' ἑαυταῖς ἔχουσαι τὰ σκευοφόρα· ἐπετέτακτο γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖς σκευοφόροις κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους τάξιν ἰέναι, εἰ μὴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἀποκωλύοι. [6.3.4] καὶ σημεῖον δὲ ἔχων ὁ τοῦ ταξιάρχου σκευοφόρος ἡγεῖτο γνωστὸν τοῖς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τάξεως· ὥστε ἀθρόοι ἐπορεύοντο, ἐπεμελοῦντό τε ἰσχυρῶς ἕκαστος τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὥς μὴ ὑπολείποιντο. καὶ οὕτω ποιούντων οὔτε ζητεῖν ἔδει ἀλλήλους ἅμα τε παρόντα ἅπαντα καὶ σωότερα ἦν καὶ θάπτον τὰ δέοντα εἶχον οἱ στρατιῶται.

[6.3.5] Ὡς δ' οἱ προϊόντες σκοποὶ ἔδοξαν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὁρᾶν ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνοντας καὶ χιλὸν καὶ ξύλα, καὶ ὑποζύγια δὲ ἐώρων ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἄγοντα, τὰ δὲ καὶ νεμόμενα, καὶ τὰ πρόσω αὐτῶν ἀφορῶντες ἐδόκουν καταμανθάνειν μετεωριζόμενον ἢ καπνὸν ἢ κονιορτόν, ἐκ τούτων πάντων σχεδὸν ἐγίγνωσκον ὅτι εἴ που πλησίον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν πολεμίων. [6.3.6] εὐθὺς οὖν πέμπει τινὰ ὁ σκόπαρχος ἀγγελοῦντα ταῦτα τῷ Κύρῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε μένοντας ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς σκοπαῖς ὅτι ἂν αἰεὶ καινὸν ὁρῶσιν ἐξαγγέλλειν· τάξιν δ' ἐπεμψεν ἱππέων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ἐκέλευσε πειραθῆναι συλλαβεῖν τινὰς τῶν ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως σαφέστερον μάθοιεν τὸ ὄν. [6.3.7] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχθέντες τοῦτο ἔπραττον. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατεχώριζεν, ὅπως παρασκευάσαιντο ὅσα ὤιετο χρῆναι πρὶν πάνυ ὁμοῦ εἶναι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀριστὰν παρηγγύησεν, ἔπειτα δὲ μένοντας ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι τὸ παραγγελλόμενον προνοεῖν· [6.3.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρίστησαν, συνεκάλεσε καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἀρμάτων ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τῶν μηχανῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν σκευοφόρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν· καὶ οὗτοι μὲν συνήρισαν. [6.3.9] οἱ δὲ καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον συλλαβόντες ἀνθρώπους ἡγαγον· οἱ δὲ ληφθέντες ἀνερωτώμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἔλεγον ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου εἶεν, προεληλυθότες ἐπὶ χιλόν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ξύλα, παρελθόντες τὰς προφυλακάς· διὰ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ σπάνια πάντ' εἶναι. [6.3.10] καὶ ὁ Κύρος ταῦτα ἀκούσας, Πόσον δέ,

ἔφη, ἄπεστιν ἐνθὲνδε τὸ στράτευμα; οἱ δ' ἔλεγον· Ὡς δύο παρασάγγας. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦρετο ὁ Κῦρος· Ἡμῶν δ', ἔφη, λόγος τις ἦν παρ' αὐτοῖς; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφασαν, καὶ πολὺς γε ὥς ἐγγὺς ἦδη εἶτε προσιώντες. Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἥ καὶ ἔχαιρον ἀκούοντες ἰόντας; τοῦτο δὲ ἐπήρετο τῶν παρόντων ἕνεκα. Οὐ μὰ Δί', εἶπον ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μὲν δὴ ἔχαιρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μάλα ἠνιῶντο. [6.3.11] Νῦν δ', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τί ποιοῦσιν; Ἐκτάττονται, ἔφασαν· καὶ ἐχθὲς δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔπραττον. Ὁ δὲ τάττων, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τίς ἐστιν; οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν· Αὐτός τε Κροῖσος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Ἕλληνας ἀνὴρ, καὶ ἄλλος δὲ τις Μῆδος· οὗτος μέντοι ἐλέγετο φυγὰς εἶναι παρ' ὑμῶν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, λαβεῖν μοι γένοιτο αὐτὸν ὥς ἐγὼ βούλομαι.

[6.3.12] Ἐκ τούτου τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς παρόντας ὥς λέξων τι ἀνήγετο. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ παρὴν ἄλλος αὖ παρὰ τοῦ σκοπάρχου, λέγων ὅτι ἱππέων τάξις μεγάλη ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ προφαίνετο· καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν, ἔφη, εἰκάζομεν ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς βουλομένους ἰδεῖν τόδε τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ταύτης ἄλλοι ὥς τρίακοντα ἱππεῖς συχνὸν προελαύνουσι, καὶ μέντοι, ἔφη, κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, ἴσως βουλόμενοι λαβεῖν, ἦν δύνωνται, τὴν σκοπὴν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐσμὲν μία δεκάς οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς σκοπῆς. [6.3.13] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσε τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ὄντων ἱππέων ἐλάσαντας ὑπὸ τὴν σκοπὴν ἀδήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτρεμίαν ἔχειν. Ὅταν δ', ἔφη, ἡ δεκάς ἢ ἡμετέρα λείπη τὴν σκοπὴν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐπίθεσθε τοῖς ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν σκοπὴν. ὥς δὲ ὑμᾶς μὴ λυπῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης τάξεως, ἀντέξελθε σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, τὴν χιλιοστὺν τῶν ἱππέων λαβὼν καὶ ἐπιφάνηθι ἐναντίος τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει. διώξῃς δὲ μηδαμῇ εἰς ἀφανές, ἀλλ' ὅπως αἱ σκοπαὶ σοὶ διαμένωσιν ἐπιμεληθεὶς πάρῃθι. ἦν δ' ἄρα ἀνατείναντές τινες τὰς δεξιὰς προσελαύνωσιν ὑμῖν, δέχεσθε φιλίως τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[6.3.14] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὑστάσπας ἀπιὼν ὠπλίζετο· οἱ δ' ὑπηρεταὶ ἥλαυνον εὐθὺς ὥς ἐκέλευσεν. ἀπαντὰ δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ δὴ ἐντὸς τῶν σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς θεράπουσιν ὁ πεμφθεὶς πάλαι κατάσκοπος, ὁ φύλαξ τῆς Σουσίδος γυναικός. [6.3.15] ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ὥς ἤκουσεν, ἀναπηδήσας ἐκ τῆς ἑδρας ὑπήντα τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐδεξιοῦτο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς μηδὲν εἰδότες, ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι, ἕως Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἥκει ἡμῖν ἀνὴρ ἄριστος. νῦν γὰρ ἦδη πάντας ἀνθρώπους δεῖ εἰδέναι τὰ τούτου ἔργα. οὗτος

οὔτε αἰσχροῦ ἡττηθεῖς οὐδενὸς ὦιχετο οὔτ' ἐμὲ φοβηθεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πεμφθεῖς ὅπως ἡμῖν μαθὼν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων σαφῶς τὰ ὄντα ἐξαγγείλειεν. [6.3.16] ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι ὑπεσχόμην, ὦ Ἀράσπα, μέμνημαί τε καὶ ἀποδώσω σὺν τούτοις πᾶσι. δίκαιον δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἅπαντας, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτον τιμᾶν ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ἐκινδύνευσεν καὶ αἰτίαν ὑπέσχετο, ἣ ἐβαρύνετο. [6.3.17] ἐκ τούτου δὴ πάντες ἡσπάζοντο τὸν Ἀράσπαν καὶ ἐδεξιοῦντο. εἰπόντος δὲ Κῦρου ὅτι τούτων μὲν τοίνυν εἴη ἅλις, Ἄ δὲ καιρὸς ἡμῖν εἰδέναι, ταῦτ', ἔφη, διηγοῦ, ὦ Ἀράσπα· καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττου τοῦ ἀληθοῦς μηδὲ μείον τὰ τῶν πολεμίων. κρεῖττον γὰρ μείζω οἰηθέντας μείονα ἰδεῖν ἢ μείω ἀκούσαντας ἰσχυρότερα εὐρίσκειν. [6.3.18] Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατά γε εἰδείην ὁπόσον τὸ στρατεύμα ἐστὶν ἐποίουν· συνεξέταττον γὰρ παρὼν αὐτός. Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐ τὸ πλῆθος μόνον οἶσθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν. Ἐγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀράσπας, καὶ ὡς διανοοῦνται τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν πρῶτων εἰπεῖ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ. [6.3.19] Ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, ἔφη, πάντες τεταγμένοι ἐπὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπέχουσιν ἀμφὶ τὰ τετταράκοντα στάδια· πάνυ γὰρ μοι, ἔφη, ἐμέλησεν ὥστε εἰδέναι ὁπόσον κατεῖχον χωρίον. [6.3.20] Οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, πῶς εἰσι τεταγμένοι; ὅτι εἵπας Πλὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Τούτους δὲ οἱ μυρίαρχοι ἔταττον εἰς ἑκατὸν πανταχῇ τὴν μυριοστὴν ἐκάστην· τοῦτον γὰρ σφίσι καὶ οἶκοι νόμον ἔφασαν εἶναι τῶν τάξεων. καὶ ὁ Κροῖστος μέντοι μάλα ἄκων συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς οὕτω τάττεσθαι· ἐβούλετο γὰρ ὅτι πλεῖστον ὑπερφαλαγγῆσαι τοῦ σοῦ στρατεύματος. Πρὸς τί δή, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, τοῦτο ἐπιθυμῶν; Ὡς ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ περιττῷ κυκλωσόμενος. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' οὗτοι ἂν εἰδείην εἰ οἱ κυκλούμενοι κυκλωθεῖεν. [6.3.21] ἀλλ' ἃ μὲν παρὰ σοῦ καιρὸς μαθεῖν, ἀκηκόαμεν· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω ποιεῖν· νῦν μὲν ἐπειδὰν ἐνθένδε ἀπέλθῃτε, ἐπισκέψασθε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τὰ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὅπλα· πολλάκις γὰρ μικροῦ ἐνδείαι καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἵππος καὶ ἄρμα ἀχρεῖον γίγνεται· αὔριον δὲ πρῶι, ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ θύωμαι, πρῶτον μὲν χρή ἀριστῆσαι καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ἵππους, ὅπως ὅ τι ἂν πράττειν ἀεὶ καιρὸς ἦι μὴ τούτου ἡμῖν ἐνδέηι· ἔπειτα δὲ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρσάμα,, τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχε ὥσπερ καὶ ἔχεις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι μυρίαρχοι ἥπερ νῦν ἔχετε· ὁμοῦ δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὄντος οὐδενὶ ἄρματι καιρὸς ἵππους μεταξευγνύναι. παραγγείλατε δὲ τοῖς

ταξiάρχους καὶ λοχαγοῖς ἐπὶ φάλαγγος καθίστασθαι εἰς δύο ἔχοντας ἕκαστον τὸν λόχον. ὁ δὲ λόχος ἦν ἕκαστος εἴκοσι τέτταρες.

[6.3.22] Καὶ τις εἶπε τῶν μυριάρχων· Καὶ δοκοῦμέν σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἱκανῶς ἔξειν εἰς τοσοῦτους τεταγμένοι πρὸς οὕτω βαθεῖαν φάλαγγα; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Αἱ δὲ βαθύτεραι φάλαγγες ἢ ὡς ἔξικνεῖσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ἐναντίων τί σοι, ἔφη, δοκοῦσιν ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους βλάπτειν ἢ τοὺς συμμάχους ὠφελεῖν; [6.3.23] ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, τοὺς εἰς ἑκατὸν τούτους ὀπλίτας εἰς μυρίους ἂν μᾶλλον βουλοίμην τετάχθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἐλαχίστοις μαχοίμεθα. ἐξ ὅσων μέντοι ἐγὼ τὴν φάλαγγα βαθυῶ οἶομαι ὅλην ἐνεργὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ. [6.3.24] ἀκοντιστὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς θωρακοφόροις τάξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντισταῖς τοὺς τοξότας. τούτους γὰρ πρωτοστάτας μὲν τί ἂν τις τάττοι, οἳ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσι μηδεμίαν μάχην ἂν ὑπομεῖναι ἐκ χειρός; προβεβλημένοι δὲ τοὺς θωρακοφόρους μενοῦσί τε, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀκοντίζοντες, οἱ δὲ τοξεύοντες, ὑπὲρ τῶν πρόσθεν πάντων λυμανοῦνται τοὺς πολεμίους. ὅ τι δ' ἂν κακουργῇ τις τοὺς ἐναντίους, δηλὸν ὅτι παντὶ τούτῳ τοὺς συμμάχους κουφίζει. [6.3.25] τελευταίους μέντοι στήσω τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι καλουμένους. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὔτε ἄνευ λιθολογήματος ὄχυροῦ οὔτε ἄνευ τῶν στέγειν ποιούντων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, οὕτως οὐδὲ φάλαγγος οὐτ' ἄνευ τῶν πρώτων οὐτ' ἄνευ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ μὴ ἀγαθοὶ ἔσονται, ὄφελος οὐδέν. [6.3.26] ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς τ', ἔφη, ὡς παραγγέλλω τάττεσθε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡσαύτως τοὺς λόχους καθίστατε, καὶ ὑμεῖς οἱ τῶν τοξοτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πελτασταῖς ὡσαύτως. [6.3.27] σὺ δέ, ὃς τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄρχεις, τελευταίους ἔχων τοὺς ἄνδρας παράγγελλε τοῖς σαντοῦ ἐφορᾶν τε ἐκάστωι τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοῖς μὲν τὸ δέον ποιοῦσιν ἐπικελεύειν, τοῖς δὲ μαλακνομένοις ἀπειλεῖν ἰσχυρῶς· ἦν δέ τις στρέφεται προδιδόναι θέλων, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν. ἔργον γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῖς μὲν πρωτοστάταις θαρρύνειν τοὺς ἐπομένους καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ· ὑμᾶς δὲ δεῖ τοὺς ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένους πλείω φόβον παρέχειν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. [6.3.28] καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν ταῦτα ποιεῖτε. σὺ δέ, ὦ Εὐφράτα, ὃς ἄρχεις τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς μηχαναῖς, οὕτω ποίει ὅπως τὰ ζεύγη τὰ τοὺς πύργους ἄγοντα ἔψεται ὡς ἐγγύτατα τῆς φάλαγγος. [6.3.29] σὺ δ', ὦ Δαοῦχε, ὃς ἄρχεις τῶν σκευοφόρων, ἐπὶ τοῖς πύργοις ἄγε πάντα τὸν τοιοῦτον στρατόν· οἱ δὲ ὑπηρεταὶ σου ἰσχυρῶς κολαζόντων τοὺς προϊόντας τοῦ καιροῦ ἢ λειπομένους. [6.3.30] σὺ δέ, ὦ Καρδοῦχε, ὃς

ἄρχεις τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν αἱ ἄγουσι τὰς γυναῖκας, κατὰστησον αὐτὰς τελευταίας ἐπὶ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. ἐπόμενα γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα καὶ πλήθους δόξαν παρέξει καὶ ἐνεδρεῦειν ἡμῖν ἐξουσία ἔσται, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἣν κυκλοῦσθαι πειρῶνται, μείζω τὴν περιβολὴν ἀναγκάσει ποιεῖσθαι· ὅσῳ δ' ἂν μείζον χωρίον περιβάλλωνται, τοσούτῳ ἀνάγκη αὐτοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους γίνεσθαι. [6.3.31] καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν οὕτω ποιεῖτε· σὺ δέ, ὦ Ἀρτάοξε καὶ Ἀρταγέρσα, τὴν χλιοστὴν ἐκάτερος τῶν σὺν ὑμῖν πεζῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔχετε. [6.3.32] καὶ σύ, ὦ Φαρνοῦχε καὶ Ἀσιαδάτα, τὴν τῶν ἱπέων χλιοστὴν ἣς ἐκάτερος ἄρχει ὑμῶν μὴ συγκατατάττετε εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν ἐξοπλίσθητε καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ἔπειτα πρὸς ἐμὲ ἦκετε σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν. οὕτω δὲ δεῖ ὑμᾶς παρεσκευάσθαι ὡς πρῶτους δεῆσον ἀγωνίζεσθαι. [6.3.33] καὶ σὺ δὲ ὁ ἄρχων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς καμήλοις ἀνδρῶν, ὅπισθεν τῶν ἄρμαμαξῶν ἐκτάττου· ποιεῖ δ' ὅ τι ἂν σοι παραγγέλλῃ Ἀρταγέρσης. [6.3.34] ὑμεῖς δ' οἱ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἡγεμόνες διακληρωσάμενοι, ὁ μὲν λαχὼν ὑμῶν πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τὰ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκατὸν ἔχων ἅρματα καταστησάτω· αἱ δ' ἕτεραι ἐκατοστύες τῶν ἁρμάτων, ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν πλευρὸν τῆς στρατιᾶς στοιχοῦσα ἐπέσθω τῇ φάλαγγι ἐπὶ κέρως, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον. Κῦρος μὲν οὕτω διέταττεν.

[6.3.35] Ἀβραδάτας δὲ ὁ Σούσων βασιλεὺς εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ σοι, Κῦρε, ἐθελούσιος ὑφίσταμαι τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀντίας φάλαγγος τάξιν ἔχειν, εἰ μὴ τί σοι ἄλλο δοκεῖ. [6.3.36] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἀγασθεὶς αὐτὸν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐπήρετο τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅρμασι Πέρσας· Ἥ καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἔφη, ταῦτα συγχωρεῖτε; ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐ καλὸν εἶη ταῦτα ὑφίεσθαι, διεκλήρωσεν αὐτούς, καὶ ἔλαχεν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἥπερ ὑφίστατο, καὶ ἐγένετο κατὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους. [6.3.37] τότε μὲν δὴ ἀπρόντες καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες ὧν προεῖπον ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.

[6.4.1] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρῶι Κῦρος μὲν ἐθύετο, ὁ δ' ἄλλος στρατὸς ἀριστήσας καὶ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος ἐξωπλίζετο πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ καλοῖς χιτῶσι, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ καλοῖς θώραξι καὶ κράνεσιν· ὥπλιζον δὲ καὶ ἵππους προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μονίππους παραμηριδίοις, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τοῖς ἅρμασιν ὄντας παραπλευριδίοις· ὥστε ἥστραπτε μὲν χαλκῶι, ἦνθει δὲ φοινικίσι πᾶσα ἡ στρατιά.

[6.4.2] Καὶ τῷ Ἀβραδάται δὲ τὸ τετράρρυμον ἄρμα καὶ ἵπων ὀκτὼ παγκάλως ἐκεκόσμητο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμελλε τὸν λινοῦν θώρακα, ὃς ἐπιχώριος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐνδύεσθαι, προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἡ Πάνθεια <χρυσοῦν> καὶ χρυσοῦν κρᾶνος καὶ περιβραχιόνια καὶ ψέλια πλατέα περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν ποδήρη στολιδωτὸν τὰ κάτω καὶ λόφον ὑακινθινοβαφῇ. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίησατο λάθραι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐκμετρησαμένη τὰ ἐκείνου ὅπλα. [6.4.3] ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασέ τε καὶ ἐπήρετο τὴν Πάνθειαν· Οὐ δήπου, ὦ γύναι, συγκόψασα τὸν σαντῆς κόσμον τὰ ὅπλα μοι ἐποιήσω; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ἡ Πάνθεια, οὐκουν τόν γε πλείστου ἄξιον· σὺ γὰρ ἔμοιγε, ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φανῆις οἷόσπερ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς εἶναι, μέγιστος κόσμος ἔσθι. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσα ἅμα ἐνέδυε τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λανθάνειν μὲν ἐπειράτο, ἐλείβετο δὲ αὐτῇ τὰ δάκρυα κατὰ τῶν παρειῶν.

[6.4.4] Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὦν ἀξιοθέατος ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ὥπλισθη τοῖς ὅπλοις τούτοις, ἐφάνη μὲν κάλλιστος καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατος, ἅτε καὶ τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχούσης· λαβὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ὑφηγιόχου τὰς ἡνίας παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀναβησόμενος ἤδη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. [6.4.5] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἡ Πάνθεια ἀποχωρῆσαι κελεύσασα τοὺς παρόντας πάντας ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, εἴ τις καὶ ἄλλη πώποτε γυνὴ τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα μεῖζον τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς ἐτίμησεν, οἷμαί σε γινώσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ μία τούτων εἰμί. τί οὖν ἐμὲ δεῖ καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον λέγειν; τὰ γὰρ ἔργα οἷμαί σοι πιθανώτερα παρεσχῆσθαι τῶν νῦν λεχθέντων λόγων. [6.4.6] ὅμως δὲ οὕτως ἔχουσα πρὸς σὲ ὥσπερ σὺ οἶσθα, ἐπομνύω σοι τὴν ἐμήν καὶ σὴν φιλίαν ἢ μὴν ἐγὼ βούλεσθαι ἂν μετὰ σοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γενομένου κοινῇ γῆν ἐπιέσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν μετ' αἰσχυνομένου αἰσχυνομένη· οὕτως ἐγὼ καὶ σὲ τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ἐμαυτὴν ἡξίωκα. [6.4.7] καὶ Κύρῳ δὲ μεγάλην τινὰ δοκῶ ἡμᾶς χάριν ὀφείλειν, ὅτι με αἰχμάλωτον γενομένην καὶ ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν αὐτῷ οὔτε ὡς δούλην ἡξίωσε κεκτῆσθαι οὔτε ὡς ἐλευθέραν ἐν ἀτίμῳ ὀνόματι, διεφύλαξε δὲ σοὶ ὥσπερ ἀδελφοῦ γυναικα λαβὼν. [6.4.8] πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅτε Ἀράσπας ἀπέστη αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐμὲ φυλάττων, ὑπεσχόμην αὐτῷ, εἴ με ἐάσειε πρὸς σὲ πέμψαι, ἥξειν αὐτῷ σὲ πολὺ Ἀράσπου ἄνδρα καὶ πιστότερον καὶ ἀμείονα.

[6.4.9] Ἡ μὲν ταῦτα εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀγασθεὶς τοῖς λόγοις καὶ θιγὼν αὐτῆς τῆς κεφακῆς ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπηύξατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε, δός μοι φανῆναι ἀξίῳ μὲν Πανθείας ἀνδρί, ἀξίῳ δὲ Κύρου φίλῳ τοῦ ἡμᾶς τιμήσαντος. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν κατὰ τὰς

θύρας τοῦ ἄρματιοῦ δίφρου ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα. [6.4.10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναβάντος αὐτοῦ κατέκλεισε τὸν δίφρον ὁ ὑφηγίος, οὐκ ἔχουσα ἡ Πάνθεια πῶς ἂν ἔτι ἄλλως ἀσπάζεται αὐτόν, κατεφίλησε τὸν δίφρον· καὶ τῷ μὲν προΐει ἥδη τὸ ἄρμα, ἡ δὲ λαθοῦσα αὐτόν συνεφέιπετο, ἕως ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν Ἀβραδάτας εἶπε· Θάρρει, Πάνθεια, καὶ χαῖρε καὶ ἄπιθι ἥδη. [6.4.11] ἐκ τούτου δὴ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεράπαινοι λαβοῦσαι ἀπήγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλίναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ θεάματος τοῦ τε Ἀβραδάτου καὶ τοῦ ἄρματος, οὐ πρόσθεν ἐδύναντο θεάσασθαι αὐτόν πρὶν ἢ Πάνθεια ἀπῆλθεν.

[6.4.12] Ὡς δ' ἐκεκαλλιερῆκει μὲν ὁ Κῦρος, ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ παρετέτακτο αὐτῷ ὥσπερ παρήγγειλε, κατέχων σκοπὰς ἄλλας πρὸ ἄλλων συνεκάλεσε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε. [6.4.13] Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ οἱ θεοὶ ἡμῖν φαίνουσιν οἷάπερ ὅτε τὴν πρόσθεν νίκην ἔδοσαν· ὑμᾶς δ' ἐγὼ βούλομαι ἀναμνησαί μιν μοι δοκεῖτε μεμνημένοι πολὺ ἂν εὐθυμότεροι εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἰέναι. [6.4.14] ἡσκήκατε μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν πολεμίων, συντέτραφθε δὲ καὶ συντέταχθε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πολὺ πλείω ἥδη χρόνον ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ συννενικήκατε μετ' ἀλλήλων· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἱ πολλοὶ συνήττηνται μεθ' αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀμάχητοι ἐκατέρων οἱ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων ἴσασι· ὅτι προδότας τοὺς παραστάτας ἔχουσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἴστε ὅτι μετὰ θελόντων τοῖς συμμάχοις ἀρήγειν μαχεῖσθε. [6.4.15] εἰκὸς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστεύοντας ἀλλήλοις ὁμόνως μάχεσθαι μένοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπιστοῦντας ἀναγκαῖον βουλεύεσθαι πῶς ἂν ἕκαστοι τάχιστα ἐκποδῶν γένοιοντο. [6.4.16] ἴωμεν δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχοντες ὀπλισμένα πρὸς ἄσπλα τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ ἰππείας καὶ ἵππους ὀπλισμένους πρὸς ἀόπλους, ὥς ἐκ χειρὸς μάχεσθαι. [6.4.17] πεζοῖς δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις οἷς καὶ πρόσθεν μαχεῖσθε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὁμοίως μὲν ὀπλισμένοι εἰσὶν, ὁμοίως δὲ τεταγμένοι· τάς τε γὰρ ἀσπίδας μείζους ἔχουσιν ἢ ὥς ποιεῖν τι καὶ ὄραν, τεταγμένοι τε εἰς ἑκατὸν δῆλον ὅτι κωλύσουσιν ἀλλήλους μάχεσθαι πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων. [6.4.18] εἰ δὲ ὠθοῦντες ἐξώσειν πιστεύουσιν, ἵπποις αὐτοὺς πρῶτον δεήσει ἀντέχειν καὶ σιδήρῳ ὑφ' ἵππων ἰσχυριζομένῳ· ἣν δὲ τις αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπομείνῃ, πῶς ἅμα δυνήσεται ἵππομαχεῖν τε καὶ φαλαγγομαχεῖν καὶ πυργομαχεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἡμῖν μὲν ἐπαρῆξουσιν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους παίοντες ἀμηχανεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ μάχεσθαι ποιήσουσιν. [6.4.19] εἰ δὲ τις

ἔτι ἐνδεῖσθαι δοκεῖτε, πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγετε· σὺν γὰρ θεοῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπορήσομεν. καὶ εἰ μὲν τις εἰπεῖν τι βούλεται, λεξάτω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ προσευξάμενοι οἷς ἐθύσαμεν θεοῖς ἴτε ἐπὶ τὰς τάξεις· [6.4.20] καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ὑπομιμνησκέτω τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἅπερ ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπιδεικνύτω τις τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐαυτὸν ἄξιον ἀρχῆς, ἄφοβον δεικνὺς καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ λόγους.

Βιβλίον ζ'

[7.1.1] Οἱ μὲν δὴ εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπῆισαν πρὸς τὰς τάξεις· τῷ δὲ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν προσήνεγκαν οἱ θεράποντες ἐμφαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν ἔτι οὖσιν ἄμφι τὰ ἱερά. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐστηκῶς ἀπαρξάμενος ἡρίστα καὶ μετεδίδου ἀεὶ τῷ μάλιστα δεομένῳ· καὶ σπείσας καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔπιδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἐποίουν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτησάμενος Δία πατρῷιον ἡγεμόνα εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν. [7.1.2] ὠπλισμένοι δὲ πάντες ἦσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κῦρον τοῖς αὐτοῖς Κύρῳ ὅπλοις, χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς, θώραξι χαλκοῖς, κράνεσι χαλκοῖς, λόφοις λευκοῖς, μαχαίραις, παλτῶι κρανεῖ νωὶ ἐνὶ ἑκαστος· οἱ δὲ ἵπποι προμετωπιδίοις καὶ προστερνιδίοις καὶ παραμηριδίοις χαλκοῖς· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα παραμηρίδια ἦν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρί. τοσοῦτον μόνον διέφερον τὰ Κύρου ὅπλα ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐκέχριτο τῷ χρυσοειδεῖ χρώματι, τὰ δὲ Κύρου ὅπλα ὥσπερ κάτοπτρον ἐξέλαμπεν. [7.1.3] ἔπει δὲ ἀνέβη καὶ ἔστη ἀποβλέπων ἥτις ἐμελλε πορεύεσθαι, βροντὴ δεξιὰ ἐφθέγγετο· ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἐψόμεθά σοι, ὦ Ζεῦ μέγιστε. καὶ ὠρμᾶτο ἐν μὲν δεξιᾷ ἔχων Χρυσάνταν τὸν ἵππαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Ἀρσάμαν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς. [7.1.4] παρηγγύησε δὲ παρορᾶν πρὸς τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἐν ἴσῳ ἔπεσθαι· ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον ἀετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι τοῦτο τὸ σημεῖον τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ διαμένει. πρὶν δὲ ὁρᾶν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς τρεῖς ἀνέπαυσε τὸ στράτευμα.

[7.1.5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ προεληλύθεσαν ὥς εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἤρχοντο ἤδη τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα ἀντιπροσιὸν καθορᾶν. ὥς δ' ἐν τῷ καταφανεῖ πάντες ἀλλήλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἔγνωσαν οἱ πολέμιοι πολὺ ἐκατέρωθεν ὑπερφαλαγγοῦντες, στήσαντες τὴν αὐτῶν φάλαγγα [οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλως κυκλοῦσθαι], ἐπέκαμπτον εἰς κύκλωσιν, ὥσπερ γάμμα ἐκατέρωθεν τὴν ἑαυτῶν τάξιν ποιήσαντες, ὥς πάντοθεν ἅμα μάχοιντο. [7.1.6] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὁρῶν ταῦτα οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἀφίστατο, ἀλλ' ὡσαύτως ἡγεῖτο. κατανοῶν δὲ ὥς πρόσω τὸν καμπτήρα ἐκατέρωθεν ἐποίησαντο περὶ ὃν κάμπτοντες ἀνέτεινον τὰ κέρατα, Ἐννοεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, ἔνθα τὴν ἐπικαμπὴν ποιοῦνται; Πάνυ γε, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, καὶ θαυμάζω γε· πολὺ γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἀποσπᾶν τὰ κέρατα ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ

ἀπό γε τῆς ἡμετέρας. [7.1.7] Τί δὴ τοῦτο; Δῆλον ὅτι φοβούμενοι μὴ ἦν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν γένωνται τὰ κέρατα τῆς φάλαγγος ἔτι πρόσω οὔσης, ἐπιθώμεθα αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτ', ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, πῶς δυνήσονται ὠφελεῖν οἱ ἕτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους οὕτω πολὺ ἀπέχοντες ἀλλήλων; Ἀλλὰ δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὅτι ἡνίκα ἂν γένωνται τὰ κέρατα ἀναβαίνοντα κατ' ἀντιπέρασ τῶν πλαγίων τοῦ ἡμετέρου στρατεύματος, στραφέντες ὡς εἰς φάλαγγα ἅμα πάντοθεν ἡμῖν προσίασι μαχούμενοι. [7.1.8] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας, εὖ σοι δοκοῦσι βουλεύεσθαι; Πρὸς γε ἃ ὀρώσι· πρὸς δὲ ἃ οὐχ ὀρώσιν ἔτι κάκιον ἢ εἰ κατὰ κέρας προσήισαν. ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρσάμα, ἡγοῦ τῷ πεζῷ ἡρέμα ὥσπερ ἐμὲ ὀραῖς· καὶ σύ, ὦ Χρυσάντα, ἐν ἴσῳ τούτῳ τὸ ἱππικὸν ἔχων συμπαρέπου. ἐγὼ δὲ ἅπειμι ἐκεῖσε ὅθεν μοι δοκεῖ καιρὸς εἶναι ἄρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης· ἅμα δὲ παριῶν ἐπισκέψομαι ἕκαστα πῶς ἡμῖν ἔχει. [7.1.9] ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐκεῖ γένωμαι, ὅταν ἤδη ὁμοῦ προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις γιγνώμεθα, παιᾶνα ἐξάρξω, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐπέιγεσθε. ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐγχειρῶμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, αἰσθήσεσθε μὲν, οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι ὀλίγος θόρυβος ἔσται, ὁρμήσεραι δὲ τηνικαῦτα Ἀβραδάτας ἤδη σὺν τοῖς ἄρμασιν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰρήσεται· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἔπεσθαι ἐχομένους ὅτι μάλιστα τῶν ἀρμάτων. οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις τεταραγμένοις ἐπιτεσούμεθα. παρέσομαι δὲ κἀγὼ ἢ ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα διώκων τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἦν οἱ θεοὶ θέλωσι.

[7.1.10] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ ξύνθημα παρεγγυήσας Ζεὺς σωτὴρ καὶ ἡγεμὼν ἐπορεύετο. μετὰ δὲ τῶν ἀρμάτων καὶ τῶν θωρακοφόρων διαπορευόμενος ὁπότε προσβλέψειε τινὰς τῶν ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι, τότε μὲν εἶπεν ἄν· Ὡ ἄνδρες, ὡς ἡδὺ ὑμῶν τὰ πρόσωπα θεάσασθαι. τότε δ' αὖ ἐν ἄλλοις ἂν ἔλεξεν· Ἄρα ἐννοεῖτε, ἄνδρες, ὅτι ὁ νῦν ἀγὼν ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον περὶ τῆς τήμερον νίκης, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς πρόσθεν ἦν νενικήκατε καὶ περὶ πάσης εὐδαιμονίας; [7.1.11] ἐν ἄλλοις δ' ἂν παριῶν εἶπεν· Ὡ ἄνδρες, τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδέν ποτε ἔτι θεοὺς αἰτιατέον ἔσται· παραδεδώκασι γὰρ ἡμῖν πολλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενώμεθα. [7.1.12] κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ τοιαῦδε· Ὡ ἄνδρες, εἰς τίνα ποτ' ἂν καλλίονα ἔρανον ἀλλήλους παρακαλέσαιμεν ἢ εἰς τόνδε; νῦν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἀλλήλοις εἰσενεγκεῖν. [7.1.13] κατ' ἄλλους δ' αὖ· Ἐπίστασθε μὲν, οἶμαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι νῦν ἄθλα πρόκειται τοῖς νικῶσι μὲν διώκειν, παίειν, κατακαίνειν, ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν, καλὰ ἀκούειν, ἐλευθέροις εἶναι, ἄρχειν· τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς δῆλον ὅτι τάναντία τούτων.

ὅστις οὖν αὐτὸν φιλεῖ, μετ' ἐμοῦ μαχέσθω· ἐγὼ γὰρ κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐδ' αἰσχρὸν ἐκὼν εἶναι προσήσομαι. [7.1.14] ὁπότε δ' αὖ γένοιτο κατὰ τινος τῶν πρόσθεν συμμαχεσαμένων, εἶπεν ἄν· Πρὸς δὲ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, τί δεῖ λέγειν; ἐπίστασθε γὰρ οἷαν τε οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἡμέραν ἄγουσι καὶ οἷαν οἱ κακοί.

[7.1.15] Ὡς δὲ παρῶν κατὰ Ἀβραδάταν ἐγένετο, ἔστη· καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας παραδοὺς τῷ ὑφηνιόχῳ τὰς ἡνίας προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ· προσέδραμον δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πλησίον τεταγμένων καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἄρμαθλατῶν. ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος ἐν τοῖς παραγεγεννημένοις ἔλεξεν· Ὁ μὲν θεός, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, ὥσπερ σὺ ἡξίους, συνηξιώσέ σε καὶ τοὺς σὺν σοὶ πρωτοστάτας εἶναι τῶν συμμάχων· σὺ δὲ τοῦτο μέμνησο, ὅταν δέησι σε ἥδη ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ὅτι Πέρσαι οἱ τε θεασόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἔσονται καὶ οἱ ἐψόμενοι ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἐάσοντες ἐρήμους ὑμᾶς ἀγωνίζεσθαι. [7.1.16] καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Κῦρε, καλῶς ἔχειν· ἀλλὰ τὰ πλάγια λυπεῖ με, ὅτι τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων κέρατα ἰσχυρὰ ὀρῶ ἀνατεινόμενα καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ παντοδαπῇ στρατιᾷ· ἡμέτερον δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτοῖς ἀντιτέτακται ἢ ἄρματα· ὥστ' ἔγωγ', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ ἔλαχον τήνδε τὴν τάξιν, ἡσυχονόμην ἂν ἐνθάδε ὦν· οὕτω πολὺ μοι δοκῶ ἐν ἀσφαλεστάτῳ εἶναι. [7.1.17] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ τὰ παρὰ σοὶ καλῶς ἔχει, θάρρει ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων· ἐγὼ γὰρ σοὶ σὺν θεοῖς ἔρημα τῶν πολεμίων τὰ πλάγια ταῦτα ἀποδείξω. καὶ σὺ μὴ πρότερον ἔμβαλλε τοῖς ἐναντίοις, διαμαρτύρομαι, πρὶν ἂν φεύγοντας τούτους οὓς νῦν φοβῇ θεάσῃ· τοιαῦτα δ' ἐμεγαληγόρει, μελλούσης τῆς μάχης γίγνεσθαι· ἄλλως δ' οὐ μάλα μεγαλήγορος ἦν· Ὅταν μέντοι ἴδῃς τούτους φεύγοντας, ἐμὲ τε ἥδη παρεῖναι νόμιζε καὶ ὄρμα εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ σὺ γὰρ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἐναντίοις κακίστοις ἂν χρήσαιο, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ σου τοῦ ἀρίστοις. [7.1.18] ἀλλ' ἕως ἔτι σοὶ σχολή, ὦ Ἀβραδάτα, πάντως παρελάσας παρὰ τὰ σου τοῦ ἄρματα παρακάλει τοὺς σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὴν ἐμβολήν, τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνων, ταῖς δ' ἐλπίσιν ἐπικουφίζων. ὅπως δὲ κράτιστοι φανείσθε τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι, φιλονικίαν αὐτοῖς ἔμβαλλε· καὶ γάρ, εὖ ἴσθι, ἦν τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάντες ἐροῦσι τὸ λοιπὸν μηδὲν εἶναι κερδαλεώτερον ἀρετῆς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀβραδάτας ἀναβάς παρήλαυνε καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίει.

[7.1.19] Ὁ δ' αὖ Κῦρος παρῶν ὡς ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, ἔνθα ὁ Ὑστάσπας τοὺς ἡμίσεις ἔχων ἦν τῶν Περσῶν ἱππέων, ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ὦ Ὑστάσπα, νῦν [ὀραῖς:] ἔργον τῆς σῆς ταχυεργίας·

νῦν γὰρ ἦν φθάσωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους κατακανόντες, οὐδεὶς ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖται. [7.1.20] καὶ ὁ Ὑστάσπας ἐπιγελάσας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῖν μελήσει, τοὺς δ' ἐκ πλαγίου σὺ ἄλλοις πρόσταξον, ὅπως μὴδ' οὗτοι σχολάζωσι. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τούτους ἐγὼ αὐτὸς παρέρχομαι· ἀλλ', ὃ Ὑστάσπα, τόδε μέμνησο, ὅτῳ ἂν ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς νίκην δίδῃ, ἦν τί που μένηι πολέμιον, πρὸς τὸ μαχόμενον ἀεὶ συμβάλλωμεν. [7.1.21] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προήκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλευρὸν παριῶν ἐγένετο καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ταύτηι ἁρμάτων, πρὸς τοῦτον ἔλαξεν· Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔρχομαι ὑμῖν ἐπικουρήσων· ἀλλ' ὁπότεν αἰσθησθε ἡμᾶς ἐπιτιθεμένους κατ' ἄκρον, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς πειρᾶσθε ἅμα διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐλαύνειν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ ἔσεσθε ἔξω γεγνημένοι ἢ ἔνδον ἀπολαμβανόμενοι. [7.1.22] ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ παριῶν ἐγένετο ὅπισθεν τῶν ἁρμαμαζῶν, Ἀρταγέρσαν μὲν καὶ Φαρνοῦχον ἐκέλευσεν ἔχοντας τὴν τε τῶν πεζῶν χλαιοστὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἵππεων μένειν αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὰν δ', ἔφη, αἰσθάνησθε ἐμοῦ ἐπιτιθεμένου τοῖς κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας, τότε καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῖς καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐπιχειρεῖτε· μαχεῖσθε δ', ἔφη, πρὸς κέρας, ἥτις ἐπερ ἀσθενέστατον στράτευμα γίγνεται, φάλαγγα [δ'] ἔχοντες, ὥσπερ ἂν ἰσχυρότατοι εἴητε. καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν, ὥς ὁρᾶτε, τῶν πολεμίων ἵππεῖς οἱ ἔσχατοι· πάντως δὲ πρόετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν καμήλων τάξιν, καὶ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ πρὶν μάχεσθαι γελοῖους τοὺς πολεμίους θεάσεσθε,

[7.1.23] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Κῦρος ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν παρήκει· ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος νομίσας ἤδη ἐγγύτερον εἶναι τῶν πολεμίων τὴν φάλαγγα σὺν ἧι αὐτὸς ἐπορεύετο ἢ τὰ ἀνατεινόμενα κέρατα, ἦρε τοῖς κέρασι σημεῖον μηκέτι ἄνω πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐν χώραι στραφῆναι. ὥς δ' ἔστησαν ἀντία πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου στράτευμα ὁρῶντες, ἐσήμηνεν αὐτοῖς πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. [7.1.24] καὶ οὕτω δὴ προσῆσαν τρεῖς φάλαγγες ἐπὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα, ἡ μὲν μία κατὰ πρόσωπον, τῷ δὲ δύο, ἡ μὲν κατὰ τὸ δεξιόν, ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον· ὥστε πολὺν φόβον παρεῖναι πάσῃ τῇ Κύρου στρατιᾷ. ὥσπερ γὰρ μικρὸν πλινθίον ἐν μεγάλῳ τεθέν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Κύρου στράτευμα πάντοθεν περιείχετο ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἵππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ πελτοφόροις καὶ τοξόταις καὶ ἅρμασι πλὴν ἐξόπισθεν. [7.1.25] ὁμῶς δὲ ὥς ὁ Κῦρος [ἐπεὶ] παρήγγειλεν, ἐστράφησαν πάντες ἀντιπρόσωποι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ ἦν μὲν πολλὴ πανταχόθεν σιγὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ μέλλον ὀκνεῖν· ἠνίκα δὲ ἔδοξε τῷ Κύρῳ καιρὸς εἶναι, ἐξῆρχε παιᾶνα, συνεπήχησε δὲ πᾶς ὁ στρατός. [7.1.26] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῷ

Ἐνυαλίῳ τε ἅμα ἐπηλάλαξαν καὶ ἐξανίσταται ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων λαβὼν πλαγίους τοὺς πολεμίους ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς τὴν ταχίστην συνεμῖγγυν· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ αὐτῷ συντεταγμένοι ταχὺ ἐφείποντο, καὶ περιεπτύσσοντο ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥστε πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει· φάλαγγι γὰρ κατὰ κέρας προσέβαλλεν· ὥστε ταχὺ ἰσχυρὰ φυγὴ ἐγένετο τοῖς πολεμίῳις.

[7.1.27] Ὡς δὲ ἦισθετο Ἀρταγέρσης ἐν ἔργῳ ὄντα τὸν Κῦρον, ἐπιτίθεται καὶ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα, προεῖς τὰς καμήλους ὥσπερ Κῦρος ἐκέλευσεν. οἱ δὲ ἵπποι αὐτὰς ἐκ πάνυ πολλοῦ οὐκ ἐδέχοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔκφρονες γιγνόμενοι ἔφευγον, οἱ δ' ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐνέπιπτον ἀλλήλοισι. τοιαῦτα γὰρ πάσχουσιν ἵπποι ὑπὸ καμήλων. [7.1.28] ὁ δὲ Ἀρταγέρσης συντεταγμένους ἔχων τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ταραττομένοις ἐπέκειτο· καὶ τὰ ἄρματα δὲ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἅμα ἐνέβαλλε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τὰ ἄρματα φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ κέρας ἐπομένων ἀπέθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ τούτους φεύγοντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἠλίσκοντο.

[7.1.29] Καὶ ὁ Ἀβραδάτας δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἀναβοήσας· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἔπεσθε, ἐνίει οὐδὲν φειδόμενος τῶν ἵππων, ἀλλ' ἰσχυρῶς ἐξαιμάττων τῷ κέντρῳ· συνεξώρμησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρματηλάται. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ἔφευγεν αὐτοὺς εὐθύς, τὰ μὲν ἀναλαβόντα τοὺς παραβάτας, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπολιπόντα. [7.1.30] ὁ δὲ Ἀβραδάτας ἀντικρὺ διάιττων εἰς τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φάλαγγα ἐμβάλλει· συνεισέβαλον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἐγγύτατα τεταγμένοι. πολλαχοῦ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλοθι δῆλον ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἰσχυροτέρα φάλαγξ ἢ ὅταν ἐκ φίλων συμμάχων ἡθροισμένη ᾖ, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἐδήλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐταῖροί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμοτράπεζοι συνεισέβαλλον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἡνίοχοι ὥς εἶδον ὑπομένοντας πολλῶι στίφει τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἐξέκλιναν κατὰ τὰ φεύγοντα ἄρματα καὶ τούτοις ἐφείποντο. [7.1.31] οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀβραδάταν ἦι μὲν ἐνέβαλλον, ἅτε οὐ δυναμένων διαχάσασθαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ τὸ μένειν τοὺς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς μὲν ὀρθοὺς τῇ ρύμῃ τῇ τῶν ἵππων παίοντες ἀνέτρεπον, τοὺς δὲ πίπτοντας κατηλώων καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἵπποις καὶ τροχοῖς. ὅτου δ' ἐπιλάβοιτο τὰ δρέπανα, πάντα βίαι διεκόπτετο καὶ ὅπλα καὶ σώματα. [7.1.32] ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀδιηγῆτῳ τούτῳ τaráχῳ ὑπὸ τῶν παντοδαπῶν σωρευμάτων ἐξαλλομένων τῶν τροχῖν ἐκπύπτει ὁ Ἀβραδάτας καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν συνεισβαλόντων, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι κατεκόπησαν καὶ

ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι συνεπισπόμενοι, ἧι μὲν ὁ Ἀβραδάτας ἐνέβαλε καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ταύτῃ ἐπείσπεσόντες τεταραγμένους ἐφόνευσον, ἧι δὲ ἀπαθεῖς ἐγένοντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι [πολλοὶ δ' οὗτοι ἦσαν], ἐχώρουν ἐναντίοι τοῖς Πέρσαις.

[7.1.33] Ἐνθα δὴ δεινὴ μάχη ἦν καὶ δοράτων καὶ ξυστῶν καὶ μαχαιρῶν· ἐπλεονέκτουν μέντοι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ πλήθει καὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις. τά τε γὰρ δόρατα ἰσχυρὰ καὶ μακρὰ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, αἱ τε ἀσπίδες πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν θωράκων καὶ τῶν γέρρων καὶ στεγάζουσι τὰ σώματα καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι συνεργάζονται πρὸς τοῖς ὤμοις οὔσαι. συγκλείσαντες οὖν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐχώρουν καὶ ἐώθουν. [7.1.34] οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ἅτε ἐν ἅκραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ γέρρα ἔχοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόδα ἀνεχάζοντο παίοντες καὶ παιόμενοι, ἕως ὑπὸ ταῖς μηχαναῖς ἐγένοντο. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον, ἐπαίοντο αὐθις οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων· καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οὐκ εἴων φεύγειν οὔτε τοὺς τοξότας οὔτε τοὺς ἀκοντιστάς, ἀλλ' ἀνατεταμένοι τὰς μαχαίρας ἠνάγκαζον καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν. [7.1.35] ἦν δὲ πολὺς μὲν ἀνδρῶν φόνος, πολὺς δὲ κτύπος ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν, πολλὴ δὲ βοή τῶν μὲν ἀνακαλούντων ἀλλήλους, τῶν δὲ παρακελευομένων, τῶν δὲ θεοὺς ἐπικαλουμένων.

[7.1.36] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Κῦρος διώκων τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν παραγίγνεται. ὥς δ' εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐωσμένους, ἤλγησέ τε καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν θάττον σχοίη τοὺς πολεμίους τῆς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προόδου ἢ εἰ εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιελάσειεν αὐτῶν, παραγγεῖλας ἔπεσθαι τοῖς μεθ' αὐτοῦ περιήλαυνεν εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν· καὶ εἰσπεσόντες παίουσιν ἀφορῶντας καὶ πολλοὺς κατακαίνουσιν. [7.1.37] οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ὥς ἦισθοντο, ἐβόων τε ὅτι ὀπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ἐστρέφοντο ἐν ταῖς πληγαῖς. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ φύρδην ἐμάχοντο καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς, πεπτωκῶς δέ τις ὑπὸ τῷ Κύρῳ ἵππῳ καὶ πατούμενος παίει εἰς τὴν γαστέρα τῇ μαχαίρᾳ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἵππος πληγεὶς σφαδάζων ἀποσεύεται τὸν Κῦρον. [7.1.38] ἔνθα δὴ ἔγνω ἂν τις ὅσου ἄξιον εἴη τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἀνεβόησάν τε πάντες καὶ προσπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· ἐώθουν, ἐωθοῦντο, ἔπαιον, ἐπαίοντο. καταπηδήσας δέ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τῶν τοῦ Κύρου ὑπηρετῶν ἀναβάλλει αὐτόν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππον. [7.1.39] ὥς δ' ἀνέβη ὁ Κῦρος, κατεῖδε πάντοθεν ἤδη παιομένους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· καὶ γὰρ Ὑστάσπας ἤδη παρῆν σὺν τοῖς Περσῶν ἵππεῦσι καὶ Χρυσάντας. ἀλλὰ τούτους ἐμβάλλειν μὲν οὐκέτι εἶα εἰς

τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἐκέλευεν. ὥς δ' ἐγένετο περιελαύνων παρὰ τὰς μηχανάς, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τῶν πύργων τινὰ καὶ κατασκέψασθαι εἴ πῃ καὶ ἄλλο τι μένοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μάχοιτο.

[7.1.40] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβη, κατεῖδε μεστὸν τὸ πεδῖον ἵππων, ἀνθρώπων, ἁρμάτων, φευγόντων, διωκόντων, κρατούντων, κρατουμένων· μένον δ' οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐδύνατο κατιδεῖν πλὴν τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἠποροῦντο, πάντοθεν κύκλον ποιησάμενοι, ὥστε ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ ὄπλα, ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκάθηντο· καὶ ἐποιοῦν μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι, ἔπασχον δὲ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά.

[7.1.41] Ἀγασθεὶς δὲ ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοὺς καὶ οἰκτίρων ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες ὄντες ἀπώλλυντο, ἀνεχώρισε πάντας τοὺς περιμαχομένους καὶ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα ἔτι εἶα. πέμπει δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς κήρυκα ἐρωτῶν πότερα βούλονται ἀπολέσθαι πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν προδεδωκότων αὐτοὺς ἢ σωθῆναι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι. οἱ δ' ἀπεκρίναντο· Πῶς δ' ἂν ἡμεῖς σωθῆιμεν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ δοκοῦντες εἶναι; [7.1.42] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πάλιν ἔλεγεν· Ὅτι ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς ὀρῶμεν μόνους καὶ μένοντας καὶ μάχεσθαι θέλοντας. Ἀλλὰ τοῦντεῦθεν, ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, τί καλὸν ἂν ποιοῦντες σωθῆιμεν; καὶ ὁ Κῦρος αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν· [Εἰ τῶν τε συμμαχομένων μηδένα προδόντες σωθείητε] Τὰ τε ὄπλα παραδόντες φίλοι τε γενόμενοι τοῖς αἰρουμένοις ὑμᾶς σῶσαι, ἐξὸν ἀπολέσαι. [7.1.43] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπήροντο· Ἦν δὲ γενώμεθά σοι φίλοι, τί ἡμῖν ἀξιώσεις χρῆσθαι; ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Κῦρος, Εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ πάσχειν. ἐπηρώτων πάλιν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, Τίνα εὐεργεσίαν; πρὸς τοῦτο εἶπεν ὁ Κῦρος· Μισθὸν μὲν ὑμῖν δοῖην ἂν πλείονα ἢ νῦν ἐλαμβάνετε ὅσον ἂν χρόνον πόλεμος ἦ· εἰρήνης δὲ γενομένης τῷ βουλομένῳ ὑμῶν μένειν παρ' ἐμοὶ χώραν τε δώσω καὶ πόλεις καὶ γυναικὰς καὶ οἰκέτας. [7.1.44] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ Κροῖσον συστρατεύειν ἀφελεῖν σφισιν ἐδεήθησαν· τούτῳ γὰρ μόνῳ γινώσκεσθαι ἔφασαν· τὰ δ' ἄλλα συνομολογήσαντες ἔδοσαν πίστιν καὶ ἔλαβον. [7.1.45] καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοί τε οἱ καταμείναντες τότε ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ πιστοὶ διαμένουσι, Κῦρός τε πόλεις αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε, τὰς μὲν ἄνω, αἱ ἔτι καὶ νῦν πόλεις Αἰγυπτίων καλοῦνται, Λάρισαν δὲ καὶ Κυλλήνην παρὰ Κύμην πλησίον θαλάττης, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἔχουσι. ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξάμενος ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη σκοταῖος ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις.

[7.1.46] Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τῶν πολεμίων Αἰγύπτιοι μόνοι

ἡὺδοκίμησαν, τῶν δὲ σὺν Κύρῳ τὸ Περσῶν ἵππικὸν κράτιστον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· ὥστ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει ἡ ὄπλισις ἣν τότε Κῦρος τοῖς ἵππευσι κατεσκεύασεν. [7.1.47] ἡὺδοκίμησε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς καὶ τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει τὸ πολεμιστήριον τῷ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντι. [7.1.48] αἱ μέντοι κάμηλοι ἐφόβουν μόνον τοὺς ἵππους, οὐ μέντοι κατέκαινόν γε οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἵππεῖς, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ γε ἀπέθνησκον ὑπὸ ἵππέων· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἵππος ἐπέλαξε. [7.1.49] καὶ χρήσιμον μὲν ἐδόκει εἶναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτε τρέφειν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει καλὸς κάγαθός κάμηλον ὥστ' ἐποχεῖσθαι οὔτε μελετᾶν ὡς πολεμῆσων ἀπὸ τούτων. οὕτω δὲ ἀπολαβοῦσαι πάλιν τὸ ἑαυτῶν σχῆμα ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις διάγουσι.

[7.2.1] Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κῦρον δειπνοποιησάμενοι καὶ φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι, ὥσπερ ἔδει, ἐκοιμήθησαν. Κροῖσος μέντοι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεων ἔφρευγε σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα φῦλα ὅποι ἐδύνατο προσωτάτω ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ ἕκαστος ἀπεχώρει. [7.2.2] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάρδεῖς ἦγε Κῦρος, ὡς δ' ἐγένετο πρὸς τῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Σάρδεσι, τάς τε μηχανὰς ἀνίστη ὡς προσβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ κλίμακας παρεσκευάζετο. [7.2.3] ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀποτομώτατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρδιανῶν ἐρύματος τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀναβιβάζει Χαλδαίους τε καὶ Πέρσας. ἡγήσατο δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ Πέρσης δοῦλος γεγεννημένος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τινὸς φρουρῶν καὶ καταμεμαθηκὼς κατάβασιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀνάβασιν τὴν αὐτήν. [7.2.4] ὡς δ' ἐγένετο τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι εἶχετο τὰ ἄκρα, πάντες δὲ ἔφρευγον οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ὅποι ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος τῆς πόλεως. Κῦρος δὲ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσῆιει εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδένα κινεῖσθαι. [7.2.5] ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος κατακλεισάμενος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις Κῦρον ἐβόα· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν Κροίσου φύλακας κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαγαγὼν πρὸς τὴν ἐχομένην ἄκραν ὡς εἶδε τοὺς μὲν Πέρσας φυλάττοντας τὴν ἄκραν, ὥσπερ ἔδει, τὰ δὲ τῶν Χαλδαίων ὄπλα ἔρημα [κατεδεδραμήκεσαν γὰρ ἀρπασόμενοι τὰ ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν], εὐθὺς συνεκάλεσεν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς τάχιστα. [7.2.6] Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, ἀνασχοίμην πλεονεκτοῦντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας, καὶ εἴ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπιστασθε ὅτι παρεσκευαζόμεν ἔγὼ ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὶ συστρατευομένους πᾶσι Χαλδαίοις μακαριστοὺς ποιῆσαι· νῦν δ', ἔφη, μὴ θαυμάζετε ἢν τις καὶ ἀπιοῦσιν ὑμῖν κρείττων ἐντύχη. [7.2.7] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ

Χαλδαῖοι ἔδεισάν τε καὶ ἰκέτευον παύσασθαι ὀργιζόμενον καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντα ἀποδώσειν ἔφασαν. ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῶν δέοιτο. Ἀλλ' εἰ με, ἔφη, βούλεσθε παύσασθαι ἀχθόμενον, ἀπόδοτε πάντα ὅσα ἐλάβετε τοῖς διαφυλάξασι τὴν ἄκραν. ἦν γὰρ αἰσθωνται οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ὅτι πλεονεκτοῦσιν οἱ εὐτακτοὶ γενόμενοι, πάντα μοι καλῶς ἔξει. [7.2.8] οἱ μὲν δὴ Χαλδαῖοι οὕτως ἐποιήσαν ὥς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ ἔλαβον οἱ πειθόμενοι πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα χρήματα. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ. ὅπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπλοις παρήγγειλε καὶ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι.

[7.2.9] Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραζάμενος ἀγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Κροῖσον. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Κῦρον, Χαῖρε, ὦ δέσποτα, ἔφη· τοῦτο γὰρ ἢ τύχη καὶ ἔχειν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δίδωσι σοὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ προσαγορεύειν. [7.2.10] Καὶ σύ γε, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπεὶ περ ἄνθρωποι γέ ἐσμεν ἀμφοτέρω. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἄρ' ἂν τί μοι ἐθελήσῃς συμβουλευῆσαι; Καὶ βουλοίμην γ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀγαθόν τί σοι εὔρεῖν· τοῦτο γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι ἀγαθὸν καὶ μοι γενέσθαι. [7.2.11] Ἄκουσον τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλὰ πεπονηκότας καὶ πολλὰ κεκινδυνευκότας καὶ νῦν νομίζοντας πόλιν ἔχειν τὴν πλουσιωτάτην ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ μετὰ Βαβυλῶνα, ἀξιώ ὠφελῆσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας. γινώσκω γάρ ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ μὴ τινα καρπὸν λήψονται τῶν πόνων, οὐ δυνήσομαι αὐτοὺς πολὺν χρόνον πειθομένους ἔχειν. διαρπάσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐφεῖναι τὴν πόλιν οὐ βούλομαι· τὴν τε γὰρ πόλιν νομίζω ἂν διαφθαρῆναι, ἐν τε τῇ ἀρπαγῇ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι οἱ πονηρότατοι πλεονεκτήσῃαν ἂν. [7.2.12] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμέ, ἔφη, ἔασον λέξαι πρὸς οὓς ἂν ἐγὼ Λυδῶν ἔλθω ὅτι διαπέπραγμαι παρὰ σοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι ἀρπαγὴν μηδὲ εἶσαι ἀφανισθῆναι παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας· ὑπεσχόμην δέ σοι ἀντὶ τούτων ἢ μὴν παρ' ἐκόντων Λυδῶν ἔσεσθαι πᾶν ὃ τι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Σάρδεσιν. [7.2.13] ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα ἀκούσωσιν, οἶδ' ὅτι ἤξει σοι πᾶν ὃ τι ἐστὶν ἐνθάδε καλὸν κτῆμα ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί· καὶ ὁμοίως εἰς νέωτα πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πάλιν σοὶ πλήρης ἡ πόλις ἔσται. ἦν δὲ διαρπάσης, καὶ αἱ τέχναι σοι, ἅς πηγὰς φασὶ τῶν καλῶν εἶναι, διεφθαρμέναι ἔσονται. [7.2.14] ἐξέσται δέ σοι ἰδόντι ταῦτα ἐλθόντα ἔτι καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς βουλευῆσασθαι. πρῶτον δ', ἔφη, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς θησαυροὺς πέμπε καὶ παραλαμβανόντων οἱ σοὶ φύλακες παρὰ τῶν ἐμῶν φυλάκων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντα οὕτω συνήνεσε ποιεῖν

ὁ Κῦρος ὥσπερ ἔλεξεν ὁ Κροῖσος.

[7.2.15] Τάδε δέ μοι πάντως, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, λέξον πῶς σοι ἀποβέβηκε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου· σοὶ γὰρ δὴ λέγεται πάνυ γε θεραπευῖσθαι ὁ Ἀπόλλων καὶ σε πάντα ἐκείνῳ πειθόμενον πράττειν. [7.2.16] Ἐβουλόμην ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχειν· νῦν δὲ πάντα τὰναντία εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πράττων προσηνέχθην τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. Πῶς δέ; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· δίδασκε· πάνυ γὰρ παράδοξα λέγεις. [7.2.17] Ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, ἀμελήσας ἐρωτᾶν τὸν θεόν, εἴ τι ἐδεόμην, ἀπεπειρώμην αὐτοῦ εἰ δύναίτο ἀληθεύειν. τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, μὴ ὅτι θεός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωποι καλοὶ κάγαθοί, ἐπειδὴ γινώσιν ἀπιστούμενοι, οὐ φιλοῦσι τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας. [7.2.18] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔγνω καὶ μάλ' ἄτοπα ἐμοῦ ποιοῦντος, καίπερ πρόσω Δελφῶν ἀπέχοντος, οὕτω δὴ πέμπω περὶ παίδων. [7.2.19] ὁ δέ μοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγὼ πολλὰ μὲν πέμπων ἀναθήματα χρυσᾶ, πολλὰ δ' ἀργυρᾶ, πάμπολλα δὲ θύων ἐξυλάσάμην ποτὲ αὐτόν, ὥς ἐδόκουν, τότε δὴ μοι ἀποκρίνεται ἐρωτῶντι τί ἂν μοι ποιήσαντι παῖδες γένοιτο· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἔσονται. [7.2.20] καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐψεύσατο, γενόμενοι δὲ οὐδὲν ὦνῃσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κωφὸς ὢν διετέλει, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος γενόμενος ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ βίου ἀπώλετο. πῆζόμενος δὲ ταῖς περὶ τοὺς παῖδας συμφοραῖς πάλιν πέμπω καὶ ἐπερωτῶ τὸν θεὸν τί ἂν ποιῶν τὸν λοιπὸν βίον εὐδαιμονέστατα διατελέσαιμι· ὁ δέ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο.

Σαυτὸν γινώσκων εὐδαίμων, Κροῖσε, περάσεις.

[7.2.21] ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας τὴν μαντείαν ἥσθη· ἐνόμιζον γὰρ τὸ ῥαῖστόν μοι αὐτὸν προστάξαντα τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν διδόναι. ἄλλους μὲν γὰρ γινώσκειν τοὺς μὲν οἷόν τ' εἶναι τοὺς δ' οὐ· ἑαυτὸν δὲ ὅστις ἐστὶ πάντα τινὰ ἐνόμιζον ἄνθρωπον εἰδέναι. [7.2.22] καὶ τὸν μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ χρόνον, ἕως μὲν εἶχον ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἐνεκάλουν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς θάνατον ταῖς τύχαις· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνεπέισθην ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀσσυρίου ἐφ' ὑμᾶς στρατεύεσθαι, εἰς πάντα κίνδυνον ἦλθον· ἐσώθην μέντοι οὐδὲν κακὸν λαβών. οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι δὲ οὐδὲ τάδε τὸν θεόν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνω ἐμαυτὸν μὴ ἰκανὸν ὑμῖν μάχεσθαι, ἀσφαλῶς σὺν τῷ θεῷ ἀπῆλθον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοί. [7.2.23] νῦν δ' αὖ πάλιν ὑπὸ τε πλούτου τοῦ παρόντος διαθρυπτόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δεομένων μου προστάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν δώρων ὧν ἐδίδοσάν μοι καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, οἳ με κολακεύοντες ἔλεγον ὡς εἰ ἐγὼ θέλωμι ἄρχειν, πάντες ἂν ἐμοὶ πείθοντο καὶ μέγιστος ἂν εἶην ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὸ

τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ἀναφυσώμενος, ὡς εἵλοντό με πάντες οἱ κύκλῳ βασιλεῖς προστάτην τοῦ πολέμου, ὑπεδεξάμην τὴν στρατηγίαν, ὡς ἱκανὸς ὢν μέγιστος γενέσθαι, ἀγνοῶν ἄρα ἑμαυτόν, [7.2.24] ὅτι σοὶ ἀντιπολεμεῖν ἱκανὸς ὤμην εἶναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ θεῶν γεγονότι, ἔπειτα δὲ διὰ βασιλέων πεφυκότι, ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ παιδὸς ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντι· τῶν δ' ἐμῶν προγόνων ἀκούω τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα ἅμα τε βασιλέα καὶ ἐλεύθερον γενέσθαι. ταῦτ' οὖν ἀγνοήσας δικαίως, ἔφη, ἔχω τὴν δίκην. [7.2.25] ἀλλὰ νῦν δὴ, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, γινώσκω μὲν ἑμαυτόν· σὺ δ', ἔφη, ἔτι δοκεῖς ἀληθεύειν τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὡς εὐδαιμών ἔσομαι γινώσκων ἑμαυτόν; σὲ δὲ ἐρωτῶ διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἄριστ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖς εἰκάσαι τοῦτο ἐν τῷ παρόντι· καὶ γὰρ δύνασαι ποιῆσαι.

[7.2.26] Καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Βουλὴν μοι δὸς περὶ τούτου, ὦ Κροῖσε· ἐγὼ γὰρ σου ἐννοῶν τὴν πρόσθεν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰκτίρω τέ σε καὶ ἀποδίδωμι ἤδη γυναικὰ τε ἔχειν ἣν εἶχες καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας [ἀκούω γὰρ σοὶ εἶναι], καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας καὶ τράπεζαν σὺν οἴαιπερ ἐζήτε· μάχας δέ σοι καὶ πολέμους ἀφαιρῶ. [7.2.27] Μὰ Δία μηδὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κροῖσος, σὺ [ἐμοὶ] ἔτι βουλεύου [ἀποκρίνασθαι] περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς εὐδαιμονίας· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη σοὶ λέγω, ἣν ταῦτά μοι ποιήσης ἃ λέγεις, ὅτι ἦν ἄλλοι τε μακαριωτάτην ἐνόμιζον εἶναι βιοτὴν καὶ ἐγὼ συνεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς, ταύτην καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἔχων διάξω. [7.2.28] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Τίς δὴ ὁ ἔχων ταύτην τὴν μακαρίαν βιοτὴν; Ἡ ἐμὴ γυνή, εἶπεν, ὦ Κῦρε· ἐκείνη γὰρ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν μαλακῶν καὶ εὐφροσυνῶν πασῶν ἐμοὶ τὸ ἴσον μετεῖχε, φροντίδων δὲ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔσται καὶ πολέμου καὶ μάχης οὐ μετὴν αὐτῇ. οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς ἐμὲ κατασκευάζειν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἦν ἐφίλουν μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄλλα μοι δοκῶ χαριστήρια ὀφειλῆσιν. [7.2.29] ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, ἦγε δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ὅποι καὶ αὐτὸς πορεύοιτο, εἴτε ἄρα καὶ χρησίμὸν τι νομίζων αὐτὸν εἶναι εἴτε καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον οὕτως ἡγούμενος.

[7.3.1] Καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καλέσας ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραλαμβάνειν, τοὺς δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὅποσα παραδοίῃ Κροῖσος χρήματα, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξελεῖν ὅποι' ἂν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγῶνται, ἔπειτα τᾶλλα χρήματα παραδεχομένους ἐν ζυγάστροις στήσαντες ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν ἐπισκευάσαι καὶ διαλαχόντας

τὰς ἀμάξας κομίζειν ὅποιπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ πορεύωνται, ἵνα ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη διαλαμβάνοιεν ἕκαστοι τὰ ἄξια. [7.3.2] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν.

Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος καλέσας τινὰς τῶν παρόντων ὑπηρετῶν, Εἵπατέ μοι, ἔφη, ἐώρακέ τις ὑμῶν Ἀβραδάταν; θαυμάζω γάρ, ἔφη, ὅτι πρόσθεν θαμίζων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς νῦν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται. [7.3.3] τῶν οὖν ὑπηρετῶν τις ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Ὡ δέσποτα, οὐ ζῆι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀπέθανεν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ ἄρμα εἰς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πλὴν τῶν ἐταίρων αὐτοῦ ἐξέκλιναν, ὥς φασιν, ἐπεὶ τὸ στίφος εἶδον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. [7.3.4] καὶ νῦν γε, ἔφη, λέγεται αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ ἀνελομένη τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ ἐνθεμένη εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν, ἐν ἥπερ αὐτὴ ὤχεϊτο, προσκεκομικέναι αὐτὸν ἐνθάδε ποιὶ πρὸς τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμόν. [7.3.5] καὶ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας αὐτοῦ ὀρύττειν φασὶν ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς θήκην τῷ τελευτήσαντι· τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα λέγουσιν ὥς κάθηται χαμαὶ κεκοσμηκυῖα οἷς εἶχε τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχουσα ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι. [7.3.6] ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαίσατο ἄρα τὸν μὴρὸν καὶ εὐθὺς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον λαβὼν χιλιούς ἱππέας ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος. [7.3.7] Γαδάταν δὲ καὶ Γωβρύαν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι δύναιτο λαβόντας καλὸν κόσμημα ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τετελευτηκότι μεταδιώκειν· καὶ ὅστις εἶχε τὰς ἐπομένας ἀγέλας, καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἵππους εἶπε τούτῳ καὶ ἅμα πρόβατα πολλὰ ἐλαύνειν ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν πυνθάνηται ὄντα, ὥς ἐπισφαγείῃ τῷ Ἀβραδάτῃ.

[7.3.8] Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδε τὴν γυναῖκα χαμαὶ καθημένην καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν κείμενον, ἐδάκρυσέ τε ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει καὶ εἶπε· Φεῦ, ὦ ἀγαθὴ καὶ πιστὴ ψυχὴ, οἷχῃ δὴ ἀπολιπὼν ἡμᾶς; καὶ ἅμα ἐδεξιοῦτο αὐτὸν καὶ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐπηκολούθησεν· ἀπεκέκοπτο γὰρ κοπίδι ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. [7.3.9] ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἥλγησε· καὶ ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ἀνωδύρατο καὶ δεξαμένη δὴ παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου ἐφίλησέ τε τὴν χεῖρα καὶ πάλιν ὥς οἶόν τ' ἦν προσήρμοσε, καὶ εἶπε· [7.3.10] Καὶ τᾷλλά τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ τί δεῖ σε ὀρᾶν; καὶ ταῦτα, ἔφη, οἶδ' ὅτι δι' ἐμὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔπαθεν, ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐδὲν ἦττον. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ἡ μῶρα πολλὰ διεκελευόμην αὐτῷ οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὅπως σοι φίλος ἄξιος γενήσοιτο· αὐτὸς τε οἶδ' ὅτι οὗτος οὐ τοῦτο ἐνενόει ὅ τι πείσοιτο, ἀλλὰ τί ἂν σοι ποιήσας χαρίσαιτο. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμέμπτως τετελευτήκεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἡ παρακελευομένη ζῶσα παρακάθημαι. [7.3.11] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος χρόνον μὲν τινα σιωπῇ κατεδάκρυσεν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐφθέγγατο· Ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν δὴ, ὦ γύναι,

ἔχει τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος· νικῶν γὰρ τετελεύτηκε· σὺ δὲ λαβοῦσα τοῖσδε ἐπικόσμει αὐτὸν τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ· παρὴν δὲ ὁ Γωβρύας καὶ ὁ Γαδάτας πολὺν καὶ καλὸν κόσμον φέροντες· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα ἄτιμος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μνημα πολλοὶ χώσουσιν ἀξίως ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισφαγήσεται αὐτῶι ὅσα εἰκὸς ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῶι. [7.3.12] καὶ σὺ δ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔρημος ἔσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σε καὶ σωφροσύνης ἔνεκα καὶ πάσης ἀρετῆς καὶ τᾶλλα τιμήσω καὶ συστήσω ὅστις ἀποκομιεῖ σε ὅποι ἂν αὐτῇ ἐθέλῃς· μόνον, ἔφη, δήλωσον πρὸς ἐμὲ πρὸς ὄντινα χρήζεις κομισθῆναι. [7.3.13] καὶ ἡ Πάνθεια εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ θάρρει, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, σὺ μὴ σε κρύψω πρὸς ὄντινα βούλομαι ἀφικέσθαι. [7.3.14] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπήιει, κατοικτίρων τὴν τε γυναῖκα οἴου ἀνδρὸς στέροιτο καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα οἶαν γυναῖκα καταλιπὼν οὐκέτ' ὄψοιτο. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοὺς μὲν εὐνούχους ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσιῆναι, ἕως ἄν, ἔφη, τόνδ' ἐγὼ ὀδύρωμαι ὥς βούλομαι· τῇ δὲ τροφῶι εἶπε παραμένειν, καὶ ἐπέταξεν αὐτῇ, ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ, περικαλύψαι αὐτήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ. ἡ δὲ τροφὸς πολλὰ ἱκετεύουσα μὴ ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν ἦνυτε καὶ χαλεπαίνουσιν ἑώρα, ἐκάθητο κλαίουσα. ἡ δὲ ἀκινάκην πάλαι παρεσκευασμένον σπασαμένη σφάττει ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐπιθεῖσα ἐπὶ τὰ στέρνα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς κεφαλὴν ἀπέθνησκεν. ἡ δὲ τροφὸς ἀνωλοφύρατό τε καὶ περιεκάλυπτεν ἄμφω ὥσπερ ἡ Πάνθεια ἐπέστειλεν. [7.3.15] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὥς ἦσθετο τὸ ἔργον τῆς γυναικὸς, ἐκπλαγεὶς ἵεται, εἴ τι δύναιτο βοηθῆσαι. οἱ δὲ εὐνούχοι ἰδόντες τὸ γεγενημένον, τρεῖς ὄντες σπασάμενοι κάκεῖνοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας ἀποσφάττονται οὐπὲρ ἔταξεν αὐτοὺς ἐστηκότες. [καὶ νῦν τὸ μνημα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῶν εὐνούχων κεχῶσθαι λέγεται· καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ ἄνω στήλῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασι τὰ ὀνόματα, Σύρια γράμματα, κάτω δὲ εἶναι τρεῖς λέγουσι στήλας καὶ ἐπιγεγριαφθαι ΣΚΗΠΤΟΥΧΩΝ.] [7.3.16] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ὥς ἐπλησίασε τῶι πάθει ἀγασθεὶς τε τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ κατολοφυράμενος ἀπήιει· καὶ τούτων μὲν ἦν εἰκὸς ἐπεμελήθη ὥς τύχοιεν πάντων τῶν καλῶν, καὶ τὸ μνημα ὑπερμέγεθες ἐχώσθη, ὥς φασιν.

[7.4.1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στασιάζοντες οἱ Κᾶρες καὶ πολεμοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε τὰς οἰκῆσεις ἔχοντες ἐν ἐχυροῖς χωρίοις, ἐκάτεροι ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος αὐτὸς μὲν μένων ἐν Σάρδεσι μηχανὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κριούς, ὥς τῶν μὴ πειθομένων ἐρείφων τὰ τείχη, Ἀδούσιον δὲ ἄνδρα Πέρσῃν καὶ τᾶλλα οὐκ ἄφρονα οὐδ' ἀπόλεμον, καὶ πάνυ δὴ εὐχαριν, πέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν, στράτευμα

δούς· καὶ Κίλικες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι πάνυ προθύμως αὐτῷ συνεστράτευσαν. [7.4.2] ὧν ἔνεκα οὐδ' ἔπεμψε πώποτε Πέρσῃν σατράπην οὔτε Κιλικῶν οὔτε Κυπρίων, ἀλλ' ἤρκουν αὐτῷ αἰεὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι βασιλεύοντες· δασμὸν μέντοι ἐλάμβανε καὶ στρατιᾶς ὁπότε δέοιτο ἐπήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς. [7.4.3] ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἄγων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ἦλθε, καὶ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν Καρῶν παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτοιμοι ὄντες δέχεσθαι εἰς τὰ τεῖχη ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν ἀντιστασιαζόντων· ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ταῦτα ἐποίει· δικαιότερά τε ἔφη λέγειν τούτους ὅποτέροις διαλέγοιτο, λαθεῖν τε ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους φίλους σφᾶς γενομένους, ὥς δὴ οὕτως ἂν μᾶλλον ἐπιπεσὼν ἀπαρασκεύοις τοῖς ἐναντίοις. πιστὰ δ' ἡξίου γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Κᾶρας ὁμόσαι ἀδόλως τε δέξεσθαι εἰς τὰ τεῖχη σφᾶς καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῷ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁμόσαι θέλιν ἀδόλως εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. [7.4.4] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀμφοτέροις λάθραι ἐκατέρων νύκτα συνέθετο τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ εἰσήλασέ τε εἰς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ παρέλαβε τὰ ἐρύματα ἀμφοτέρων. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καθεζόμενος εἰς τὸ μέσον σὺν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκάλεσεν ἐκατέρων τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἀλλήλους ἠχθέσθησαν, νομίζοντες ἐξηπατῆσθαι ἀμφοτέροι. [7.4.5] ὁ μὲντοι Ἀδούσιος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· Ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὥμοσα ἀδόλως εἰσιέναι εἰς τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τῶν δεχομένων. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀπολωὼ ὅποτέρους ὑμῶν νομίζω ἐπὶ κακῷ εἰσεληλυθέναι Καρῶν· ἦν δὲ εἰρήνην ὑμῖν ποιήσω καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀμφοτέροις τὴν γῆν, νομίζω ὑμῖν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ παρεῖναι. νῦν οὖν χρή ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τε ἀλλήλοις φιλικῶς, ἐργάζεσθαι τε τὴν γῆν ἀδεῶς, διδόναι τε τέκνα καὶ λαμβάνειν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ἦν δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ἀδικεῖν τις ἐπιχειρήι, τούτοις Κύριος τε καὶ ἡμεῖς πολέμοι ἐσόμεθα. [7.4.6] ἐκ τούτου πύλαι μὲν ἀνεωιγμέναι ἦσαν τῶν τειχῶν, μεστὰι δὲ αἱ ὁδοὶ πορευομένων παρ' ἀλλήλους, μεστοὶ δὲ οἱ χῶροι ἐργαζομένων· ἐορτὰς δὲ κοινῇ ἦγον, εἰρήνης δὲ καὶ εὐφροσύνης πάντα πλέα ἦν. [7.4.7] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἦκον παρὰ Κύρου ἐρωτῶντες εἴ τι στρατιᾶς προσδέοιτο ἢ μηχανημάτων· ὁ δὲ Ἀδούσιος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐξείη ἄλλοσε χρῆσθαι στρατιᾷ· καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, φρουροὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις καταλιπών. οἱ δὲ Κᾶρες ἰκέτεον μένειν αὐτὸν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἠθελε, προσέπεμψαν πρὸς Κύρον δεόμενοι πέμψαι Ἀδούσιον σφίσι σατράπην.

[7.4.8] Ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεστάλκει Ὑστάσπαν στρατεύμα ἄγοντα ἐπὶ Φρυγίαν τὴν περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν ὁ Ἀδούσιος, μετάγειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἥπερ ὁ Ὑστάσπας προώιχετο, ὅπως μᾶλλον πείθοιντο τῷ Ὑστάσπαι, ἀκούσαντες ἄλλο στρατεύμα προσιών. [7.4.9] οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες οἱ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ οἰκοῦντες πολλὰ δῶρα δόντες διεπράξαντο ὥστε εἰς μὲν τὰ τεῖχη βαρβάρους μὴ δέχεσθαι, δασμὸν δὲ ἀποφέρειν καὶ στρατεύειν ὅποι Κῦρος ἐπαγγέλλοι. [7.4.10] ὁ δὲ τῶν Φρυγῶν βασιλεὺς παρεσκευάζετο μὲν ὡς καθέξων τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καὶ οὐ πεισόμενος καὶ παρήγγελεν οὕτως· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίσταντο αὐτοῦ οἱ ὕπαρχοι καὶ ἔρημος ἐγίνετο, τελευτῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθεν Ὑστάσπαι ἐπὶ τῇ Κύρου δίκῃ. καὶ ὁ Ὑστάσπας καταλιπὼν ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις ἰσχυρὰς Περῶν φρουρὰς ἀπῆι ἀγων σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Φρυγῶν πολλοὺς ἵππεις καὶ πελταστάς. [7.4.11] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπέστελλεν Ἀδουσίῳ συμμείξαντα πρὸς Ὑστάσπαν τοὺς μὲν ἐλομένους Φρυγῶν τὰ σφέτερα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιθυμήσαντας πολεμεῖν τούτων ἀφελομένους τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὅπλα σφενδόνας ἔχοντας πάντας κελεύειν ἔπεσθαι.

[7.4.12] Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουσαν. Κῦρος δὲ ὠρμάτο ἐκ Σάρδεων, φρουρὰν μὲν πεζὴν καταλιπὼν πολλὴν ἐν Σάρδεσι, Κροῖσον δὲ ἔχων, ἄγων δὲ πολλὰς ἀμάξας πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων. ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ Κροῖσος γεγραμμένα ἔχων ἀκριβῶς ὅσα ἐν ἐκάστῃ ἦν τῇ ἀμάξῃ· καὶ διδοὺς τῷ Κύρῳ τὰ γράμματα εἶπε· Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἔχων, ὦ Κῦρε, εἴσῃ τὸν τέ σοι ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόντα ἃ ἄγει καὶ τὸν μῆ. [7.4.13] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς, ὦ Κροῖσε, προνοῶν· ἔμοιγε μέντοι ἄξουσιν τὰ χρήματα οἷπερ καὶ ἔχειν αὐτὰ ἄξιοί εἰσιν· ὥστε ἦν τι καὶ κλέψωσι, τῶν ἑαυτῶν κλέψονται. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἔδωκε τὰ γράμματα τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν τῶν ἐπιτρόπων οἳ τε σῶα αὐτοῖς ἀποδιδόειν οἳ τε μῆ. [7.4.14] ἦγε δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οὓς μὲν ἑώρα καλλωπιζομένους καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ἄρμασι καὶ πάντα πειρωμένους ποιεῖν ὃ τι ὦντο αὐτῷ χαριεῖσθαι, τούτους μὲν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις· οὓς δὲ ἑώρα ἀχαρίτως ἐπομένους, τοὺς μὲν ἵππους αὐτῶν παρέδωκε Πέρσαις τοῖς πρώτοις συστρατευομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὅπλα κατέκαυσε· σφενδόνας δὲ καὶ τούτους ἠνάγκασεν ἔχοντας ἔπεσθαι. [7.4.15] καὶ πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀόπλους τῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομένων σφενδονᾶν ἠνάγκαζε μελετᾶν, νομίζων τοῦτο τὸ ὅπλον δουλικώτατον εἶναι· σὺν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει μάλα ἔστιν ἐνθα ἰσχυρῶς ὠφελοῦσι σφενδονῆται παρόντες, αὐτοὶ δὲ καθ'

αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν οἱ πάντες σφενδονῇται μείνειαν πάνυ ὀλίγους ὁμόσε
ιόντας σὺν ὅπλοις ἀγχεμάχοις.

[7.4.16] Προϊὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνος κατεστρέψατο μὲν Φρύγας
τοὺς ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ Φρυγίᾳ, κατεστρέψατο δὲ Καππαδόκας,
ὑποχειρίους δ' ἐποιήσατο Ἀραβίους. ἐξώπλισε δὲ ἀπὸ πάντων
τούτων Περσῶν μὲν ἱππέας οὐ μείον τετρακισμυρίους, πολλοὺς δὲ
ἵππους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς συμμάχοις διέδωκε· καὶ πρὸς
Βαβυλῶνα ἀφίκετο παμπόλλους μὲν ἱππέας ἔχων, παμπόλλους δὲ
τοξότας καὶ ἀκοντιστάς, σφενδονήτας δὲ ἀναριθμήτους.

[7.5.1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνι ἦν ὁ Κῦρος, περιέστησε μὲν πᾶν τὸ
στράτευμα περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἔπειτα αὐτὸς περιήλανε τὴν πόλιν σὺν
τοῖς φίλοις τε καὶ ἐπικαιρίοις τῶν συμμάχων. [7.5.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ
κατεθεάσατο τὰ τεῖχη, ἀπάγειν παρεσκευάσατο τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως· ἐξελθὼν δὲ τις αὐτόμολος εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιτίθεσθαι μέλλοιεν
αὐτῷ, ὁπότε ἀπάγοι τὸ στράτευμα· καταθεωμένοις γάρ, ἔφη, αὐτοῖς
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενῆς ἐδόκει εἶναι ἡ φάλαγξ· καὶ οὐδὲν
θαυμαστὸν ἦν οὕτως ἔχειν· περὶ γὰρ πολὺ τεῖχος κυκλομένους
ἀνάγκη ἦν ἐπ' ὀλίγων τὸ βάθος γενέσθαι τὴν φάλαγγα. [7.5.3] ἀκούσας
οὖν ὁ Κῦρος ταῦτα, στάς κατὰ μέσον τῆς αὐτοῦ στρατιᾶς σὺν τοῖς
περὶ αὐτὸν παρήγγειλεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς ὀπλίτας
ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα ἀπιέναι παρὰ τὸ ἐστηκὸς τοῦ
στρατεύματος, ἕως γένοιτο ἐκατέρωθεν τὸ ἄκρον κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ
κατὰ τὸ μέσον. [7.5.4] οὕτως οὖν ποιοούντων οἱ τε μένοντες εὐθὺς
θαρραλεώτεροι ἐγίνοντο ἐπὶ διπλασίων τὸ βάθος γιγνόμενοι, οἱ τ'
ἀπιόντες ὡσαύτως θαρραλεώτεροι· εὐθὺς γὰρ οἱ μένοντες <ἀντ'>
αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγίνοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι
ἐκατέρωθεν συνῆψαν τὰ ἄκρα, ἔστησαν ἰσχυρότεροι γεγεννημένοι, οἱ
τε ἀπεληλυθότες διὰ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ τ', ἔμπροσθεν διὰ τοὺς
ὀπισθεν προσγεγεννημένους. [7.5.5] ἀναπτυχθείσης δ' οὕτω τῆς
φάλαγγος ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρῶτους ἀριστοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς
τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς κακίστους τετάχθαι· ἢ δ' οὕτως
ἔχουσα τάξις καὶ πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι ἐδόκει εὖ παρεσκευάσθαι καὶ
πρὸς τὸ μὴ φεύγειν. καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ καὶ οἱ γυμνήτες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν
κεράτων αἰεὶ ἐγγύτερον ἐγίνοντο τοῦ ἄρχοντος τοσοῦτοι ὅσῳ ἢ
φάλαγξ βραχυτέρα ἐγίγνετο ἀναδιπλουμένη. [7.5.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτω
συνεσπειράθησαν, ἀπῆισαν, ἕως μὲν ἐξικνεῖτο τὰ βέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ
τείχους, ἐπὶ πόδα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω βελῶν ἐγένοντο, στραφέντες, καὶ τὸ

μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγα βήματα προϊόντες μετεβάλλοντο ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ ἴσταντο πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος βλέποντες· ὅσῳ δὲ προσωτέρῳ ἐγίγνοντο, τόσῳ δὲ μανότερον μετεβάλλοντο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐδόκουν εἶναι, ξυνεῖρον ἀπίοντες, ἔστ' ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ἐγένοντο.

[7.5.7] Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, συνεκάλεσεν ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους καὶ ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, τεθεάμεθα μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως μὲν ἂν τις τεῖχιν οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ὑψηλὰ προσμαχόμενος ἔλοι οὐκ ἐνορᾶν μοι δοκῶ· ὅσῳ δὲ πλέονες ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ πόλει εἰσίν, ἐπεὶ οὐ μάχονται ἐξιόντες, τοσοῦτοι ἂν θάπτον λιμῷ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι ἀλῶναι. εἰ μὴ τιν' οὖν ἄλλον τρόπον ἔχετε λέγειν, τούτῳ πολιορκητέους φημί εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας. [7.5.8] καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας εἶπεν· Ὁ δὲ ποταμός, ἔφη, οὗτος οὐ διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως ρεῖ πλάτος ἔχων πλέον ἢ ἐπὶ δύο στάδια; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, καὶ βάθος γ' ὥς οὐδ' ἂν δύο ἄνδρες ὁ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐστηκὼς τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχοιεν· ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ πόλις ἢ τοῖς τεῖχεσι. [7.5.9] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος, Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Χρυσάντα, ἐῷμεν ὅσα κρείττω ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυνάμεως· διαμετρησαμένους δὲ χρή ὥς τάχιστα τὸ μέρος ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ὀρύττειν τάφρον ὥς πλατυτάτην καὶ βαθυτάτην, ὅπως ὅτι ἐλαχίστων ἡμῖν τῶν φυλάκων δέη. [7.5.10] οὕτω δὴ κύκλῳ διαμετρήσας περὶ τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπολιπὼν ὅσον τύρσεσι μεγάλαις ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὥρυττεν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ τεύχους τάφρον ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἀνέβαλλον πρὸς ἑαυτούς. [7.5.11] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πύργους ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ὠικοδόμει, φοίνιξι θεμελιώσας οὐ μείον ἢ πλεθριαίοις [εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ μείζονες ἢ τοσοῦτοι τὸ μήκος πεφυκότες]· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πιεζόμενοι οἱ φοίνικες ὑπὸ βάρους ἄνω κυρτοῦνται, ὥσπερ οἱ ὄνοι οἱ κανθήλιοι. [7.5.12] τούτους δ' ὑπετίθει τούτου ἔνωκα [ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα εἰκοὶ πολιορκήσιν παρασκευαζομένῳ], ὥς εἰ καὶ διαφύγοι ὁ ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν τάφρον, μὴ ἀνέλοι τοὺς πύργους. ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς πύργους ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμβολάδος γῆς, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα φυλακτήρια εἴη. [7.5.13] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν· οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τεύχει κατεγέλων τῆς πολιορκίας, ὥς ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος τὸ στράτευμα κατένειμε δώδεκα μέρη, ὥς μῆνα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάζον. [7.5.14] οἱ δὲ αὖ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον κατεγέλων, ἐννοοῦμενοι εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἀράβιοι καὶ Καππαδόκαι φυλάζοιεν, οὓς σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον

πάντας εὐμενεστέρους εἶναι ἢ Πέρσαις.

[7.5.15] Καὶ αἱ μὲν τάφροι ἤδη ὀρωρυγμέναι ἦσαν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐπειδὴ ἐορτὴν τοιαύτην ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἤκουσεν εἶναι, ἐν ἣι πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ὅλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσιν, ἐν ταύτῃ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεσκότασε, λαβὼν πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνεστόμωσε τὰς τάφρους πρὸς τὸν ποταμόν. [7.5.16] ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, τὸ ὕδωρ κατὰ τὰς τάφρους ἐχώρει ἐν τῇ νυκτί, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὁδὸς πορεύσιμος ἀνθρώποις ἐγίγνετο. [7.5.17] ὥς δὲ τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οὕτως ἐπορσύνετο, παρηγγύησεν ὁ Κῦρος Πέρσαις χιλιάρχους καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων εἰς δύο ἄγοντας τὴν χιλιοστὴν παρεῖναι πρὸς αὐτόν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους κατ' οὐρὰν τούτων ἔπεσθαι ἥπερ πρόσθεν τεταγμένους. [7.5.18] οἱ μὲν δὴ παρήσαν· ὁ δὲ καταβιβάσας εἰς τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππείας, ἐκέλευσε σκέψασθαι εἰ πορεύσιμον εἴη τὸ ἔδαφος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. [7.5.19] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅτι πορεύσιμον εἴη, ἐνταῦθα δὴ συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

[7.5.20] Ἄνδρες, ἔφη, φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς ἡμῖν παρακεχώρηκε τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁδοῦ. ἡμεῖς δὲ θαρροῦντες εἰσίσωμεν [μηδὲν φοβούμενοι εἶσω], ἐννοοῦμενοι ὅτι οὗτοι ἐφ' οὓς νῦν πορευσόμεθα ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οὓς ἡμεῖς καὶ συμμάχους πρὸς ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντας καὶ ἐγρηγορότας ἅπαντας καὶ νήφοντας καὶ ἐξωπλισμένους καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐνικῶμεν· [7.5.21] νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἵμεν ἐν ᾧ πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν καθεύδουσι, πολλοὶ δ' [αὐτῶν] μεθούουσι, πάντες δ' ἀσύντακτοί εἰσιν· ὅταν δὲ αἰσθωνται ἡμᾶς ἔνδον ὄντας, πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἀχρεῖοι ἔσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκπεπληχθαι. [7.5.22] εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο ἐννοεῖται, ὃ δὴ λέγεται φοβερὸν εἶναι τοῖς εἰς πόλιν εἰσιούσι, μὴ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη ἀναβάντες βάλλωσιν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, τοῦτο μάλιστα θαρρεῖτε· ἦν γὰρ ἀναβῶσί τινες ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἔχομεν σύμμαχον θεὸν Ἥφαιστον. εὐφλεκτα δὲ τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτῶν, φοινικὸς μὲν αἱ θύραι πεποιημέναι, ἀσφάλτῳ δὲ ὑπεκκαύματι κεχριμέναι. [7.5.23] ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ πολλὴν μὲν δαῖδα ἔχομεν, ἡ ταχὺ πολὺ πῦρ τέξεται, πολλὴν δὲ πίτταν καὶ στυππεῖον, ἃ ταχὺ παρακαλεῖ πολλὴν φλόγα· ὥστε ἀνάγκην εἶναι ἢ φεύγειν ταχὺ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ ταχὺ κατακεκαῦσθαι. [7.5.24] ἀλλ' ἄγετε λαμβάνετε τὰ ὅπλα· ἡγήσομαι δ' ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς. ὑμεῖς δ', ἔφη, ὦ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδοὺς· ἴστε γάρ· ὅταν δ' ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχίστην ἄγετε ἐπὶ

τὰ βασίλεια. [7.5.25] Καὶ μὴν. ἔφασαν οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶη θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ ἄκλειστοι αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἶεν· κωμάζει γὰρ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα τῇδε τῇ νυκτί. φυλακῇ μέντοι πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐντευξόμεθα· ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ τεταγμένη. Οὐκ ἂν μέλλειν δέοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἀλλ' ἰέναι, ἵνα ἀπαρασκεύους ὡς μάλιστα λάβωμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[7.5.26] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐρρήθη, ἐπορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ ἀπαντῶντων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον παιόμενοι, οἱ δ' ἔφευγον πάλιν εἴσω, οἱ δ' ἐβόων· οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Γωβρύαν συνεβόων αὐτοῖς, ὡς κωμασταὶ ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί· καὶ ἰόντες ἢ ἐδύναντο [ὡς] τάχιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένοντο. [7.5.27] καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάται τεταγμένοι κεκλειμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες ἐπεισπίπτουσι αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς. [7.5.28] ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγίγνετο, αἰσθόμενοι οἱ ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου, κελεύσαντος τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι τί εἶη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκθέουσί τινες ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας. [7.5.29] οἱ δ' ἄμφι τὸν Γαδάταν ὡς εἶδον τὰς πύλας χαλώσας εἰσπίπτουσι καὶ τοῖς πάλιν φεύγουσιν εἴσω ἐφεπόμενοι καὶ παίοντες ἀφικνοῦνται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ἤδη ἐστηκότα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσπασμένον ὃν εἶχεν ἀκινάκην εὐρίσκουσι. [7.5.30] καὶ τοῦτον μὲν οἱ σὺν Γαδάται καὶ Γωβρύᾳ ἐχειροῦντο· καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ ἀπέθνησκον, ὁ μὲν προβαλλόμενός τι, ὁ δὲ φεύγων, ὁ δὲ γε καὶ ἀμυνόμενος ὅτῳ ἐδύνατο. [7.5.31] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος διέπεμπε τὰς τῶν ἱππέων τάξεις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς καὶ προεῖπεν οὓς μὲν ἔξω λαμβάνοιεν κατακαίνειν, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις κηρύττειν τοὺς συριστὶ ἐπισταμένους ἔνδον μένειν· εἰ δέ τις ἔξω ληφθεῖη, ὅτι θανατώσοιτο.

[7.5.32] Ὅτι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν. Γαδάτας δὲ καὶ Γωβρύας ἦκον· καὶ θεοὺς μὲν πρῶτον προσεκύνουν, ὅτι τετιμωρημένοι ἦσαν τὸν ἀνόσιον βασιλέα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κύρου κατεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, πολλὰ δακρύοντες ἅμα χαρᾷ [καὶ εὐφραινόμενοι]. [7.5.33] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ ἦισθοντο οἱ τὰς ἄκρας ἔχοντες ἐάλωκυῖαν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τεθνηκότα, παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰς ἄκρας. [7.5.34] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος τὰς μὲν ἄκρας εὐθὺς παρελάμβανε καὶ φρουράρχους τε καὶ φρουροὺς εἰς ταύτας ἀνέπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ τεθνηκότας θάπτειν ἐφῆκε τοῖς προσήκουσι· τοὺς δὲ κήρυκας κηρύττειν ἐκέλευεν ἀποφέρειν πάντα τὰ ὄπλα Βαβυλωνίους· ὅπου δὲ ληφθήσοιτο ὄπλα ἐν οἰκίαι, προηγόρευεν ὡς πάντες οἱ ἔνδον ἀποθανοῖντο. οἱ μὲν δὴ

ἀπέφερον, ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας κατέθετο, ὡς εἶη ἔτοιμα, εἴ τί ποτε δέοι χρῆσθαι. [7.5.35] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς μάγους καλέσας, ὡς δοριαλώτου τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἀκροθίνια τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τεμένη ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελεῖν· ἐκ τούτου δὲ καὶ οἰκίας διεδίδου καὶ ἀρχεῖα τούτοις οὕπερ κοινῶνας ἐνόμιζε τῶν καταπεπραγμένων· οὕτω δὲ διένειμεν, ὥσπερ ἐδέδοκτο, τὰ κράτιστα τοῖς ἀρίστοις. εἰ δὲ τις οἶοιτο μείον ἔχειν, διδάσκειν προσιόντας ἐκέλευε. [7.5.36] προεῖπε δὲ Βαβυλωνίοις μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τοὺς δασμοὺς ἀποφέρειν καὶ θεραπεύειν τούτους οἷς ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἐδόθησαν· Πέρσας δὲ τοὺς κοινῶνας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὅσοι μένειν ἡγοῦντο παρ' αὐτῶι ὡς δεσπότης ὢν ἔλαβον προηγόρευε διαλέγεσθαι.

[7.5.37] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη κατασκευάσασθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεῖ ἡγεῖτο πρέπειν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῶι τοῦτο σὺν τῇ τῶν φίλων γνώμῃ ποιῆσαι, ὡς ὅτι ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπιφθόνως σπάνιός τε καὶ σεμνὸς φανείη. ὧδε οὖν ἐμηχανᾶτο τοῦτο. ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρῃ στὰς ὅπου ἐδόκει ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι προσεδέχετο τὸν βουλούμενον λέγειν τι καὶ ἀποκρινάμενος ἀπέπεμπεν. [7.5.38] οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι ὡς ἔγνωσαν ὅτι προσδέχοιτο, ἦκον ἀμήχανοι τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ ὠθουμένων περὶ τοῦ προσελθεῖν μηχανή τε πολλή καὶ μάχη ἦν. [7.5.39] οἱ δὲ ὑπηρεταὶ ὡς ἐδύναντο διακρίναντες προσέειπον. ὁπότε δὲ τις καὶ τῶν φίλων διωσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον προφανείη, προτείνων ὁ Κῦρος τὴν χεῖρα προσήγετο αὐτοὺς καὶ οὕτως ἔλεγεν· Ἄνδρες φίλοι, περιμένετε, ἕως <ἂν> τὸν ὄχλον διωσώμεθα· ἔπειτα δὲ καθ' ἡσυχίαν συγγενησώμεθα. οἱ μὲν δὴ φίλοι περιέμενον, ὁ δ' ὄχλος πλείων καὶ πλείων ἐπέρρει, ὥστ' ἔφθασεν ἐσπέρα γενομένη πρὶν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτὸν σχολάσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι. [7.5.40] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Κῦρος λέγει· Ὡρα, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν [καιρὸς] διαλυθῆναι· αὔριον δὲ πρῶι ἔλθετε· καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ βούλομαι ὑμῖν τι διαλεχθῆναι. ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ φίλοι ἄσμενοι ὠιχοντο ἀποθέοντες, δίκην δεδωκότες ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐκοιμήθησαν.

[7.5.41] Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος παρῆν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολὺ πλεον πλῆθος περιειστήκει βουλομένων προσιέναι, καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἢ οἱ φίλοι παρῆσαν. ὁ οὖν Κῦρος περιστησάμενος τῶν ξυστοφόρων Περῶν κύκλον μέγαν εἶπε μηδένα παρίεναι ἢ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἄρχοντας τῶν Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. [7.5.42] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον οὗτοι, ἔλεξεν ὁ Κῦρος αὐτοῖς

τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἂν ἔχοιμεν μέμνησθαι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πάντα ὅσα ηἰχόμεθα καταπεπραχέναι· εἰ μέντοι τοιοῦτον ἔσται τὸ μέγала πράττειν ὥστε μὴ οἷόν τ' εἶναι μήτε ἄμφ' αὐτὸν σχολὴν ἔχειν μήτε μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐφρανθῆναι, ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρειν ταύτην τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν κελεύω. [7.5.43] ἐνενοήσατε γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ χθὲς δήπου ὅτι ἔωθεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀκούειν τῶν προσιόντων οὐκ ἐλήξαμεν πρόσθεν ἐσπέρας· καὶ νῦν ὁράτε τούτους ἄλλους πλείονας τῶν χθὲς παρόντας ὡς πράγματα ἡμῖν παρέξοντας. [7.5.44] εἰ οὖν τις τούτοις ὑφάρξει ἑαυτόν, λογίζομαι μικρὸν μὲν τι ὑμῖν μέρος ἐμοῦ μετεσόμενον, μικρὸν δέ τι ἐμοὶ ὑμῶν· ἐμαυτοῦ μέντοι σαφῶς οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν μοι μετέσται. [7.5.45] ἔτι δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλο ὁρῶ γελοῖον πρᾶγμα· ἐγὼ γὰρ δήπου ὑμῖν μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς διάκειμαι· τούτων δὲ τῶν περιεστηκότων ἢ τινα ἢ οὐδένα οἶδα, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶν ὡς, ἣν νικῶσιν ὑμᾶς ὠθοῦντες, πρότεροι ἂ βούλονται ὑμῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ διαπραξόμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡξίουν τοὺς τοιούτους, εἴ τις τι ἐμοῦ δέοιτο, θεραπεύειν ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς φίλους δεομένους προσαγωγῆς. [7.5.46] ἴσως ἂν οὖν εἴποι τις, τί δήτα οὐχ οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρεσκευασάμην, ἀλλὰ παρεῖχον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐμαυτόν. ὅτι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου τοιαῦτα ἐγίνωσκον ὄντα ὡς μὴ ὑστερίζειν δέον τὸν ἄρχοντα μήτε τῷ εἰδέναι ἂν δεῖ μήτε τῷ πράττειν ἂν αἰετὸς ἦ· τοὺς δὲ σπανίους ἰδεῖν στρατηγούς πολλὰ ἐνόμιζον ὧν δεῖ πραχθῆναι παρίεναι. [7.5.47] νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ φιλοπονώτατος πόλεμος ἀναπέπαυται, δοκεῖ μοι καὶ ἡ ἐμὴ ψυχὴ ἀναπαύσεώς τινος ἀξιοῦν τυγχάνειν. ὡς οὖν ἐμοῦ ἀποροῦντος ὅ τι ἂν τύχοιμι ποιῶν ὥστε καλῶς ἔχειν τά τε ἡμέτερα καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν ἡμᾶς δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, συμβουλευέτω ὅ τι τις ὁρᾷ συμφορώτατον.

[7.5.48] Κῦρος μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνίσταται δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Ἀρτάβαζος ὁ συγγενὴς ποτε φήσας εἶναι καὶ εἶπεν· Ἥ καλῶς, ἔφη, ἐποίησας, ὦ Κῦρε, ἄρξας τοῦ λόγου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔτι νέου μὲν ὄντος σοῦ πάνυ ἀρξάμενος ἐπεθύμουν φίλος γενέσθαι, ὁρῶν δέ σε οὐδὲν δεόμενον ἐμοῦ κατώκνουν σοι προσιέναι. [7.5.49] ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτυχες ποτε καὶ ἐμοῦ δεηθεὶς [προθύμως] ἐξαγγεῖλαι πρὸς Μήδους τὰ παρὰ Κναζάρου, ἐλογιζόμην, εἰ ταῦτα προθύμως σοι συλλάβοιμι, ὡς οἰκεῖός τέ σοι ἐσοίμην καὶ ἐξέσοιτό μοι διαλέγεσθαι σοι ὅπόσον χρόνον βουλοίμην. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν δὴ ἐπράχθη ὥστε σε ἐπαινεῖν. [7.5.50] μετὰ τοῦτο Ὑρκάνιοι μὲν πρῶτοι φίλοι ἡμῖν ἐγένοντο καὶ μάλα πεινώσι συμμάχων· ὥστε μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις περιεφέρομεν αὐτοὺς

ἀγαπῶντες. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπεὶ ἐάλω τὸ πολέμιον στρατόπεδον, οὐκ οἶμαι σχολή σοι ἦν ἀμφ' ἐμὲ ἔχειν· καὶ ἐγὼ σοι συνεγίνωσκον. [7.5.51] ἐκ δὲ τούτου Γωβρύας ἡμῖν φίλος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχαιρον· καὶ αὖθις Γαδάτας· καὶ ἤδη ἔργον σοῦ ἦν μεταλαβεῖν. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι καὶ Σάκαι καὶ Καδοῦσιοι σύμμαχοι ἐγεγένηντο, θεραπεύειν εἰκότως ἔδει τούτους· καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι σὲ ἐθεράπευον. [7.5.52] ὥς δ' ἤλθομεν πάλιν ἐνθεν ὠρμήθημεν, ὁρῶν σε ἀμφ' ἵππους ἔχοντα, ἀμφ' ἄρματα, ἀμφὶ μηχανάς, ἡγούμεν, ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τούτων σχολάσαις, τότε σε καὶ ἀμφ' ἐμὲ ἔξειν σχολήν. ὥς γε μέντοι ἤλθεν ἡ δεινὴ ἀγγελία τὸ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συλλέγεσθαι, ἐγίνωσκον ὅτι ταῦτα μέγιστα εἶη· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα καλῶς γένοιτο, εὖ ἤδη ἐδόκουν εἰδέναι ὅτι πολλὴ ἔσοιτο ἀφθονία τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ [τῆς] σῆς συνουσίας. [7.5.53] καὶ νῦν δὴ νενικήκαμέν τε τὴν μεγάλην μάχην καὶ Σάρδεις καὶ Κροῖσον ὑποχείριον ἔχομεν καὶ Βαβυλῶνα ἡρῆκαμεν καὶ πάντας κατεστράμμεθα, καὶ μὰ τὸν Μίθρην ἐγὼ τοι ἐχθές, εἰ μὴ πολλοῖς διεπύκτευσά, οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην σοι προσελθεῖν. ἐπεὶ γε μέντοι ἐδεξιώσω με καὶ παρὰ σοὶ ἐκέλευσας μένειν, ἤδη περιυβλεπτος ἦν, ὅτι μετὰ σοῦ ἄσιτος καὶ ἄποτος διημέρευον. [7.5.54] νῦν οὖν εἰ μὲν ἔσται πῃ ὅπως οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι γεγεννημένοι πλείστον σου μέρος μεθεξόμεν· εἰ δὲ μή, πάλιν αὖ ἐγὼ ἐθέλω παρὰ σοῦ ἐξαγγέλλειν ἀπιέναι πάντας ἀπὸ σοῦ πλὴν ἡμῶν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς φίλων.

[7.5.55] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγέλασε μὲν ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοί· Χρυσάντας δ' ἀνέστη ὁ Πέρσης καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰκότως ἐν τῷ φανερῷ σαυτὸν παρείχες, δι' ἃ τε αὐτὸς εἶπας καὶ ὅτι οὐχ ἡμᾶς σοι μάλιστα ἦν θεραπευτέον. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα παρήμεν· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἔδει ἀνακτᾶσθαι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ὅπως ὅτι ἥδιστα συμπονεῖν καὶ συγκινδυνεύειν ἡμῖν ἐθέλοιεν. [7.5.56] νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὐ τούτους [τρόπον] μόνον ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνακτᾶσθαι δύνασαι οὖς καιρὸς εἶη, ἤδη καὶ οἰκίας σε τυχεῖν ἄξιον· ἢ τί ἀπολαύσαις ἂν τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἰ μόνος ἄμοιρος εἴης ἐστίας, οὗ οὔτε ὀσιώτερον χωρίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔτε ἥδιον οὔτε οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν οὐδέν· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν οἶε καὶ ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνεσθαι, εἰ σὲ μὲν ὀρῶμεν ἔξω καρτεροῦντα, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν οἰκίαις εἴημεν καὶ σοῦ δοκοίημεν πλεονεκτεῖν; [7.5.57] ἐπεὶ δὲ Χρυσάντας ταῦτα ἔλεξε, συνηγόρευον αὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτά πολλοί. ἐκ τούτου δὴ εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τὰ ἐκ Σάρδεων χρήματα ἐνταῦθ' οἱ ἄγοντες ἀπέδοσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσηλθεν ὁ Κῦρος, πρῶτον μὲν Ἑστία

ἔθυσεν, ἔπειτα Διὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ εἴ τιτι ἄλλωι θεῷ οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο.

[7.5.58] Πουήσας δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἄλλα ἤδη ἤρχετο διοικεῖν. ἐννοῶν δὲ τὸ αὐτοῦ πρᾶγμα ὅτι ἐπιχειροῖ μὲν ἄρχειν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, παρασκευάζοιτο δὲ οἰκεῖν ἐν πόλει τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν φανερῶν, αὕτη δ' οὕτως ἔχει αὐτῷ ὡς πολεμιοτάτῃ ἂν γένοιτο ἀνδρὶ πόλις, ταῦτα δὲ λογιζόμενος φυλακῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡγήσατο δεῖσθαι. [7.5.59] γνοὺς δ' ὅτι οὐδαμοῦ ἀνθρώποι εὐχειρωτότεροί εἰσιν ἢ ἐν σίτοις καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ λουτροῖς καὶ κοίτῃ καὶ ὕπνῳ, ἐσκόπει τίνας ἂν ἐν τούτοις περὶ αὐτὸν πιστοτάτους ἔχοι. ἐνόμισε δὲ μὴ ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ πιστὸν ἀνθρώπον ὅστις ἄλλον μᾶλλον φιλήσοι τοῦ τῆς φυλακῆς δεομένου. [7.5.60] τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἔχοντας παῖδας ἢ γυναῖκας συναρμοττούσας ἢ παιδικὰ ἔγνω φύσει ἡναγκάσθαι ταῦτα μάλιστα φιλεῖν· τοὺς δ' εὐνούχους ὁρῶν πάντων τούτων στερομένους ἡγήσατο τούτοις ἂν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι οἵτινες δύναιτο πλουτίζειν μάλιστα αὐτοὺς καὶ βοηθεῖν, εἴ τι ἀδικοῖντο, καὶ τιμὰς περιάπτειν αὐτοῖς· τούτοις δ' εὐεργετοῦντα ὑπερβάλλειν αὐτὸν οὐδέν' ἂν ἡγεῖτο δύνασθαι. [7.5.61] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄδοξοι ὄντες οἱ εὐνοῦχοι παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεσπότην ἐπικούρου προσδέονται· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ὅστος οὐκ ἂν ἀξιόσειεν εὐνούχου πλέον ἔχειν ἐν παντί, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο κρεῖττον ἀπειργοί· δεσπότην δὲ πιστὸν ὄντα οὐδὲν κωλύει πρωτεύειν καὶ τὸν εὐνούχον. [7.5.62] ὁ δ' ἂν μάλιστα τις οἰηθείη, ἀνάλκιδας τοὺς εὐνούχους γίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐφαίνετο αὐτῷ. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὅτι οἱ τε ὕβρισταὶ ἵπποι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ μὲν δάκνειν καὶ ὕβριζειν ἀποπαύονται, πολεμικοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἥττον γίνονται, οἱ τε ταῦροι ἐκτεμνόμενοι τοῦ μὲν μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν ὕφienται, τοῦ δ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οὐ στερίσκονται, καὶ οἱ κύνες δὲ ὡσαύτως τοῦ μὲν ἀπολείπειν τοὺς δεσπότης ἀποπαύονται ἐκτεμνόμενοι, φυλάττειν δὲ καὶ εἰς θήραν οὐδὲν κακίους γίνονται. [7.5.63] καὶ οἱ γε ἀνθρώποι ὡσαύτως ἡρεμέστεροι γίνονται στερισκόμενοι ταύτης τῆς ἐπιθυμίας, οὐ μέντοι ἀμελέστεροί γε τῶν προσταττομένων, οὐδ' ἥττόν τι ἱππικοί, οὐδὲ ἥττόν τι ἀκοντιστικοί, οὐδὲ ἥττον φιλότιμοι. [7.5.64] κατάδηλοι δ' ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς θήραις ὅτι ἔσωιζον τὸ φιλόνικον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. τοῦ δὲ πιστοὶ εἶναι ἐν τῇ φθορᾷ τῶν δεσποτῶν μάλιστα βάσανον ἐδίδοσαν· οὐδένες γὰρ πιστότερα ἔργα ἀπεδείκνυντο ἐν ταῖς δεσποτικαῖς συμφοραῖς τῶν εὐνούχων. [7.5.65] εἰ δέ τι ἄρα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύος μειοῦσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὁ σίδηρος

άνισοι τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. ταῦτα δὴ γινώσκων ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν θυρωρῶν πάντας τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα θεραπευτῆρας ἐποιήσατο εὐνούχους.

[7.5.66] Ἦγησάμενος δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὴν εἶναι τὴν φυλακὴν ταύτην πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων, ἐσκόπει τίνας τῶν ἄλλων ἂν πιστοτάτους περὶ τὸ βασίλειον φύλακας λάβοι. [7.5.67] εἰδὼς οὖν Πέρσας τοὺς οἴκοι κακοβιωτάτους μὲν ὄντας διὰ πενίαν, ἐπιπονώτατα δὲ ζῶντας διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας τραχύτητα καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτουργοὺς εἶναι, τούτους ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγαπᾶν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ δίαιταν. [7.5.68] λαμβάνει οὖν τούτων μυρίουσ δορυφόρους, οἱ κύκλῳ μὲν νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐφύλαττον περὶ τὰ βασίλεια, ὅποτε ἐπὶ χώρας εἴη· ὅποτε δὲ ἐξίοι ποι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο. [7.5.69] νομίσας δὲ καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ὅλης φύλακας δεῖν εἶναι ἱκανούς, εἴτ' ἐπιδημῶν αὐτὸς τυγχάνοι εἴτε καὶ ἀποδημῶν, κατέστησε καὶ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φρουροὺς ἱκανούς· μισθὸν δὲ καὶ τούτοις Βαβυλωνίους ἔταξε παρέχειν, βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀμυχανωτάτους εἶναι, ὅπως ὅτι ταπεινότατοι καὶ εὐκαθεκτότατοι εἶεν.

[7.5.70] Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ περὶ αὐτόν τε φυλακὴ καὶ ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τότε κατασταθεῖσα καὶ νῦν ἔτι οὕτως ἔχουσα διαμένει. σκοπῶν δ' ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἀρχὴ κατέχοιτο καὶ ἄλλη ἔτι προσγίνοιτο, ἠγήσατο τοὺς μισθοφόρους τούτους οὐ τοσοῦτον βελτίονας τῶν ὑπηκόων εἶναι ὅσον ἐλάττονας· τοὺς δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγίγνωσκε συνεκτέον εἶναι, οὔτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς τὸ κρατεῖν παρέσχον, καὶ ἐπιμελητέον ὅπως μὴ ἀνήσουσι τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄσκησιν. [7.5.71] ὅπως δὲ μὴ ἐπιτάττειν αὐτοῖς δοκοίη, ἀλλὰ γνόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῦτα ἄριστα εἶναι οὕτως ἐμμένειν τε καὶ ἐπιμελοῖντο τῆς ἀρετῆς, συνέλεξε τοὺς τε ὁμοτίμους καὶ πάντας ὁπόσοι ἐπικαίριοι ἦσαν καὶ ἀξιοχρεώτατοι ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ κοινωνοὶ εἶναι καὶ πόνων καὶ ἀγαθῶν. [7.5.72] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι, τοῖς μὲν θεοῖς μεγίστη χάρις ὅτι ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν τυχεῖν ὧν ἐνομίζομεν ἄξιοι εἶναι. νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἔχομεν καὶ γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ οἵτινες ταύτην ἐργαζόμενοι θρέψουσιν ἡμᾶς· ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἐν ταύταις κατασκευάς. [7.5.73] καὶ μηδεὶς γε ὑμῶν ἔχων ταῦτα νομισάτω ἀλλότρια ἔχειν· νόμος γὰρ ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἰδιός ἐστιν, ὅταν πολεμούντων πόλις ἁλῶι, τῶν ἐλόντων εἶναι καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ χρήματα.

οὐκ οὐκ ἀδικίαι γε ἔξετε ὅ τι ἂν ἔχητε, ἀλλὰ φιλανθρωπία οὐκ ἀφαιρήσεσθε, ἦν τι ἔατε ἔχειν αὐτούς. [7.5.74] τὸ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦδε οὕτως ἐγὼ γινώσκω ὅτι εἰ μὲν τρεψόμεθα ἐπὶ ραιδιουργίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδυπάθειαν, οἱ νομίζουσι τὸ μὲν πονεῖν ἀθλιότητα, τὸ δὲ ἀπόνως βιοτεύειν εὐδαιμονίαν, ταχὺ ἡμᾶς φημι ὀλίγου ἀξίους ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι καὶ ταχὺ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν στερήσεσθαι. [7.5.75] οὐ γάρ τοι τὸ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἀρκεῖ ὥστε καὶ διατελεῖν [ὄντας ἀγαθοὺς], ἦν μὴ τις αὐτοῦ διὰ τέλους ἐπιμελῇται· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἀμεληθεῖσαι μείονος ἄξια γίνονται καὶ τὰ σώματά γε τὰ εὖ ἔχοντα, ὁπότεν τις αὐτὰ ἀνῆι ἐπὶ ραιδιουργίαν, πονήρως πάλιν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη καὶ ἡ ἐγκράτεια καὶ ἡ ἀλκή, ὁπότεν τις αὐτῶν ἀνῆι τὴν ἄσκησιν, ἐκ τούτου εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν πάλιν τρέπεται. [7.5.76] οὐκ οὐκ δεῖ ἀμελεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτίκα ἡδὺ προΐεναι αὐτούς. μέγα μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι ἔργον καὶ τὸ ἀρχὴν καταπρᾶξαι, πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζονα τὸ λαβόντα διασώσασθαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ λαβεῖν πολλάκις τῷ τόλμαν μόνον παρασχομένῳ ἐγένετο, τὸ δὲ λαβόντα κατέχειν οὐκέτι τοῦτο ἄνευ σωφροσύνης οὐδ' ἄνευ ἐγκρατείας οὐδ' ἄνευ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας γίγνεται. [7.5.77] ἂν χρὴ γινώσκοντας νῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἢ πρὶν τάδε ἀγαθὰ κτήσασθαι, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι ὅταν πλεῖστά τις ἔχη, τότε πλεῖστοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύουσι καὶ πολέμιοι γίνονται, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρ' ἀκόντων τά τε κτήματα καὶ τὴν θεραπείαν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἔχη. τοὺς μὲν οὖν θεοὺς οἶεσθαι χρὴ σὺν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιβουλεύσαντες ἀδίκως ἔχομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλεύθέντες ἐτιμωρησάμεθα. [7.5.78] τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο κράτιστον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς παρασκευαστέον· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ τὸ βελτίονα ὄντας τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄρχειν ἀξιῶν. θάλπους μὲν οὖν καὶ ψύχους καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ πόνων καὶ ὕπνου ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῖς δούλοις μεταδιδόναι· μεταδιδόντας γε μέντοι πειρᾶσθαι δεῖ ἐν τούτοις πρῶτον βελτίονα αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι. [7.5.79] πολεμικῆς δ' ἐπιστήμης καὶ μελέτης παντάπασιν οὐ μεταδοτέον τούτοις, οὐστinas ἐργάτας ἡμετέρους καὶ δασμοφόρους βουλόμεθα καταστήσασθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς δεῖ τούτοις τοῖς ἀσκήμασι πλεονεκτεῖν, γινώσκοντας ὅτι ἐλευθερίας ταῦτα ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ ὥσπερ γε ἐκείνους τὰ ὅπλα ἀφηρήμεθα, οὕτως ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς δεῖ μήποτ' ἐρήμους ὅπλων γίνεσθαι, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τῶν ὅπλων οὔσι τούτοις καὶ οἰκειότατά ἐστιν ἂν ἂν

βούλωνται. [7.5.80] εἰ δέ τις τοιαῦτα ἐννοεῖται, τί δῆτα ἡμῖν ὄφελος καταπραῖσαι ἃ ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, εἰ ἔτι δεήσει καρτερεῖν καὶ πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ πονοῦντας καὶ ἐπιμελουμένους, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ καταμαθεῖν ὅτι τοσοῦτοι τάγαθὰ μᾶλλον εὐφραίνει ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον προπονήσας τις ἐπ' αὐτὰ ἦι· οἱ γὰρ πόνοι ὄψον τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἄνευ δὲ τοῦ δεόμενον τυγχάνειν τινὸς οὐδὲν οὕτω πολυτελῶς παρασκευασθείη ἂν ὥσθ' ἡδὺ εἶναι. [7.5.81] εἰ δὲ ὧν μὲν μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ὁ δαίμων ἡμῖν ταῦτα συμπαρεσκεύακεν, ὥς δ' ἂν ἥδιστα ταῦτα φαίνοιτο αὐτός τις αὐτῷ [ταῦτα] παρασκευάσει, ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος τοσοῦτοι πλεονεκτῇσι τῶν ἐνδεεστέρων βίου ὥς πεινήσας τῶν ἡδίστων σίτων τεύξεται καὶ διψήσας τῶν ἡδίστων ποτῶν ἀπολαύσεται καὶ δεηθεὶς ἀναπαύσεως <ἦ> ἥδιστον ἀναπαύσεται. [7.5.82] ὧν ἕκκα φημι χρῆναι νῦν ἐπιταθῆναι ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀνδραγαθίαν, ὅπως τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἦ ἄριστον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀπολαύσωμεν καὶ ὅπως τοῦ πάντων χαλεπωτάτου ἁπείροι γενώμεθα. οὐ γὰρ τὸ μὴ λαβεῖν τάγαθὰ οὕτω χαλεπὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λαβόντα στερηθῆναι λυπηρόν. [7.5.83] ἐννοήσατε δὲ κάκεῖνο τίνα πρόφασιν ἔχοντες ἂν προσιοίμεθα κακίονες ἢ πρόσθεν γενέσθαι. πότερον ὅτι ἄρχομεν; ἀλλ' οὐ δήπου τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν ἀρχομένων πονηρότερον προσήκει εἶναι. ἀλλ' ὅτι εὐδαιμονέστεροι δοκοῦμεν νῦν ἢ πρότερον εἶναι; ἔπειτα τῇ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φήσει τις τὴν κακίαν [ἐπι]πρέπειν; ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐπεὶ κεκτήμεθα δούλους, τούτους κολάσομεν, ἦν πονηροὶ ὦσι; [7.5.84] καὶ τί προσήκει αὐτὸν ὄντα πονηρὸν πονηρίας ἕνεκα ἢ βλακειᾶς ἄλλους κολάζειν; ἐννοεῖτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι τρέφειν μὲν παρεσκεύασμεθα πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἰκῶν φύλακας καὶ τῶν σωμάτων· αἰσχρὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴη, εἰ δι' ἄλλους μὲν δορυφόρους τῆς σωτηρίας οἰησόμεθα χρῆναι τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς οὐ δορυφορήσομεν; καὶ μὴν εὖ γε δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη φυλακὴ τοιαύτη οἷα αὐτόν τινα καλὸν κάγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν· τοῦτο γὰρ δεῖ συμπαρομαρτεῖν· τῷ δ' ἀρετῆς ἐρήμῳ οὐδὲ ἄλλο καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδὲν προσήκει. [7.5.85] τί οὖν φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀσκεῖν καὶ ποῦ τὴν μελέτην ποιῆσθαι; οὐδὲν καινόν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἐρῶ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀρχείοις οἱ ὁμότιμοι διάγουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμᾶς φημι χρῆναι ἐνθάδε ὄντας τοὺς ὁμοτίμους πάντα ἅπερ κάκεῖ ἐπιτηδεύειν, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε ἐμὲ ὀρῶντας κατανοεῖν παρόντας εἰ ἐπιμελόμενος ὧν δεῖ διάξω, ἐγὼ τε ὑμᾶς κατανοῶν θεάσομαι, καὶ οὖς ἂν ὀρῶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τάγαθὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντας, τούτους τιμῆσω. [7.5.86]

καὶ τοὺς παῖδας δέ, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν γίνωνται, ἐνθάδε παιδεύωμεν· αὐτοί
τε γὰρ βελτίονες ἐσόμεθα, βουλόμενοι τοῖς παισὶν ὥς βέλτιστα
παραδείγματα ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχειν, οἳ τε παῖδες οὐδ' ἂν εἰ
βούλοιντο ῥαιδίως πονηροὶ γένοιντο, αἰσχρὸν μὲν μηδὲν μήτε
ὀρῶντες μήτε ἀκούοντες, ἐν δὲ καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι
διημερεύοντες.

Βιβλίον η'

[8.1.1] Κῦρος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν· ἀνέστη δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ Χρυσάντας καὶ εἶπεν ὧδε. Ἀλλὰ πολλάκις μὲν δῆ, ὦ ἄηδρες, καὶ ἄλλοτε κατενόησα ὅτι ἄρχων ἀγαθὸς οὐδὲν διαφέρει πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ· οἱ τε γὰρ πατέρες προνοοῦσι τῶν παιδῶν ὅπως μήποτε αὐτοὺς τὰγαθὰ ἐπιλείψει, Κῦρός τέ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν συμβουλεύειν ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐδαιμονοῦντες διατελοῖμεν· ὁ δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἐνδεέστερον ἢ ὡς ἐχρῆν δηλῶσαι, τοῦτο ἐγὼ πειράσομαι τοὺς μὴ εἰδότας διδάξαι. [8.1.2] ἐννοήσατε γὰρ δὴ τίς ἂν πόλις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἀλοίη· τίς δ' ἂν φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλαχθείη· ποῖον δ' ἂν ἀπειθούντων στρατεύμα νίκης τύχοι· πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἡττῶντο ἄνθρωποι ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνται ἰδία ἕκαστος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι· τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν τελεσθείη ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρείττοσι· ποῖαι δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οἰκήσειαν ἢ ποῖοι οἴκοι σωθείσιν· πῶς δ' ἂν νῆες ὅποι δεῖ ἀφίκοιντο· [8.1.3] ἡμεῖς δὲ ἂ νῦν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἔδει παρεγινόμεθα, ἄθροοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐπόμενοι ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ' ἐπιταχέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τὰγαθὰ, οὕτως εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἂ δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν. [8.1.4] καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ ἡμῶν ἦρχον μὲν οὐδενός, ἦρχοντο δέ· νῦν δὲ κατεσκευάσθε οὕτω πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὥστε ἄρχετε οἱ μὲν πλειόνων, οἱ δὲ μειόνων. ὥσπερ τοίνυν αὐτοὶ ἀξιώσετε ἄρχειν τῶν ὑφ' ὑμῖν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ πειθόμεθα οἷς ἂν ἡμᾶς καθήκηι. τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρειν δεῖ τῶν δούλων ὅσον οἱ μὲν δοῦλοι ἄκοντες τοῖς δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσιν, ἡμᾶς δ', εἴπερ ἀξιοῦμεν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι, ἐκόντας δεῖ ποιεῖν ὁ πλείστου ἄξιον φαίνεται εἶναι. εὐρήσετε δ', ἔφη, καὶ ἔνθα ἄνευ μοναρχίας πόλις οἰκεῖται, τὴν μάλιστα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐθέλουσαν πείθεσθαι ταύτην ἥκιστα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπακούειν. [8.1.5] παρῶμέν τε οὖν, ὥσπερ Κῦρος κελεύει, ἐπὶ τόδε τὸ ἀρχεῖον, ἀσκῶμέν τε δι' ὧν μάλιστα δυνησόμεθα κατέχειν ἂ δεῖ, παρέχωμέν τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι Κύρῳ ὅ τι ἂν δέηι. καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι χρὴ ὅτι οὐ μὴ δυνήσεται Κῦρος εὐρεῖν ὅ τι αὐτῷ μὲν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ

χρήσεται, ἡμῖν δὲ οὐ, ἐπεὶ περ τά γε αὐτὰ ἡμῖν συμφέρει καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ εἰσιν ἡμῖν πολέμιοι.

[8.1.6] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἶπε Χρυσάντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων συνεροῦντες· καὶ ἔδοξε τοὺς ἐντίμους αἰεὶ παρεῖναι ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι ὃ τι ἂν βούληται, ἕως ἀφείη Κῦρος. ὥς δὲ τότε ἔδοξεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ ὄντες, θεραπεύουσι τὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων θύρας. [8.1.7] ὥς δ' ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωται Κῦρος καταστησάμενος εἰς τὸ διαφυλάττειν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Πέρσαις τὴν ἀρχήν, ταῦτα καὶ οἱ μετ' ἐκεῖνον βασιλεῖς νόμιμα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι ποιοῦντες. [8.1.8] οὕτω δ' ἔχει καὶ ταῦτα ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα· ὅταν μὲν ὁ ἐπιστάτης βελτίων γένηται, καθαρώτερον τὰ νόμιμα πράττεται· ὅταν δὲ χείρων, φαυλότερον. ἐφοίτων μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Κύρου οἱ ἔντιμοι σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς, συνδόξαν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν συγκαταστρεψαμένων τὴν ἀρχήν.

[8.1.9] Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τᾶλλα καθίστη ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ προσόδων ἀποδεκτῆρες καὶ δαπανημάτων δοτῆρες καὶ ἔργων ἐπιστάται καὶ κτημάτων φύλακες καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν δίαιταν ἐπιτηδείων ἐπιμεληταί· καὶ ἵππων δὲ καὶ κυνῶν ἐπιμελητάς καθίστη οὓς ἐνόμιζε καὶ ταῦτα τὰ βοσκήματα βέλτιστ' ἂν παρέχειν αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι. [8.1.10] οὓς δὲ συμφύλακας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας οἱ ὦιετο χρῆναι ἔχειν, τούτους ὅπως ὥς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται οὐκέτι τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἄλλοις προσέταπεν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐνόμιζε τοῦτο ἔργον εἶναι. ἦιδει γὰρ ὅτι, εἴ τι μάχης ποτὲ δεήσοι, ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ καὶ παραστάτας καὶ ἐπιστάτας ληπτέον εἶη, σὺν οἷσπερ οἱ μέγιστοι κίνδυνοι· καὶ ταξιάρχους δὲ καὶ πεζῶν καὶ ἱππέων ἐγίγνωσκεν ἐκ τούτων καταστατέον εἶναι. [8.1.11] εἰ δὲ δέοι καὶ στρατηγῶν πού ἄνευ αὐτοῦ, ἦιδει ὅτι ἐκ τούτων πεμπτέον εἶη· καὶ πόλεων δὲ καὶ ὄλων ἔθνων φύλαξι καὶ σατράπαις ἦιδει ὅτι τούτων τισὶν εἶη χρηστέον καὶ πρέσβεις γε τούτων τινὰς πεμπτέον, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἡγεῖτο εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἄνευ πολέμου τυγχάνειν ὧν δέοιτο. [8.1.12] μὴ ὄντων μὲν οὖν οἷων δεῖ δι' ὧν αἱ μέγιστα καὶ πλεῖστα πράξεις ἔμελλον εἶναι, κακῶς ἡγεῖτο τὰ αὐτοῦ ἔξειν. εἰ δ' οὗτοι εἶεν οἷους δέοι, πάντα ἐνόμιζε καλῶς ἔσεσθαι. ἐνέδου μὲν οὖν οὕτω γνοὺς εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· ἐνόμιζε δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ αὐτῷ ἄσκησιν εἶναι τῆς ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ ὦιετο οἷόν τε εἶναι μὴ αὐτόν τινα ὄντα οἷον δεῖ ἄλλους παρορμᾶν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔργα. [8.1.13] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα

διενοήθη, ἡγήσατο σχολῆς πρῶτον δεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι δυνήσεσθαι τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν προσόδων ἀμελεῖν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, προνοῶν ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ τελεῖν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο εἰς μεγάλην ἀρχήν· τὸ δ' αὖ πολλῶν κτημάτων ὄντων ἀμφὶ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἔχειν ἦδει ὅτι ἀσχολίαν παρέξοι τῆς τῶν ὅλων σωτηρίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [8.1.14] οὕτω δὴ σκοπῶν, ὅπως ἂν τὰ τε οἰκονομικὰ καλῶς ἔχοι καὶ ἡ σχολὴ γένοιτο, κατενόησέ πως τὴν στρατιωτικὴν σύνταξιν. ὥς γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ δεκάδαρχοι μὲν δεκαδέων ἐπιμέλονται, λοχαγοὶ δὲ δεκαδάρχων, χιλιάρχοι δὲ λοχαγῶν, μυρίαρχοι δὲ χιλιάρχων, καὶ οὕτως οὐδεὶς ἀτημέλητος γίνεταί, οὐδ' ἦν πάνυ πολλαὶ μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ὥσι, καὶ ὅταν ὁ στρατηγὸς βούληται χρήσασθαι τι τῇ στρατιᾷ, ἀρκεῖ ἦν τοῖς μυρίαρχοις παραγγεῖλη· [8.1.15] ὥσπερ οὖν ταῦτ' ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συνεκεφαλαιώσατο τὰς οἰκονομικὰς πράξεις· ὥστε καὶ τῷ Κύρῳ ἐγένετο ὀλίγοις διαλεγόμενῳ μηδὲν τῶν οἰκείων ἀτημελήτως ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἤδη σχολὴν ἦγε πλείω ἢ ἄλλος μιᾶς οἰκίας καὶ μιᾶς νεῶς ἐπιμελούμενος. οὕτω δὴ καταστησάμενος τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐδίδαξε καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει χρῆσθαι.

[8.1.16] Τὴν μὲν δὴ σχολὴν οὕτω κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, ἤρχετο δ' ἐπιστατεῖν τοῦ εἶναι οἷους δεῖ τοὺς κοινῶνας. πρῶτον μὲν ὅποσοι ὄντες ἱκανοὶ ἄλλων ἐργαζομένων τρέφεσθαι μὴ παρῆεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας, τούτους ἐπεζήτει, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν παρόντας οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλῃν οὔτε κακὸν οὔτε αἰσχρὸν οὐδὲν πράττειν καὶ διὰ τὸ παρ' ἄρχοντι εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι ὀρῶντ' ἂν ὅ τι πράττοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν βελτίστων· οἱ δὲ μὴ παρῆεν, τούτους ἡγεῖτο ἢ ἀκρατεῖαι τινὲς ἢ ἀδικαίαι ἢ ἀμελείαι ἀπεῖναι. [8.1.17] τοῦτο οὖν πρῶτον διηγησόμεθα ὥς προσηνάγκαζε τοὺς τοιούτους παρῆναι. τῶν γὰρ παρ' ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἂν τινα λαβεῖν τὰ τοῦ μὴ φοιτῶντος, φάσκοντα λαμβάνειν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπεὶ οὖν τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἦκον ἂν εὐθύς οἱ στερόμενοι ὥς ἡδικημένοι. [8.1.18] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος πολὺν μὲν χρόνον οὐκ ἐσχόλαζε τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὑπακούειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσειεν αὐτῶν, πολὺν χρόνον ἀνεβάλλετο τὴν διαδικασίαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν ἡγεῖτο προσεθίζειν αὐτοὺς θεραπεύειν, ἥττον δὲ ἐχθρῶς ἢ εἰ αὐτὸς κολάζων ἠνάγκαζε παρῆναι. [8.1.19] εἷς μὲν τρόπος διδασκαλίας ἦν αὐτῷ οἰουτος τοῦ παρῆναι· ἄλλος δὲ τὸ τὰ ῥᾶιστα καὶ κερδαλεώτατα τοῖς παροῦσι προστάττειν· ἄλλους δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ποτε τοῖς ἀποῦσι νέμειν· [8.1.20] ὁ δὲ δὴ μέγιστος τρόπος τῆς ἀνάγκης ἦν, εἰ

τούτων μηδέν τις ὑπακούοι, ἀφελόμενος ἂν τοῦτον ἃ ἔχοι ἄλλωι ἐδίδου ὃν ὤιετο [δύνασθαι] ἂν ἐν τῷ δέοντι παρεῖναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐγίγνετο αὐτῷ φίλος χρήσιμος ἀντὶ ἀχρήστου. ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ καὶ [ὁ] νῦν βασιλεύς, ἦν τις ἀπῇ οἷς παρεῖναι καθήκει.

[8.1.21] Τοῖς μὲν δὴ μὴ παροῦσιν οὕτω προσεφέρετο. τοὺς δὲ παρέχοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἐνόμισε μάλιστ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἐπαίρειν, ἐπεὶ περ ἄρχων ἦν αὐτῶν, εἰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν πειρῶιτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων μάλιστα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ.

[8.1.22] αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐδόκει καὶ διὰ τοὺς γραφομένους νόμους βελτίους γιγνομένους ἀνθρώπους· τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμισεν, ὅτι καὶ τάττειν ἱκανός ἐστι καὶ ὁρᾷ τὸν ἀτακτοῦντα καὶ κολάζειν. [8.1.23] οὕτω δὴ γινώσκων πρῶτον μὲν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον ἐκπονοῦντα ἐπεδείκνυνεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἐπεὶ εὐδαιμονέστερος ἦν. καὶ τότε πρῶτον κατεστάθησαν οἱ μάγοι ... ὑμνεῖν τε ἀεὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ θύειν ἂν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οἷς οἱ μάγοι θεοῖς εἶποιεν. [8.1.24] οὕτω δὴ τὰ τότε κατασταθέντα ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρὰ τῷ ἀεὶ ὄντι βασιλεῖ. ταῦτ' οὖν πρῶτον ἐμιμοῦντο αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πέρσαι, νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἔσεσθαι, ἦν θεραπεύωσι τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥσπερ ὁ εὐδαιμονέστατός τε ὢν καὶ ἄρχων· καὶ Κύρῳ δ' ἂν ἡγοῦντο ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἀρέσκειν. [8.1.25] ὁ δὲ Κύρος τὴν τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, λογιζόμενος ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖν αἰρούμενοι μετὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἡσεβηκέναι τι δοκούντων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐλογίζετο ὥς εἰ πάντες οἱ κοινῶνες θεοσεβεῖς εἶεν, ἥττον ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐθέλαιν περὶ τε ἀλλήλους ἀνὸσίον τι ποιεῖν καὶ περὶ ἑαυτόν, εὐεργέτης νομίζων εἶναι τῶν κοινόνων. [8.1.26] ἐμφανίζων δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιεῖτο μηδένα μήτε φίλον ἀδικεῖν μήτε σύμμαχον, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἰσχυρῶς ἀθρῶν, μᾶλλον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὤιετ' ἂν τῶν μὲν αἰσchrῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι, διὰ τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἐθέλαιν πορεύεσθαι. [8.1.27] καὶ αἰδοῦς δ' ἂν ἡγεῖτο μᾶλλον πάντας ἐμπιπλάναι, εἰ αὐτὸς φανερός εἴη πάντας οὕτως αἰδούμενος ὥς μήτ' εἰπεῖν ἂν μήτε ποιῆσαι μηδὲν αἰσchrόν. [8.1.28] ἔτεκμαίρετο δὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔξειν ἐκ τοῦδε. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὓς οὐ φοβοῦνται, μᾶλλον τοὺς αἰδουμένους αἰδοῦνται τῶν ἀναιδῶν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ γυναῖκες δὲ ἅς ἂν αἰδουμένας αἰσθάνωνται, ἀνταιδεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν ὁρῶντες. [8.1.29] τὸ δ' αὖ πείθεσθαι οὕτω μάλιστ' ἂν ὤιετο ἕμμονον εἶναι τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, εἰ τοὺς

ἀπροφασίστως πειθομένους φανερός εἴη μᾶλλον τιμῶν τῶν τὰς
μεγίστας ἀρετὰς καὶ ἐπιπονωτάτας δοκούντων παρέχεσθαι.
γινώσκων δ' οὕτω καὶ ποιῶν διετέλει. [8.1.30] καὶ σωφροσύνην δ'
αὐτοῦ ἐπιδεικνὺς μᾶλλον ἐποίει καὶ ταύτην πάντας ἀσκεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ
ὁρῶσιν, ᾧ μάλιστα ἔξεστιν ὑβρίζειν, τοῦτον σωφρονοῦντα, οὕτω
μᾶλλον οἱ γε ἀσθενέστεροι ἐθέλουσιν οὐδὲν ὑβριστικὸν ποιοῦντες
φανεροὶ εἶναι. [8.1.31] [διήκει δὲ αἰδῶ καὶ σωφροσύνην τῇδε, ὡς τοὺς
μὲν αἰδουμένους τὰ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ αἰσχροῦ φεύγοντας, τοὺς δὲ
σώφρονας καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ.] [8.1.32] καὶ ἐγκράτειαν δὲ οὕτω
μάλιστ' ἂν ὤιετο ἀσκεῖσθαι, εἰ αὐτὸς ἐπιδεικνύοι ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν
παραυτίκα ἡδονῶν ἐλκόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ προπονεῖν
ἐθέλοντα πρῶτον σὺν τῷ καλῷ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν. [8.1.33] τοιγαροῦν
τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις πολλὴν μὲν τῶν χειρόνων
εὐταξίαν, ὑπεικόντων τοῖς ἀμείνοσι, πολλὴν δ' αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν
πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ἐπέγνω δ' ἂν ἐκεῖ οὐδένα οὔτε ὀργιζόμενον
κραυγῇ οὔτε χαίροντα ὑβριστικῶι γέλωτι, ἀλλὰ ἰδὼν ἂν αὐτοὺς
ἡγήσω τῷ ὄντι εἰς κάλλος ζῆν.

[8.1.34] Τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ποιοῦντες καὶ ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ θύραις διῆγον.
τῆς πολεμικῆς δ' ἔνεκα ἀσκήσεως ἐπὶ θήραν ἐξῆγεν οὕπερ ἀσκεῖν
ταῦτα ὤιετο χρῆναι, ταύτην ἡγούμεοος καὶ ὅλως ἀρίστην ἄσκησιν
πολεμικῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἵπικῆς δὲ ἀληθεστάτην. [8.1.35] καὶ γὰρ ἐπόχους
ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις αὕτη μάλιστα ἀποδείκνυσι διὰ τὸ θηρίοις
φεύγουσιν ἐφέπεσθαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐνεργοὺς αὕτη μάλιστα
ἀπεργάζεται διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαμβάνειν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν. [8.1.36]
καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν δὲ καὶ πόνους καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ λιμὸν καὶ
δίψος δύνασθαι φέρειν ἐνταῦθα μάλιστα προσειθίζε τοὺς κοινῶνας.
καὶ νῦν δ' ἔτι βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ βασιλέα ταῦτα ποιοῦντες
διατελοῦσιν. [8.1.37] ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ὤιετο προσήκειν οὐδενὶ ἀρχῆς
ὅστις μὴ βελτίων εἴη τῶν ἀρχομένων καὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις πᾶσι
δῆλον, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως ἀσκῶν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πολὺ μάλιστα αὐτὸς
ἐξεπόνει καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας καὶ [τὰς]
μελέτας. [8.1.38] καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ θήραν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐξῆγεν, ὁπότε μὴ
μένειν ἀνάγκη τις εἴη· αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ ὁπότε ἀνάγκη εἴη, οἴκοι ἐθήρα τὰ
ἐν τοῖς παραδείσοις θηρία τρεφόμενα· καὶ οὗτ' αὐτὸς ποτε πρὶν
ιδρῶσαι δεῖπνον ἡρεῖτο οὔτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις σῖτον ἐνέβαλλε·
συμπαρεκάλει δὲ καὶ εἰς ταύτην τὴν θήραν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
σκηπτούχους. [8.1.39] τοιγαροῦν πολὺ μὲν αὐτὸς διέφερεν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς

καλοῖς ἔργοις, πολὺ δὲ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον, διὰ τὴν αἰὲ μελέτην. παράδειγμα μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἑαυτὸν παρείχετο. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὕστινας μάλιστα ὁρώη τὰ καλὰ διώκοντας, τούτους καὶ δώροις καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἔδραις καὶ πάσαις τιμαῖς ἐγέραιρεν· ὥστε πολλὴν πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν ἐνέβαλλεν ὅπως ἕκαστος ὅτι ἄριστος φανήσοιτο Κύρῳ.

[8.1.40] Καταμαθεῖν δὲ τοῦ Κύρου δοκοῦμεν ὡς οὐ τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐνόμιζε χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν ἀρχομένων διαφέρειν, τῷ βελτίονας αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταγοητεύειν ὥιето χρῆναι αὐτούς. στολὴν τε γοῦν εἴλετο τὴν Μηδικὴν αὐτός τε φορεῖν καὶ τοὺς κοινῶνας ταύτην ἔπεισεν ἐνδύεσθαι· – αὕτη γὰρ αὐτῷ συγκρύπτειν ἐδόκει εἴ τίς τι ἐν τῷ σώματι ἐνδεὲς ἔχοι, καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μεγίστους ἐπιδεικνύναι τοὺς φοροῦντας· [8.1.41] καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματα τοιαῦτα ἔχουσιν ἐν οἷς μάλιστα λαθεῖν ἔστι καὶ ὑποτιθεμένους τι, ὥστε δοκεῖν μείζους εἶναι ἢ εἰσί· – καὶ ὑποχρίεσθαι δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς προσίετο, ὡς εὐοφθαλμότεροι φαίνοντο ἢ εἰσί, καὶ ἐντρίβεσθαι, ὡς εὐχροώτεροι ὁρῶντο ἢ πεφύκασιν. [8.1.42] ἐμελέτησε δὲ καὶ ὡς μὴ πτόντες μηδὲ ἀπομυττόμενοι φανεροὶ εἶεν, μηδὲ μεταστρεφόμενοι ἐπὶ θεᾶν μηδενός, ὡς οὐδὲν θαυμάζοντες. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ὥιето φέρειν τι εἰς τὸ δυσκαταφρονητοτέρους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

[8.1.43] Οὕς μὲν δὴ ἄρχειν ὥιето χρῆναι, δι' ἑαυτοῦ οὕτῳ κατεσκεύασε καὶ μελέτῃ καὶ τῷ σεμνῶς προεστάναι αὐτῶν· οὕς δ' αὖ κατεσκεύαζεν εἰς τὸ δουλεύειν, τούτους οὕτε μελετᾶν τῶν ἐλευθερίων πόνων οὐδένα παρῶρμα οὐθ' ὅπλα κεκτῆσθαι ἐπέτρεπεν· ἐπεμελεῖτο δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἄσιτοι μήτε ἄποτοί ποτε ἔσονται ἐλευθερίων ἔνεκα μελετημάτων. [8.1.44] καὶ γὰρ ὁπότε ἐλαύνονεν τὰ θηρία τοῖς ἵππεῦσιν εἰς τὰ πεδία, φέρεσθαι σῆτον εἰς θήραν τούτοις ἐπέτρεπε, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων οὐδενί· καὶ ὁπότε πορεία εἴη, ἦγεν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα ὥσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια. καὶ ὁπότε δὲ ὥρα εἴη ἀρίστου, ἀνέμενεν αὐτοὺς ἔστ' ἐμφάγοιεν τι, ὡς μὴ βουλιμιῶιεν· ὥστε καὶ οὗτοι αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄριστοι πατέρα ἐκάλουν, ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο αὐτῶν ὅπως ἀναμφιλόγως αἰὲ ἀνδράποδα διατελοῖεν.

[8.1.45] Τῇ μὲν δὴ ὅλῃ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ οὕτῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν κατεσκεύαζεν. αὐτῷ δὲ ὅτι μὲν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν καταστραφέντων κίνδυνος εἴη παθεῖν τι ἰσχυρῶς ἐθάρρει· καὶ γὰρ ἀνάλκιδας ἡγεῖτο εἶναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀσυντάκτους ὄντας ἐώρα, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐδ'

ἐπλησίαζε τούτων οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας. [8.1.46] οὗς δὲ κρατίστους τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ὦπλισμένους καὶ ἀθρόους ὄντας ἐώρα – καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἦδαι ἱππέων ἡγεμόνας ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πεζῶν· πολλοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φρονήματα ἔχοντας ἡισθάνετο ὡς ἱκανοὺς ὄντας ἄρχειν· καὶ τοῖς φύλαξι δὲ αὐτοῦ οὗτοι μάλιστα ἐπλησίαζον, καὶ αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ τούτων πολλοὶ πολλάκις συνεμίγνυσαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἦν, ὅ τι καὶ χρῆσθαι ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς – ὑπὸ τούτων οὖν καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αὐτὸν μάλιστα παθεῖν τι κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους. [8.1.47] σκοπῶν οὖν ὅπως ἂν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀκίνδυνα γένοιτο, τὸ μὲν περιελέσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ἀπολέμους ποιῆσαι ἀπεδοκίμασε, καὶ ἄδικον ἡγούμενος καὶ κατάλυσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ταύτην νομίζων· τὸ δ' αὖ μὴ προσίεσθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ ἀπιστοῦντα φανερὸν εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἡγήσατο πολέμου· [8.1.48] ἐν δὲ ἀντὶ πάντων τούτων ἔγνω καὶ κράτιστον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κάλλιστον, εἰ δύναται ποιῆσαι τοὺς κρατίστους ἑαυτῷ μᾶλλον φίλους ἢ ἀλλήλοις. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἐλθεῖν, τοῦτο πειρασόμεθα διηγῆσασθαι.

[8.2.1] Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ διὰ παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου φιланθρωπίαν τῆς ψυχῆς ὡς ἐδύνατο μάλιστα ἐνεφάνιζεν, ἡγούμενος, ὥσπερ οὐ ῥαϊδίον ἐστὶ φιλεῖν τοὺς μισεῖν δοκοῦντας οὐδ' εὐνοεῖν τοῖς κακόνοις, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς γνωσθέντας ὡς φιλοῦσι καὶ εὐνοοῦσιν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μισεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φιλεῖσθαι ἡγουμένων. [8.2.2] ἕως μὲν οὖν χρήμασιν ἀδυνατώτερος ἦν εὐεργετεῖν, τῷ τε προνοεῖν τῶν συνόντων καὶ τῷ προπονεῖν καὶ τῷ συνηδόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φανερὸς εἶναι, συναχθόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς, τούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν φιλίαν θηρεύειν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ ὥστε χρήμασιν εὐεργετεῖν, δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γινῶναι πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτημα ἀνθρώποις πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δαπάνης ἐπιχαριτώτερον ἢ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν μετάδοσις. [8.2.3] τοῦτο δ' οὕτω νομίσας πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν συνέταξεν ὅπως οἷς αὐτὸς σιτοῖτο σίτοις, τούτοις ὅμοια ἀεὶ παρατίθοιτο αὐτῷ ἱκανὰ παμπόλλοις ἀνθρώποις· ὅσα δὲ παρατεθείη, ταῦτα πάντα, πλην οἷς αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ σύνδειπνοι χρῆσαιντο, διεδίδου οἷς δὴ βούλοιο τῶν φίλων μνήμην ἐνδείκνυσθαι ἢ φιλοφροσύνην. διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τούτοις οὗς ἀγασθείη ἢ ἐν φυλακαῖς ἢ ἐν θεραπειαῖς ἢ ἐν αἰστισινοῦν πράξεσιν, ἐνσημαινόμενος τοῦτο, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν λανθάνοιεν χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι. [8.2.4] ἐτίμα δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὅποτε

τινὰ ἐπαινέσειε· καὶ τὸν πάντα δὲ σῖτον τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν ἐπετίθετο, οἰόμενος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς κυσὶν ἐμποιεῖν τινα καὶ τοῦτο εὖνοιαν. εἰ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι τινα βούλοιτο τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ πολλῶν, καὶ τούτοις ἔπεμπεν ἀπὸ τραπέζης· καὶ νῦν γὰρ ἔτι οἷς ἂν ὀρώσι πεμπόμενα ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης, τούτους πάντες μᾶλλον θεραπεύουσι, νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἐντίμους εἶναι καὶ ἱκανοὺς διαπράττειν, ἣν τι δέονται. ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὐ τούτων μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν εἰρημένων εὐφραίνει τὰ πεμπόμενα παρὰ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἡδονῇ πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλέως τραπέζης. [8.2.5] καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι οὕτως ἔχειν οὐδὲν τι θαυμαστόν· ὥσπερ γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι διαφερόντως ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσιν ἐξειργασμέναι εἰσὶ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ παρὰ βασιλεῖ σῖτα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐκπεπύονται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν οἱ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσι κλίνην, θύραν, ἄροτρον, τράπεζαν, πολλάκις δ' ὁ αὐτὸς οὔτος καὶ οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ἦν καὶ οὕτως ἱκανοὺς αὐτὸν τρέφειν ἐργοδότας λαμβάνη· ἀδύνατον οὖν πολλὰ τεχνώμενον ἄνθρωπον πάντα καλῶς ποιεῖν. ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις πόλεσι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἐκάστου δεῖσθαι ἄρκει καὶ μία ἐκάστωι τέχνῃ εἰς τὸ τρέφεσθαι· πολλάκις δὲ οὐδ' ὅλη μία· ἀλλ' ὑποδήματα ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν ἀνδρεία, ὁ δὲ γυναικεῖα· ἔστι δὲ ἔνθα καὶ ὑποδήματα ὁ μὲν νευρορραφῶν μόνον τρέφεται, ὁ δὲ σχίζων, ὁ δὲ χιτῶνας μόνον συντέμνων, ὁ δὲ γε τούτων οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἀλλὰ συντιθεῖς ταῦτα. ἀνάγκη οὖν τὸν ἐν βραχυτάτῳ διατρίβοντα ἔργῳ τούτῳ καὶ ἄριστα δὴ ἡναγκάσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. [8.2.6] τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο πέπονθε καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ὧι μὲν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς κλίνην στρώννυσι, τράπεζαν κοσμεῖ, μάττει, ὅψα ἄλλοτε ἄλλοῖα ποιεῖ, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι τούτῳ, ὥς ἂν ἕκαστον προχωρῇ, οὕτως ἔχειν· ὅπου δὲ ἱκανὸν ἔργον ἐνὶ ἔψειν κρέα, ἄλλῳ ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ δὲ ἰχθὺν ἔψειν, ἄλλῳ ὀπτᾶν, ἄλλῳ ἄρτους ποιεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τούτους παντοδαπούς, ἀλλ' ἄρκει ἂν ἐν εἶδος εὐδοκιμοῦν παρέχει, ἀνάγκη οἶμαι καὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιούμενα πολὺ διαφερόντως ἐξειργάσθαι ἕκαστον.

[8.2.7] Τῇ μὲν δὴ τῶν σίτων θεραπείαι τοιαῦτα ποιῶν πολὺ ὑπερεβάλλετο πάντας· ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι θεραπεύων πολὺ ἐκράτει, τοῦτο νῦν διηγῆσομαι· πολὺ γὰρ διενεγκὼν ἀνθρώπων τῷ πλείστας προσόδους λαμβάνειν πολὺ ἔτι πλέον δίνεγκε τῷ πλείστα ἀνθρώπων δωρεῖσθαι. κατήρξε μὲν οὖν τούτου Κῦρος, διαμένει δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἢ πολυδωρία. [8.2.8] τίνι μὲν γὰρ φίλοι

πλουσιώτεροι ὄντες φανεροὶ ἢ Περσῶν βασιλεῖς· τίς δὲ κοσμῶν κάλλιον φαίνεται στολαῖς τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἢ βασιλεὺς; τίνος δὲ δῶρα γινώσκεται ὥσπερ ἕνια τῶν βασιλέως, ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ ἵπποι χρυσοχάλινοι; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔξεστιν ἐκεῖ ταῦτα ἔχειν ὧι ἂν μὴ βασιλεὺς δῶι. [8.2.9] τίς δ' ἄλλος λέγεται δώρων μεγέθει ποιεῖν αἰρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ἀντ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ ἀντὶ πατέρων καὶ ἀντὶ παίδων; τίς δ' ἄλλος ἐδυνάσθη ἐχθροὺς ἀπέχοντας πολλῶν μηνῶν ὁδὸν τιμωρεῖσθαι ὡς Περσῶν βασιλεὺς; τίς δ' ἄλλος καταστρεψάμενος ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων πατὴρ καλούμενος ἀπέθανεν ἢ Κῦρος; τοῦτο δὲ τοῦνομα δῆλον ὅτι εὐεργετοῦντός ἐστι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφαιρουμένου. [8.2.10] κατεμάθομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ τοὺς βασιλέως καλουμένους ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὰ βασιλέως ὧτα οὐκ ἄλλως ἐκτήσατο ἢ τῷ δωρεῖσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶν· τοὺς γὰρ ἀπαγγέιλαντας ὅσα καιρὸς αὐτῷ εἶη πεπύσθαι μεγάλως εὐεργετῶν πολλοὺς ἐποίησεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὠτακουστέιν καὶ διοπτρεύειν τί ἂν ἀγγέιλαντες ὠφελήσειαν βασιλέα. [8.2.11] ἐκ τούτου δὴ καὶ πολλοὶ ἐνομίσθησαν βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ πολλὰ ὧτα. εἰ δέ τις οἶεται ἕνα αἰρετὸν εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἶεται· ὀλίγα γὰρ εἰς γ' ἂν ἴδοι καὶ εἰς ἀκούσειε· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖν ἂν παρηγγελμένον εἶη, εἰ ἐνὶ τούτῳ προστεταγμένον εἶη· πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄντινα γινώσκοιεν ὀφθαλμὸν ὄντα, τοῦτον ἂν εἶδεῖεν ὅτι φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ. ἀλλ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φάσκοντος ἀκούσαι τι ἢ ἰδεῖν ἄξιον ἐπιμελείας παντός βασιλεὺς ἀκούει. [8.2.12] οὕτω δὴ πολλὰ μὲν βασιλέως ὧτα, πολλοὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοὶ νομίζονται· καὶ φοβοῦνται πανταχοῦ λέγειν τὰ μὴ σύμφορα βασιλεῖ, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ ἀκούοντος, καὶ ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ σύμφορα, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ παρόντος. οὐκ οὖν ὅπως μνησθῆναι ἂν τις ἐτόλμησε πρὸς τινά περὶ Κύρου φλαυρόν τι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ὡς βασιλέως τοῖς ἀεὶ παροῦσιν οὕτως ἕκαστος διέκειτο. τὸ δὲ οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι μεγάλα ἤθελεν ἀντὶ μικρῶν εὐεργετεῖν.

[8.2.13] Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ μεγέθει δώρων ὑπερβάλλειν πλουσιώτατον ὄντα οὐ θαυμαστόν· τὸ δὲ τῇ θεραπείᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ τῶν φίλων βασιλεύοντα περιγίγνεσθαι, τοῦτο ἀξιολογώτερον. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν λέγεται κατάδηλος εἶναι μηδενὶ ἂν οὕτως αἰσχυνθεὶς ἡττώμενος ὡς φίλων θεραπείᾳ. [8.2.14] καὶ λόγος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπομνημονεύεται ὡς λέγοι παραπλήσια ἔργα εἶναι νομέως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ· τὸν τε γὰρ νομέα χρῆναι ἔφη εὐδαίμονα τὰ κτήνη ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι

αὐτοῖς, ἥ δὴ προβάτων εὐδαιμονία, τόν τε βασιλέα ὡσαύτως εὐδαίμονας πόλεις καὶ ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲν οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἴπερ ταύτην εἶχε τὴν γνώμην, τὸ φιλονίκως ἔχειν πάντων ἀνθρώπων θεραπείαι περιγίγνεσθαι. [8.2.15] καλὸν δ' ἐπίδειγμα καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται Κῦρος ἐπιδεῖξαι Κροΐσῳ, ὅτε ἐνουθέτει αὐτὸν ὡς διὰ τὸ πολλὰ διδόναι πένης ἔσοιτο, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ θησαυροὺς χρυσοῦ πλείστους ἐνί γε ἀνδρὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καταθέσθαι. [8.2.16] καὶ τὸν Κῦρον λέγεται ἐρέσθαι· Καὶ πόσα ἂν ἤδη οἶμι μοι χρήματα εἶναι, εἰ συνέλεγον χρυσίον ὥσπερ σὺ κελεύεις ἐξ ὅτου ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ εἰμι; καὶ τὸν Κροΐσον εἰπεῖν πολὺν τινα ἀριθμόν. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον πρὸς ταῦτα, Ἄγε δῆ, φάναι, ὦ Κροΐσε, σύμπεμψον ἄνδρα σὺν Ὑστάσπαι τουτωῖ ὅτῳ σὺ πιστεύεις μάλιστα. σὺ δέ, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, ἔφη, περιελθὼν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους λέγε αὐτοῖς ὅτι δέομαι χρυσοῦ πρὸς πρᾶξιν τινα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ ὄντι προσδέομαι· καὶ κέλευε αὐτοὺς ὅποσα ἂν ἕκαστος δύνηται πορίσαι μοι χρήματα γράψαντας καὶ κατασημνημένους δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Κροΐσου θεράπωντι φέρειν. [8.2.17] ταῦτα δὲ ὅσα ἔλεγε καὶ γράψας καὶ σημηνάμενος ἐδίδου τῷ Ὑστάσπαι φέρειν πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ἐνέγραψε δὲ πρὸς πάντας καὶ Ὑστάσπαν ὡς φίλον αὐτοῦ δέχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθε καὶ ἤνεγκεν ὁ Κροΐσου θεράπων τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ δὴ Ὑστάσπας εἶπεν· Ὡ Κῦρε βασιλεῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ ἤδη χρή ὡς πλουσίῳ χρῆσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ ἔχων πάρειμι δῶρα διὰ τὰ σὰ γράμματα. [8.2.18] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Εἷς μὲν τοίνυν καὶ οὗτος ἤδη θησαυρὸς ἡμῖν, ὦ Κροΐσε· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταθεῶ καὶ λογίσαι πόσα ἐστὶν ἔτοιμα χρήματα, ἣν τι δέωμαι χρῆσθαι. λέγεται δὲ λογιζόμενος ὁ Κροΐσος πολλαπλάσια εὑρεῖν ἢ ἔφη Κύρῳ ἂν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἤδη, εἰ συνέλεγεν. [8.2.19] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο φανερὸν ἐγένετο, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος· Ὅρᾱις, φάναι, ὦ Κροΐσε, ὡς εἰσὶ καὶ ἐμοὶ θησαυροί; ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν κελεύεις με παρ' ἐμοὶ αὐτοὺς συλλέγοντα φθονεῖσθαι τε δι' αὐτοὺς καὶ μισεῖσθαι, καὶ φύλακας αὐτοῖς ἐφιστάντα μισθοφόρους τούτοις πιστεύειν· ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς φίλους πλουσίους ποιῶν τούτους μοι νομίζω θησαυροὺς καὶ φύλακας ἅμα ἐμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν πιστοτέρους εἶναι ἢ εἰ φρουροὺς μισθοφόρους ἐπεστησάμην. [8.2.20] καὶ ἄλλο δέ σοι ἐρῶ· ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ Κροΐσε, ὃ μὲν οἱ θεοὶ δόντες εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησαν ὁμοίως πάντας πένητας, τούτου μὲν οὐδ' αὐτὸς δύναμαι περιγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰμὶ ἄπληστος καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι χρημάτων· [8.2.21] τῇδὲ γε μέντοι διαφέρειν μοι δοκῶ τῶν πλείστων ὅτι οἱ μὲν

ἐπειδὴ τῶν ἀρκούντων περιττὰ κτήσονται, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν κατορύττουσι, τὰ δὲ κατασέπουσι, τὰ δὲ ἀριθμοῦντες καὶ μετροῦντες καὶ ιστάντες καὶ διαψύχοντες καὶ φυλάττοντες πράγματα ἔχουσι, καὶ ὁμῶς ἔνδον ἔχοντες τοσαῦτα οὔτε ἐσθίουσι πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, διαρραγεῖν γὰρ ἂν, οὔτ' ἀμφιέννυνται πλείω ἢ δύνανται φέρειν, ἀποπνιγεῖν γὰρ ἂν, ἀλλὰ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα πράγματα ἔχουσιν· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπηρετῶ μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ὀρέγομαι ἀεὶ πλειόνων· [8.2.22] ἐπειδὴ δὲ κτήσωμαι, ἃ ἂν ἴδω περίττα ὄντα τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀρκούντων, τούτοις τάς τ' ἐνδεΐας τῶν φίλων ἐξακοῦμαι καὶ πλουτίζων καὶ εὐεργετῶν ἀνθρώπους εὖνοιαν ἐξ αὐτῶν κτῶμαι καὶ φιλίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων καρποῦμαι ἀσφάλειαν καὶ εὐκλειαν· ἃ οὔτε κατασέπεται οὔτε ὑπερληροῦντα λυμίνεται, ἀλλὰ ἡ εὐκλεία ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων ᾖ, τοσοῦτω καὶ μείζων καὶ καλλίων καὶ κουφοτέρα φέρειν γίνεται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοὺς φέροντας αὐτὴν κουφοτέρους παρέχεται. [8.2.23] ὅπως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εἰδήσῃς, ἔφη, ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐγὼ οὐ τοὺς πλεῖστα ἔχοντας καὶ φυλάττοντας πλεῖστα εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἡγοῦμαι· οἱ γὰρ τὰ τεῖχη φυλάττοντες οὕτως ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἴησαν· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι φυλάττουσιν· ἀλλ' ὅς ἂν κτᾶσθαι τε πλεῖστα δύνηται σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ χρῆσθαι πλείστοις σὺν τῷ καλῷ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ εὐδαιμονέστατον νομίζω [καὶ τὰ χρήματα]. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὥσπερ ἔλεγε καὶ πράττων.

[8.2.24] Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατανοήσας τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅτι ἦν μὲν ὑγιαίνοντες διατελῶσι, παρασκευάζονται ὅπως ἔξουσι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν τῶν ὑγιαίνόντων δίαιταν· ὅπως δὲ ἦν ἀσθενήσωσι τὰ σύμφορα παρέσται, τούτου οὐ πάνυ ἐπιμελομένους ἑώρα· ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα ἐκπονῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰατροὺς τε τοὺς ἀρίστους συνεκομίσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ τελεῖν ἐθέλειν καὶ ὅποσα ἢ ὄργανα χρήσιμα ἔφη τις ἂν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι ἢ φάρμακα ἢ σῖτα ἢ ποτά, οὐδὲν τούτων ὃ τι οὐχὶ παρασκευάσας ἐθησαύριζε παρ' αὐτῷ. [8.2.25] καὶ ὁπότε δὲ τις ἀσθενήσῃ τῶν θεραπεύεσθαι ἐπικαιρίων, ἐπεσκόπει καὶ παρεῖχε πάντα ὅτου ἔδει. καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς δὲ χάριν ἡίδει, ὁπότε τις ἰάσαιτό τινα τῶν παρ' ἐκείνου λαμβάνων.

[8.2.26] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐμηχανᾶτο πρὸς τὸ πρωτεύειν παρ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἑαυτὸν φιλεῖσθαι. ὣν δὲ προηγόρευε τε ἀγῶνας καὶ ἄθλα προυτίθει, φιλονικίας ἐμποιεῖν βουλόμενος περὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ταῦτα τῷ μὲν Κύρῳ ἔπαινον

παρεῖχεν ὅτι ἐπεμέλετο ὅπως ἀσκοῖτο ἡ ἀρετή· τοῖς μέντοι ἀρίστοις οἱ ἀγῶνες οὗτοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἔριδας καὶ φιλονικίας ἐνέβαλλον. [8.2.27] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὥσπερ νόμον κατεστήσατο ὁ Κῦρος, ὅσα διακρίσεως δέοιτο εἴτε δίκηι εἴτε ἀγωνίσματι, τοὺς δεομένους διακρίσεως συντρέχειν τοῖς κριταῖς. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι ἐστοχάζοντο μὲν οἱ ἀνταγωνιζόμενοί τι ἀμφοτέροι τῶν κρατίστων καὶ τῶν μάλιστα φίλων κριτῶν· ὁ δὲ μὴ νικῶν τοῖς μὲν νικῶσιν ἐφθόνει, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἑαυτὸν κρίνοντας ἐμίσει· ὁ δ' αὖ νικῶν τῷ δικαίῳ προσεποιεῖτο νικᾶν, ὥστε χάριν οὐδενὶ ἡγεῖτο ὀφείλειν. [8.2.28] καὶ οἱ πρωτεύειν δὲ βουλόμενοι φιλαίαι παρὰ Κύρῳ, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι ἐν πόλεσι, καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιφθόνως πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶχον, ὥσθ' οἱ πλείονες ἐκποδῶν ἐβούλοντο ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον γενέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ συνέπραξαν ἂν τι ἀλλήλοις ἀγαθόν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δεδήλωται ὡς ἐμηχανᾶτο τοὺς κρατίστους αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πάντας φιλεῖν ἢ ἀλλήλους.

[8.3.1] Νῦν δὲ ἤδη διηγησόμεθα ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐξήλασε Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐξελάσεως ἡ σεμνότης ἡμῖν δοκεῖ μία τῶν τεχνῶν εἶναι τῶν μεμηχανημένων τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πρὸ τῆς ἐξελάσεως εἰσκαλέσας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας Περσῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων διέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὰς Μηδικὰς στολάς· καὶ τότε πρῶτον Πέρσαι Μηδικὴν στολὴν ἐνέδυσαν· διαδιδούς τε ἅμα τάδε ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐλάσαι βούλοιο εἰς τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξηρημένα καὶ θῦσαι μετ' ἐκείνων. [8.3.2] πάρεστε οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας κοσμηθέντες ταῖς στολαῖς ταύταις πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν, καὶ καθίστασθε ὡς ἂν ὑμῖν Φεραύλας ὁ Πέρσης ἐξαγγεῖλῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐπειδὰν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ἡγῶμαι, ἔπεσθε ἐν τῇ ῥηθείσῃ χώρᾳ. ἦν δ' ἄρα τινὶ δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἄλλῃ κάλλιον εἶναι ἢ ὡς ἂν νῦν ἐλαύνωμεν, ἐπειδὰν πάλιν ἔλθωμεν, διδασκέτω με· ὅπῃ γὰρ ἂν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον ὑμῖν δοκῇ εἶναι, ταύτῃ ἕκαστα δεῖ καταστήσασθαι. [8.3.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις διέδωκε τὰς καλλίστας στολάς, ἐξέφερε δὴ καὶ ἄλλας Μηδικὰς στολάς, παμπόλλας γὰρ παρεσκευάσατο, οὐδὲν φειδόμενος οὔτε προφυρίδων οὔτε ὀρφνίνων οὔτε φοινικίδων οὔτε καρυκίνων ἱματίων· νείμας δὲ τούτων τὸ μέρος ἐκάστωι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τούτους κοσμεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, ὥσπερ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κοσμῶ. [8.3.4] καὶ τις τῶν παρόντων ἐπήρετο αὐτόν· Σὺ δέ, ὦ Κύρε, ἔφη, πότε κοσμήσῃ; ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Οὐ γὰρ νῦν, ἔφη, δοκῶ ὑμῖν αὐτὸς κοσμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς κοσμῶν; ἀμέλει, ἔφη, ἦν

δύνωμαι ὑμᾶς τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅποιαν ἂν ἔχων στολὴν τυγχάνω, ἐν ταύτῃ καλὸς φανοῦμαι. [8.3.5] οὕτω δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπελθόντες μεταπεμπόμενοι τοὺς φίλους ἐκόσμουσαν ταῖς στολαῖς. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος νομίζων Φεραύλαν τὸν ἐκ τᾶν δημοτῶν καὶ συνετὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ εὐτακτον καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀμελῆ, ὅς ποτε καὶ περὶ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἕκαστον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν συνεῖπε, τοῦτον δὴ καλέσας συνεβουλευέτο αὐτῷ πῶς ἂν τοῖς μὲν εὖνοις κάλλιστα ἰδεῖν ποιοῖτο τὴν ἐξέλασιν, τοῖς δὲ δυσμενέσι φοβερῶτατα. [8.3.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ σκοποῦντοιν αὐτοῖν ταῦτ᾽ ἀνέδοξεν, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Φεραύλαν ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως ἂν οὕτω γένηται αὖριον ἢ ἐξέλασις ὥσπερ ἔδοξε καλῶς ἔχειν. Εἴρηκα δέ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ πάντας πείθεσθαι σοι περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐξελάσει τάξεως· ὅπως δ' ἂν ἥδιον παραγγέλλοντός σου ἀκούωσι, φέρε λαβών, ἔφη, χιτῶνας μὲν τουτουσί τοῖς τῶν δορυφόρων ἡγεμόσι, κασᾶς δὲ τούσδε τοὺς ἐφιππίους τοῖς τῶν ἱππέων ἡγεμόσι δός, καὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἄλλους τούσδε χιτῶνας. [8.3.7] ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔφερε λαβών· οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνες ἐπεὶ ἴδοιεν αὐτόν, ἔλεγον· Μέγας δὴ σύγε, ὦ Φεραύλα, ὁπότε γε καὶ ἡμῖν τάξεις ἃ ἂν δέῃ ποιεῖν. Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐ μόνον γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συσκευοφορήσω· νῦν γοῦν φέρω τῷδε δύο κασᾶ, τὸν μὲν σοί, τὸν δὲ ἄλλω· σὺ μέντοι τούτων λαβὲ ὁπότερον βούλει. [8.3.8] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ὁ μὲν λαμβάνων τὸν κασᾶν τοῦ μὲν φθόνου ἐπελέληστο, εὐθὺς δὲ συνεβουλευέτο αὐτῷ ὁπότερον λαμβάνοι· ὁ δὲ συμβουλευσας ἂν ὁπότερος βελτίων εἴη καὶ εἰπών· Ἦν μου κατηγορήσης ὅτι αἵρεσίν σοι ἔδωκα, εἰς αὐθις ὅταν διακονῶ, ἐτέρωι χρήσῃ μοι διακόνωι· ὁ μὲν δὴ Φεραύλας οὕτω διαδούς ἦ ἐτάχθη εὐθὺς ἐπεμελεῖτο τῶν εἰς τὴν ἐξέλασιν ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἕκαστα ἔξοι.

[8.3.9] Ἦνίκα δ' ἡ ὑστεραία ἦκε, καθαρὰ μὲν ἦν πάντα πρὸ ἡμέρας, στοῖχοι δὲ εἰστήκεσαν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἴστανται ἦι ἂν βασιλεὺς μέλλῃ ἐλαύνειν· ὧν ἐντὸς οὐδενὶ ἔστιν εἰσιέναι τῶν μὴ τετιμημένων· μαστιγοφόροι δὲ καθέστασαν, οἱ ἔπαιον εἴ τις ἐνοχλοίῃ. ἔστασαν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τῶν δορυφόρων εἰς τετρακισχίλιους ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν εἰς τέτταρας, δισχιλίοι δ' ἐκατέρωθεν τῶν πυλῶν. [8.3.10] καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρήσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι διεύρουσιν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ βασιλεὺς. ἔστασαν δὲ Πέρσαι μὲν ἐκ δεξιᾶς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς τῆς

ὁδοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ὡσαύτως τὰ ἡμίσεα ἐκατέρωθεν. [8.3.11] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεπετάννυντο αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου πύλαι, πρῶτον μὲν ἦγοντο τῷ Δ11 ταῦροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο· πολὺ γὰρ οἶονται Πέρσαι χρῆναι τοῖς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μᾶλλον τεχνίταις χρῆσθαι ἢ περὶ ἄλλα. [8.3.12] μετὰ δὲ τοὺς βοῦς ἵπποι ἦγοντο θῦμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ· μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐξήγετο ἄρμα λευκὸν χρυσόζυγον ἐστεμμένον Διὸς ἱερόν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἡλίου ἄρμα λευκόν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐστεμμένον ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλο τρίτον ἄρμα ἐξήγετο, φοινικίσι καταπεπταμένοι οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ πῦρ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐσχάρας μεγάλης ἄνδρες εἶποντο φέροντες. [8.3.13] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἤδη αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν προφαίνεται ὁ Κῦρος ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀρθὴν ἔχων τὴν τιάραν καὶ χιτῶνα πορφυροῦν μεσόλευκον [ἄλλωι δ' οὐκ ἔξεστι μεσόλευκον ἔχειν], καὶ περὶ τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἀναξυρίδας ὑσγινοβαφεῖς, καὶ κἀνδυν ὀλοπόρφυρον. εἶχε δὲ καὶ διάδημα περὶ τῇ τιάρᾳ· καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σημεῖον εἶχον, καὶ νῦν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἔχουσι. [8.3.14] τὰς δὲ χεῖρας ἔξω τῶν χειρίδων εἶχε. παρωχεῖτο δὲ αὐτῷ ἡνίοχος μέγας μὲν, μείων δ' ἐκείνου εἶτε καὶ τῷ ὄντι εἶτε καὶ ὅπως οὖν· μείζων δ' ἐφάνη πολὺ Κῦρος. ἰδόντες δὲ πάντες προσεκύνησαν, εἶτε καὶ ἄρξαι τινὲς κεκελευσμένοι εἶτε καὶ ἐκπλαγέντες τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῷ δόξαι μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν φανῆναι τὸν Κῦρον. πρόσθεν δὲ Περσῶν οὐδεὶς Κῦρον προσεκύνει. [8.3.15] ἐπεὶ δὲ προΐηι τὸ τοῦ Κύρου ἄρμα, προηγούντο μὲν οἱ τετρακισχίλιοι δορυφόροι, παρείποντο δὲ οἱ δισχίλιοι ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος· ἐφείποντο δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σκηπτοῦχοι ἐφ' ἵππων κεκοσμημένοι σὺν τοῖς παλτοῖς ἀμφὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. [8.3.16] οἱ δ' αὖ τῷ Κύρῳ τρεφόμενοι ἵπποι παρήγοντο χρυσοχάλινοι, ῥαβδωτοῖς ἱματίοις καταπεπταμένοι, ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δισχίλιοι ξυστοφόροι· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἵππεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι μύριοι, εἰς ἑκατὸν πανταχῇ τεταγμένοι· ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Χρυσάντας· [8.3.17] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις μύριοι ἄλλοι Περσῶν ἵππεῖς τεταγμένοι ὡσαύτως, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ὑστάσπας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοι μύριοι ὡσαύτως, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Δατάμας· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοι, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Γαδάτας· [8.3.18] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Μῆδοι ἵππεῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Ἀρμένιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ὑρκάνιοι, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Καδούσιοι, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Σάκαι· μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἵππεας ἄρματα ἐπὶ τεττάρων τετάγμένα, ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάτας Πέρσης.

[8.3.19] Πορευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ πάμπολλοι ἄνθρωποι παρείποντο ἔξω τῶν σημείων, δεόμενοι Κύρου ἄλλος ἄλλης πράξεως. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν σκηπτούχων τινάς, οἱ παρείποντο αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα τοῦ διαγγέλλειν, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τις τι αὐτοῦ δέοιτο, διδάσκειν τῶν ἱπάρχων τινὰ ὃ τι τις βούλοιο, ἐκείνους δ' ἔφη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπιόντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο τίνι ἕκαστος προσίει. [8.3.20] ὁ δὲ Κῦρος οὖς ἐβούλετο μάλιστα θεραπεύεσθαι τῶν φίλων ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τούτους πέμπων τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς οὕτως· Ἦν τις ὑμᾶς διδάσκητι τι τούτων τῶν παρεπομένων, ὃς μὲν ἂν μὴδὲν δοκῇ ὑμῖν λέγειν, μὴ προσέχετε αὐτῷ τὸν νοῦν· ὃς δ' ἂν δικαίων δεῖσθαι δοκῇ, εἰσαγγέλλετε πρὸς ἐμέ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι διαπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς. [8.3.21] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι, ἐπεὶ καλέσειεν, ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντες ὑπήκουον, συναυξόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενοι ὅτι σφόδρα πείθοντο· Δαΐφέρνης δέ τις ἦν σολικότερος ἄνθρωπος τῷ τρόπῳ, ὃς ᾔετο, εἰ μὴ ταχὺ ὑπακούοι, ἐλευθερώτερος ἂν φαίνεσθαι. [8.3.22] αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο, πρὶν προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διαλεχθῆναι αὐτῷ ὑποπέμψας τινὰ τῶν σκηπτούχων εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔτι δέοιτο· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἐκάλει. [8.3.23] ὥς δ' ὁ ὕστερον κληθεὶς αὐτοῦ πρότερος αὐτῷ προσήλασεν, ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἵππον αὐτῷ ἔδωκε τῶν παρεπομένων καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῶν σκηπτούχων τινὰ συναπαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ὅποι κελεύσειε. τοῖς δὲ ἰδοῦσιν ἐντιμόν τι τοῦτο ἔδοξεν εἶναι, καὶ πολὺ πλείονες ἐκ τούτου αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευον ἀνθρώπων.

[8.3.24] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τὰ τεμένη, ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ταύρους· ἔπειτα τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ ὠλοκαύτησαν τοὺς ἵππους· ἔπειτα Γῇ σφάζαντες ὥς ἐξηγήσαντο οἱ μάγοι ἐποίησαν· ἔπειτα δὲ ἥρωσι τοῖς Συρίαν ἔχουσι. [8.3.25] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλοῦ ὄντος τοῦ χωρίου ἔδειξε τέρμα ὥς ἐπὶ πέντε σταδίων [χωρίου], καὶ εἶπε κατὰ φύλα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐνταῦθα ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἵππους. σὺν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Πέρσiais αὐτὸς ἤλασε καὶ ἐνίκα πολὺ· μάλιστα γὰρ ἐμεμελήκει αὐτῷ ἱπικῆς· Μήδων δὲ Ἀρτάβαζος ἐνίκα· Κῦρος γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν ἵππον ἐδεδώκει· τοῦ δρόμου. Σύρων δὲ τῶν ἀποστάτων Γαδάτας· Ἀρμενίων δὲ Τιγράνης· Ὑρκανίων δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἱπάρχου· Σακῶν δὲ ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ ἀπέλιπεν ἄρα τῷ ἵππῳ τοὺς ἄλλους ἵππους

ἐγγὺς τῷ ἡμίσει [8.3.26] ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται ὁ Κῦρος ἐρέσθαι τὸν νεανίσκον εἰ δέξαιτ' ἂν βασιλείαν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἵππου. τὸν δ' ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι Βασιλείαν μὲν οὐκ ἂν δεξαίμην, χάριν δὲ ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ καταθέσθαι δεξαίμην ἂν. [8.3.27] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε· Καὶ μὴ ἐγὼ δεῖξάι σοι θέλω ἔνθα κἂν μύων βάληις, οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοις ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. Πάντως τοίνυν, ὁ Σάκας ἔφη, δεῖξόν μοι· ὡς βαλῶ γε ταύτη τῇ βῶλῳ, ἔφη ἀνελόμενος. [8.3.28] καὶ ὁ μὲν Κῦρος δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ ὅπου ἦσαν πλεῖστοι τῶν φίλων· ὁ δὲ καταμύων ἦσι τῇ βῶλῳ καὶ παρελαύνοντος Φεραύλα τυγχάνει· ἔτυχε γὰρ ὁ Φεραύλας παραγγέλλων τι τακτὸς παρὰ τοῦ Κύρου· βληθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲ μετεστράφη, ἀλλ' ὦιχετο ἐφ' ὅπερ ἐτάχθη. [8.3.29] ἀναβλέψας δὲ ὁ Σάκας ἐρωτᾷ τίνος ἔτυχεν. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδενὸς τῶν παρόντων. Ἀλλ' οὐ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, τῶν γε ἀπόντων. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, σύγε ἐκείνου τοῦ παρὰ τὰ ἄρματα ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντος τὸν ἵππον. Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐδὲ μεταστρέφεται; [8.3.30] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἔφη· Μαινόμενος γὰρ τίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικεν. ἀκούσας ὁ νεανίσκος ὦιχετο σκεπτόμενος τίς εἴη· καὶ εὕρισκει τὸν Φεραύλαν γῆς τε κατὰπλεων τὸ γένειον καὶ αἵματος· ἐρρὺν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς ῥινὸς βληθέντι. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθεν, ἤρετο αὐτὸν εἰ βληθείη. [8.3.31] ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὡς ὀρᾷς. Δίδωμι τοίνυν σοι, ἔφη, τοῦτον τὸν ἵππον. ὁ δ' ἐπήρετο· Ἀντὶ τοῦ; ἐκ τούτου δὴ διηγείτο ὁ Σάκας τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τέλος εἶπε· Καὶ οἶμαί γε οὐχ ἡμαρτηκέναι ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ. [8.3.32] καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ πλουσιωτέρωι μὲν ἂν, εἰ ἐσωφρόνεις, ἢ ἐμοὶ ἐδίδους· νῦν δὲ κἀγὼ δέξομαι. ἐπεύχομαι δέ, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς, οἵπερ με ἐποίησαν βληθῆναι ὑπὸ σοῦ, δοῦναί μοι ποιῆσαι μὴ μεταμέλειν σοι τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς. καὶ νῦν μὲν, ἔφη, ἀπέλα, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμὸν ἵππον· αὐθις δ' ἐγὼ παρέσομαι πρὸς σέ. οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω διηλλάζαντο. Καδουσίῳ δὲ ἐνίκᾳ Ῥαθίνης. [8.3.33] ἀφίει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄρματα καθ' ἕκαστον· τοῖς δὲ νικῶσι πᾶσιν ἐδίδου βοῦς τε, ὅπως ἂν θύσαντες ἐστιῶντο, καὶ ἐκπώματα. τὸν μὲν οὖν βοῦν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ νικητήριον· τῶν δ' ἐκπωμάτων τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος Φεραύλα ἔδωκεν, ὅτι καλῶς ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλείου ἔλασιν διατάξαι. [8.3.34] οὕτω δὴ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεῖσα ἡ βασιλέως ἔλασις οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένει, πλὴν τὰ ἱερὰ ἄπεστιν, ὅταν μὴ θύῃ. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα τέλος εἶχεν, ἀφικνοῦνται πάλιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐσκήνησαν, οἷς μὲν ἐδόθησαν οἰκίαι, κατ' οἰκίας, οἷς δὲ μὴ, ἐν τάξει.

[8.3.35] Καλέσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας τὸν Σάκαν τὸν δόντα τὸν ἵππον

ἐξένιζε, καὶ τᾶλλά τε παρεῖχεν ἔκπλεω, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, τὰ ἐκπώματα αὐτῷ ἃ ἔλαβε παρὰ Κύρου ἐμπιμπλὰς προύπινε καὶ ἐδωρεῖτο. [8.3.36] καὶ ὁ Σάκας ὁρῶν πολλὴν μὲν καὶ καλὴν στρωμνὴν, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ καλὴν κατασκευὴν, καὶ οἰκέτας δὲ πολλοὺς, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Φεραύλα, ἥ καὶ οἴκοι τῶν πλουσίων ἦσθα; [8.3.37] καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπε· Ποίων πλουσίων; τῶν μὲν οὖν σαφῶς ἀποχειροβιώτων. ἐμὲ γάρ τοι ὁ πατὴρ τὴν μὲν τῶν παίδων παιδείαν γλίσχρως αὐτὸς ἐργαζόμενος καὶ τρέφων ἐπαίδευεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μειράκιον ἐγενόμην, οὐ δυνάμενος τρέφειν ἄργόν, εἰς ἀγρὸν ἀπαγαγὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἐργάζεσθαι. [8.3.38] ἔνθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἀντέτρεφον ἐκείνους, ἕως ἔζη, αὐτὸς σκάπτων καὶ σπείρων καὶ μάλα μικρὸν γήϊδιον, οὐ μέντοι πονηρόν γε, ἀλλὰ πάντων δικαιοτάτον· ὅ τι γὰρ λάβοι σπέρμα, καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀπεδίδου αὐτὸ τε καὶ τόκον οὐδὲν τι πολύν· ἤδη δὲ ποτε ὑπὸ γενναιότητος καὶ διπλάσια ἀπέδωκεν ὣν ἔλαβεν. οἴκοι μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε οὕτως ἔζων· νῦν δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἃ ὁραῖς Κῦρός μοι ἔδωκε. [8.3.39] καὶ ὁ Σάκας εἶπεν· ὦ μακάριε σὺ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐκ πένητος πλούσιος γεγένησαι· πολὺ γὰρ οἶομαί σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἥδιον πλουτεῖν ὅτι πεινῆσας χρημάτων ἐπλούτησας. [8.3.40] καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν· Ἡ γὰρ οὕτως, ὦ Σάκα, ὑπολαμβάνεις ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν τοσοῦτοι ἥδιον ζῶ ὅσσοι πλείω κέκτημαι; οὐκ οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐσθίω μὲν καὶ πίνω καὶ καθεύδω οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν νῦν ἥδιον ἢ τότε ὅτε πένης ἦν· ὅτι δὲ ταῦτα πολλὰ ἐστί, τοσοῦτον κερδαίνω, πλείω μὲν φυλάττειν δεῖ, πλείω δὲ ἄλλοις διανέμειν, πλειόνων δὲ ἐπιμελούμενον πράγματα ἔχειν. [8.3.41] νῦν γὰρ δὴ ἐμὲ πολλοὶ μὲν οἰκέται σῖτον αἰτοῦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ πιεῖν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἱμάτια· οἱ δὲ ἰατρῶν δέονται· ἥκει δέ τις ἢ τῶν προβάτων λελυκωμένα φέρων ἢ τῶν βοῶν κατακεκρημνισμένα ἢ νόσον φάσκων ἐμπεπτωκέναι τοῖς κτήνεσιν· ὥστε μοι δοκῶ, ἔφη ὁ Φεραύλας, νῦν διὰ τὸ πολλὰ ἔχειν πλείω λυπεῖσθαι ἢ πρόσθεν διὰ τὸ ὀλίγα ἔχειν. [8.3.42] καὶ ὁ Σάκας, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὅταν σῶα ἦι, πολλὰ ὁρῶν πολλαπλάσια ἐμοῦ εὐφραίνει. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας εἶπεν· Οὗτοι, ὦ Σάκα, οὕτως ἡδὺ ἐστί τὸ ἔχειν χρήματα ὥς ἀνιαρὸν τὸ ἀποβάλλειν. γνώσῃ δ' ὅτι ἐγὼ ἀληθῆ λέγω· τῶν μὲν γὰρ πλουτούντων οὐδεὶς ἀναγκάζεται ὑφ' ἡδονῆς ἀγρυπνεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀποβαλλόντων τι ὄψει οὐδένα δυνάμενον καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης. [8.3.43] Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σάκας, οὐδέ γε τῶν λαμβανόντων τι νυστάζοντα οὐδένα ἂν ἴδοις ὑφ' ἡδονῆς. [8.3.44] Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις· εἰ γάρ τοι τὸ ἔχειν οὕτως ὥσπερ τὸ λαμβάνειν

ἡδὺ ἦν, πολὺ ἂν διέφερον εὐδαιμονίαι οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν πενήτων. καὶ ἀνάγκη δέ τοί ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σάκα, τὸν πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν καὶ εἰς θεοὺς καὶ εἰς φίλους καὶ εἰς ξένους· ὅστις οὖν ἰσχυρῶς χρήμασιν ἡδεταί, εὖ ἴσθι τοῦτον καὶ δαπανῶντα ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιάσθαι. [8.3.45] <Ναὶ> μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σάκας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ τούτων εἰμί, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐδαιμονίαν τοῦτο νομίζω τὸ πολλὰ ἔχοντα πολλὰ καὶ δαπανᾶν. [8.3.46] Τί οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὁ Φεραύλας, οὐχὶ σύγε αὐτίκα μάλα εὐδαίμων ἐγένου καὶ ἐμὲ εὐδαίμονα ἐποίησας; λαβὼν γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα πάντα κέκτησο, καὶ χρῶ ὅπως βούλει αὐτοῖς· ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ξένον τρέφε, καὶ ἔτι εὐτελέστερον ἢ ξένον· ἀρκέσει γάρ μοι ὅ τι ἂν καὶ σὺ ἔχῃς τούτων μετέχειν. [8.3.47] Παίζεις, ἔφη ὁ Σάκας. καὶ ὁ Φεραύλας ὁμόσας εἶπεν ἥ μὴν σπουδῇ λέγειν. καὶ ἄλλα γέ σοι, ὦ Σάκα, προσδιαπράζομαι παρὰ Κύρου, μήτε θύρας τὰς Κύρου θεραπεύειν μήτε στρατεύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν πλουτῶν οἴκοι μένε· ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσω καὶ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· καὶ ἐάν τι ἀγαθὸν προσλαμβάνω διὰ τὴν Κύρου θεραπείαν ἢ καὶ ἀπὸ στρατείας τινός, οἶσω πρὸς σέ, ἵνα ἔτι πλειόνων ἄρχῃς· μόνον, ἔφη, ἐμὲ ἀπόλυσον ταύτης τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ σχολὴν ἄγω ἀπὸ τούτων, [8.3.48] ἐμοὶ τέ σε οἶομαι πολλὰ καὶ Κύρῳ χρήσιμον ἔσσεσθαι. τούτων οὕτω ρηθέντων ταῦτα συνέθεντο καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο εὐδαίμων γεγενῆσθαι, ὅτι πολλῶν ἦρχε χρημάτων· ὁ δ' αὖ ἐνόμιζε μακαριώτατος εἶναι, ὅτι ἐπίτροπον ἔξοι σχολὴν παρέχοντα πράττειν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ ἡδὺ ᾗ.

[8.3.49] Ἦν δὲ τοῦ Φεραύλα ὁ τρόπος φιλέταιρός τε καὶ θεραπεύειν οὐδὲν ἡδὺ αὐτῷ οὕτως ἐδόκει εἶναι οὐδ' ὠφέλιμον ὥς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ γὰρ βέλτιστον πάντων τῶν ζώων ἡγεῖτο ἄνθρωπον εἶναι καὶ εὐχαριστότατον, ὅτι ἑώρα τοὺς τε ἐπαινουμένους ὑπὸ τινος ἀντεπαινοῦντας τούτους προθύμως τοῖς τε χαριζομένοις πειρωμένους ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, καὶ οὓς γνοῖεν εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας, τούτοις ἀντ' εὖ νοοῦντας, καὶ οὓς εἰδεῖεν φιλοῦντας αὐτούς, τούτους μισεῖν οὐ δυναμένους, καὶ γονέας δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντιθεραπεύειν πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐθέλοντας καὶ ζῶντας καὶ τελευτήσαντας· τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα ζῶια καὶ ἀχαριστότερα καὶ ἀγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπων ἐγίγνωσκεν εἶναι. [8.3.50] οὕτω δὴ ὁ τε Φεραύλας ὑπερήδετο ὅτι ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ἐπιμελείας ἀμφὶ τοὺς φίλους ἔχειν, ὁ τε Σάκας ὅτι ἔμελλε πολλὰ ἔχων πολλοῖς χρήσεσθαι. ἐφίλει δὲ ὁ μὲν Σάκας τὸν Φεραύλαν, ὅτι προσέφερε τι ἀεὶ· ὁ δὲ τὸν Σάκαν,

ὅτι παραλαμβάνειν πάντα ἤθελε καὶ αἰεὶ πλειόνων ἐπιμελούμενος οὐδὲν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ ἀσχολίαν παρεῖχε. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτω διήγον.

[8.4.1] Θύσας δὲ καὶ ὁ Κῦρος νικητήρια ἐστιῶν ἐκάλεσε τῶν φίλων οἱ μάλιστα αὐτὸν αὔξειν τε βουλόμενοι φανεροὶ ἦσαν καὶ τιμῶντες εὐνοϊκώτατα. συνεκάλεσε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀρτάβαζον τὸν Μῆδον καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμένιον καὶ τὸν Ὑρκάνιον ἵπαρχον καὶ Γωβρύαν.

[8.4.2] Γαδάτας δὲ τῶν σκηπτούχων ἦρχεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἦ ἐκεῖνος διεκόσμησεν ἢ πᾶσα ἔνδον δίαίτα καθειστήκει· καὶ ὅποτε μὲν συνδειπνοῖέν τινες, οὐδ' ἐκάθιζε Γαδάτας, ἀλλ' ἐπεμελεῖτο· ὅποτε δὲ αὐτοὶ εἶεν, καὶ συνεδείπνει· ἦδετο γὰρ αὐτῷ συνών· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτων πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου, διὰ δὲ Κῦρον καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων. [8.4.3] ὥς δ' ἦλθον οἱ κληθέντες ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οὐχ ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον ἐκάθιζεν, ἀλλ' ὃν μὲν μάλιστα ἐτίμα, παρὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα, ὥς εὐεπιβουλευτοτέρας ταύτης οὔσης ἢ τῆς δεξιᾶς, τὸν δὲ δευτέρον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πάλιν παρὰ τὴν ἀριστεράν, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον παρὰ τὴν δεξιάν· καὶ ἦν πλέονες ὥσιν, ὡσαύτως. [8.4.4] σαφηνίζεσθαι δὲ ὥς ἕκαστον ἐτίμα <διὰ> τοῦτο ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, ὅτι ὅπου μὲν οἴονται ἄνθρωποι τὸν κρατιστεύοντα μήτε κηρυχθήσεσθαι μήτε ἄθλα λήψεσθαι, δῆλοι εἰσιν ἐνταῦθα οὐ φιλονίκως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντες· ὅπου δὲ μάλιστα πλεονεκτῶν ὁ κράτιστος φαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα προθυμώτατα φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πάντες. [8.4.5] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος δὲ οὕτως ἐσαφηνίζε μὲν τοὺς κρατιστεύοντας παρ' ἑαυτῷ, εὐθύς ἀρξάμενος ἐξ ἔδρας καὶ παραστάσεως. οὐ μέντοι ἀθάνατον τὴν ταχθεῖσαν ἔδραν κατεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ νόμιμον ἐποίησατο καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἔργοις προβῆναι εἰς τὴν τιμωτέραν ἔδραν, καὶ εἴ τις ραϊδιουργοίῃ, ἀναχωρῆσαι εἰς τὴν ἀτιμωτέραν. τὸν δὲ πρωτεύοντα ἐν ἔδραι ἡσυχύνετο μὴ οὐ πλεῖστα καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἐπὶ Κύρου γενόμενα οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμένοντα αἰσθανόμεθα.

[8.4.6] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἐδόκει τῷ Γωβρῷ τὸ μὲν πολλὰ ἕκαστα εἶναι οὐδὲν τι θαυμαστὸν παρ' ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἄρχοντι· τὸ δὲ τὸν Κῦρον οὕτω μεγάλα πράττοντα, εἴ τι ἡδὺ δόξειε λαβεῖν, μηδὲν τούτων μόνον καταδαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔργον ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἐδόμενον τούτου κοινωνεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων φίλων ἔστιν οἷς ἑώρα πέμποντα ταῦτα αὐτὸν οἷς ἡσθεῖς τύχοι· [8.4.7] ὥστε ἐπεὶ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ <λοιπὰ> πολλὰ ὄντα

διεπεπόμφει ὁ Κῦρος ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, εἶπεν ἄρα ὁ Γωβρύας· Ἄλλ', ἐγώ, ὦ Κῦρε, πρόσθεν μὲν ἡγούμην τούτῳ σε πλείστον διαφέρειν ἀνθρώπων τῷ στρατηγικώτατον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ θεοὺς ὁμνυμι ἢ μὴν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν πλεον σε διαφέρειν φιλανθρωπία ἢ στρατηγία. [8.4.8] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐπιδείκνυμαι τὰ ἔργα πολὺ ἥδιον φιλανθρωπίας ἢ στρατηγίας. Πῶς δὴ; ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας. Ὅτι, ἔφη, τὰ μὲν κακῶς ποιοῦντα ἀνθρώπους δεῖ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, τὰ δὲ εὖ. [8.4.9] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπεὶ ὑπέπινον, ἤρετο ὁ Ὑστάσπας τὸν Κῦρον· Ἄρ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, ἀχθεσθείης μοι, εἴ σε ἐροίμην ὁ βούλομαί σου πυθέσθαι; Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, τοῦναντίον τούτου ἀχθοίμην ἂν σοι, εἴ αἰσθοίμην σιωπῶντα ἃ βούλοιο ἐρέσθαι. Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ἥδη πώποτε καλέσαντός σου οὐκ ἦλθον; Εὐφήμει, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ἀλλ' ὑπακούων σχολῇ ὑπήκουσα; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Προσταχθὲν δέ τι ἥδη σοι οὐκ ἔπραξα; Οὐκ αἰτιῶμαι, ἔφη. Ὁ δὲ πράττοιμι, ἔστιν ὁ τι πώποτε οὐ προθύμως ἢ οὐχ ἡδομένως πράττοντά με κατέγνων; Τοῦτο δὴ πάντων ἥκιστα, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. [8.4.10] Τίνος μὴν ἔνεκα, ἔφη, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Κῦρε, Χρυσάνταν ἔγραψας ὥστε εἰς τὴν τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ χώραν ἰδρυθῆναι; Ἥ ἔγω; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Πάντως, ἔφη ὁ Ὑστάσπας. Καὶ σὺ αὖ οὐκ ἀχθήσῃ μοι ἀκούων τάληθῃ; [8.4.11] Ἡσθήσομαι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἣν εἰδῶ ὅτι οὐκ ἀδικοῦμαι. Χρυσάντας τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὗτοσὶ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ κλῆσιν ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν καλεῖσθαι παρῇν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔνεκα· ἔπειτα δὲ οὐ τὸ κελευόμενον μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸς γνοίῃ ἄμεινον εἶναι πεπραγμένον ἡμῖν τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὁπότε δὲ εἰπεῖν τι δέοι εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους, ἃ μὲν ἐμὲ ὤιετο πρέπειν λέγειν ἐμοὶ συνεβούλευεν· ἃ δὲ ἐμὲ αἰσθοίτο βουλόμενον μὲν εἰδέναι τοὺς συμμάχους, αὐτὸν δὲ με αἰσχυρόμενον περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ λέγειν, ταῦτα οὗτος λέγων ὥς ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο· ὥστ' ἓν γε τούτοις τί κωλύει αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἐμοὶ κρεῖττονα εἶναι; καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν αἰεί φησι πάντα τὰ παρόντα ἀρκεῖν, ἐμοὶ δὲ αἰεί φανερός ἐστι σκοπῶν τί ἂν προσγενόμενον ὀνήσειεν, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς ἐμοῖς καλοῖς πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ ἀγάλλεται καὶ ἡδεταί. [8.4.12] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὑστάσπας εἶπε· Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ὦ Κῦρε, ἡδομαί γε ταῦτά σε ἐρωτήσας. Τί μάλιστα; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι κἀγὼ πειράσομαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν· ἓν μόνον, ἔφη, ἀγνοῶ, πῶς ἂν εἶην δῆλος χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· πότερον κροτεῖν δεῖ τῷ χεῖρε ἢ γελᾶν ἢ τί ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπεν· Ὁρχεῖσθαι δεῖ τὸ Περσικόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις μὲν δὴ γέλως ἐγένετο.

[8.4.13] Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ Κῦρος τὸν Γωβρύαν ἐπήρετο· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, νῦν ἂν δοκεῖς ἡδίων τῶνδὲ τῶι τὴν θυγατέρα δοῦναι ἢ ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἡμῖν συνεγένου; Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, κἀγὼ τάληθι λέγω; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς ψεύδους γε οὐδεμία ἐρώτησις δεῖται. Εὖ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἴσθι ὅτι νῦν ἂν πολὺ ἡδίων. Ἦ καὶ ἔχοις ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰπεῖν διότι; [8.4.14] Ἔγωγε. Λέγε δῆ. Ὅτι τότε μὲν ἑώρων τοὺς πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὐθύμως αὐτοὺς φέροντας, νῦν δὲ ὁρῶ αὐτοὺς τάγαθὰ σωφρόνως φέροντας. δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὦ Κῦρε, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι εὐρεῖν ἄνδρα τάγαθὰ καλῶς φέροντα ἢ τὰ κακὰ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβριν τοῖς πολλοῖς, τὰ δὲ σωφροσύνην τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐμποιεῖ. [8.4.15] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἦκουσας, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, Γωβρύου τὸ ῥῆμα; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη· καὶ ἐὰν πολλὰ τοιαῦτά γε λέγῃ, πολὺ μᾶλλον με τῆς θυγατρὸς μνηστῆρα λήψεται ἢ ἐὰν ἐκπώματα πολλὰ μοι ἐπιδεικνύῃ. [8.4.16] Ἦ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας, πολλὰ γέ μοι ἐστί τοιαῦτα συγγεγραμμένα, ὧν ἐγὼ σοι οὐ φθονήσω, ἦν τὴν θυγατέρα μου γυναιῖκα λαμβάνῃς· τὰ δ' ἐκπώματα, ἔφη, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνέχεσθαι μοι φαίνει, οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ Χρυσάνται τουτωῖ δῶ, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ἑδραν σου ὑφήρπασε. [8.4.17] Καὶ μὲν δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ὦ Ὑστάσπα, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ παρόντες, ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγῃτε, ὅταν τις ὑμῶν γαμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ, γνώσεσθε ὅποῖός τις κἀγὼ συνεργὸς ὑμῖν ἔσομαι. [8.4.18] καὶ ὁ Γωβρύας εἶπεν· Ἦν δέ τις ἐκδοῦναι βούλῃται θυγατέρα, πρὸς τίνα δεῖ λέγειν; Πρὸς ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, καὶ τοῦτο· πάνυ γάρ, ἔφη, δεινὸς εἰμι ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. Ποίαν; ἔφη ὁ Χρυσάντας. [8.4.19] Τὸ γνῶναι ὅποῖος ἂν γάμος ἐκάστωι συναρμόσειε. καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη· Λέγε δῆ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν ποίαν τινά μοι γυναιῖκα οἶε συναρμόσειν κάλλιστα. [8.4.20] Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, μικράν· μικρὸς γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶ· εἰ δὲ μεγάλην γαμεῖς, ἦν ποτε βούλῃ αὐτὴν ὀρθὴν φιλῆσαι, προσάλλεσθαι σε δεήσει ὥσπερ τὰ κυνάρια. Τοῦτο μὲν δῆ, ἔφη, ὀρθῶς προνοεῖς· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν ἀλτικὸς εἰμι. [8.4.21] Ἐπειτα δ', ἔφη, σιμὴ ἂν σοι ἰσχυρῶς συμφέροι. Πρὸς τί δῆ αὖ τοῦτο; Ὅτι, ἔφη, σὺ γρυπὸς εἶ· πρὸς οὖν τὴν σιμότητα σάφ' ἴσθι ὅτι ἡ γρυπότης ἄριστ' ἂν προσαρμόσειε. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὡς καὶ τῶι εὖ δεδειπνηκότι ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν ἄδειπνος ἂν συναρμόττοι. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος· τῶν μὲν γὰρ μεστῶν γρυπὴ ἢ γαστήρ γίγνεται, τῶν δὲ ἀδείπνων σιμὴ. [8.4.22] καὶ ὁ Χρυσάντας ἔφη· Ψυχρῶι δ' ἂν, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, βασιλεῖ ἔχοις ἂν εἰπεῖν ποία τις συνοίσει; ἐνταῦθα μὲν δῆ ὁ τε Κῦρος ἐξεγέλασε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμοίως. [8.4.23] γελόντων δὲ ἅμα

εἶπεν ὁ Ὑστάσπας· Πολύ γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα τούτου σε, ὦ Κῦρε, ζηλῶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ. Τίνος; ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος. Ὅτι δύνασαι καὶ ψυχρὸς ὢν γέλωτα παρέχειν. καὶ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπεν· Ἐπειτ' οὐκ ἂν πρίαίό γε παμπόλλου ὥστε σοὶ ταῦτ' εἰρήσθαι, καὶ ἀπαγγελῆναι παρ' ἧ εὐδοκιμεῖν βούλει ὅτι ἀστεῖος εἶ; καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω διεσκώπτετο.

[8.4.24] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τιγράνην μὲν ἐξήνεγκε γυναικεῖον κόσμον, καὶ ἐκέλευσε τῇ γυναικὶ δοῦναι, ὅτι ἀνδρείως συνεστρατεύετο τῷ ἀνδρί, Ἀρταβάζωι δὲ χρυσοῦν ἔκπωμα, τῷ δ' Ὑρκανίωι ἵππον καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐδωρήσατο. Σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ὦ Γωβρύα, δώσω ἄνδρα τῇ θυγατρί. [8.4.25] Οὐκοῦν ἐμέ, ἔφη ὁ Ὑστάσπας, δώσεις, ἵνα καὶ τὰ συγγράμματα λάβω. Ἥ καὶ ἔστι σοι, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, οὐσία ἀξία τῶν τῆς παιδός; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πολλαπλασίων μὲν οὖν χρημάτων. Καὶ ποῦ, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, ἔστι σοι αὕτη ἡ οὐσία; Ἐνταῦθα, ἔφη, ὅπου περ καὶ σὺ κάθησαι φίλος ὢν ἐμοί. Ἀρκεῖ μοι, ἔφη ὁ Γωβρύας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκτείνας τὴν δεξιάν, Δίδου, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε· δέχομαι γάρ. [8.4.26] καὶ ὁ Κῦρος λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ Ὑστάσπου δεξιὰν ἔδωκε τῷ Γωβρύᾳ, ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔδωκε δῶρα τῷ Ὑστάσπαι, ὅπως τῇ παιδί πέμψει· Χρυσάνταν δ' ἐφίλησε προσαγαγόμενος. καὶ ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος εἶπε· Μὰ Δί', [8.4.27] ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, οὐχ ὁμοίου γε χρυσοῦ ἐμοί τε τὸ ἔκπωμα δέδωκας καὶ Χρυσάνται τὸ δῶρον. Ἀλλὰ καὶ σοί, ἔφη, δώσω. ἐπῆρετο ἐκεῖνος, Πότε; Εἰς τριακοστόν, ἔφη, ἔτος. Ὡς ἀναμενοῦντος, ἔφη, καὶ οὐκ ἀποθανομένου οὕτω παρασκευάζου. καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἔληξεν ἡ σκηνή· ἐξανισταμένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐξανέστη καὶ ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ξυμπρούπεμπεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.

[8.4.28] Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς ἐθελουσίους συμμάχους γενομένους ἀπέπεμπεν οἴκαδε ἐκάστους, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐβούλοντο παρ' αὐτῶν· τούτοις δὲ χώραν καὶ οἴκους ἔδωκε, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τῶν καταμεινάντων τότε ἀπόγονοι· πλεῖστοι δ' εἰσὶ Μῆδων καὶ Ὑρκανίων· τοῖς δ' ἀπιούσι δωρησάμενος πολλὰ καὶ ἀμέμπτους ποιησάμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ στρατιώτας ἀπεπέμψατο. [8.4.29] ἐκ τούτου δὲ διέδωκε καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν στρατιώταις τὰ χρήματα ὅσα ἐκ Σάρδεων ἔλαβε· καὶ τοῖς μὲν μυριάρχοις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὑπηρέταις ἐξαίρετα ἐδίδου πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστωι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα διένειμε· καὶ τὸ μέρος ἐκάστωι δούς τῶν μυριάρχων ἐπέτρεπεν αὐτοῖς διανέμειν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις διένειμεν. [8.4.30] ἐδίδοσαν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα χρήματα ἄρχων ἄρχοντας τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ δοκιμάζων·

τὰ δὲ τελευταῖα οἱ ἐξάδαρχοι τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ιδιώτας δοκιμάσαντες πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐκάστωι ἐδίδοσαν· καὶ οὕτω πάντες εἰλήφεσαν τὸ δίκαιον μέρος. [8.4.31] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰλήφεσαν τὰ τότε δοθέντα, οἱ μὲν τινες ἔλεγον περὶ τοῦ Κύρου τοῖαδε· Ἦ που αὐτός γε πολλὰ ἔχει, ὅπου γε καὶ ἡμῶν ἐκάστωι τοσαῦτα δέδωκεν· οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ἔλεγον· Ποῖα πολλὰ ἔχει; οὐχ ὁ Κύρου τρόπος τοιοῦτος οἷος χρηματίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διδοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κτῶμενος ἡδεταί.

[8.4.32] Αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Κῦρος τούτους τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς δόξας τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ συνέλεξε τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους ἅπαντας καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

Ὡ ἄνδρες φίλοι, ἐώρακα μὲν ἤδη ἀνθρώπους οἱ βούλονται δοκεῖν πλεῖω κεκτῆσθαι ἢ ἔχουσιν, ἐλευθεριώτεροι ἂν οἰόμενοι οὕτω φαίνεσθαι· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη, οὗτοι τοῦμπαλιν οὗ βούλονται ἐφέλκεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ πολλὰ δοκοῦντα ἔχειν μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν τῆς οὐσίας φαίνεσθαι ὠφελοῦντα τοὺς φίλους ἀνελευθερίαν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ περιάπτειν. [8.4.33] εἰσὶ δ' αὖ, ἔφη, οἱ λεληθῆναι βούλονται ὅσα ἂν ἔχωσι· πονηροὶ οὖν καὶ οὗτοι τοῖς φίλοις ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ ὄντα πολλάκις δεόμενοι οὐκ ἐπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ φίλοι τοῖς ἐταίροις, ἀλλὰ τητῶνται. [8.4.34] ἀπλουστάτου δέ μοι, ἔφη, δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ τὴν δύναμιν φανεράν ποιήσαντα ἐκ ταύτης ἀγωνίζεσθαι περὶ καλοκάγαθίας. κἀγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, βούλομαι ὑμῖν ὅσα μὲν οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν τῶν ἐμοὶ ὄντων δεῖξαι, ὅσα δὲ μὴ οἷόν τε ἰδεῖν, διηγῆσασθαι. [8.4.35] ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὰ μὲν ἐδείκνυε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ κτήματα· τὰ δὲ κείμενα ὥς μὴ ράιδια εἶναι ἰδεῖν διηγεῖτο· τέλος δ' εἶπεν ὧδε· [8.4.36] Ταῦτα, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἅπαντα δεῖ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐμὰ ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ὑμέτερα· ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτα ἀθροίζω οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτὸς καταδαπανήσω οὐθ' ὅπως αὐτὸς κατατρίψω· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχω τῷ τε ἀεὶ καλόν τι ὑμῶν ποιοῦντι διδόναι καὶ ὅπως, ἣν τις ὑμῶν τινος ἐνδεῖσθαι νομίσει, πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐλθὼν λάβηι οὗ ἂν ἐνδεῆς τυγχάνηι ὢν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐλέχθη.

[8.5.1] Ἦνίκα δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ὥς καὶ ἀποδημεῖν, συνεσκευάζετο τὴν εἰς Πέρσας πορείαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήγγειλεν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνόμισεν ἱκανὰ ἔχειν ὦν ὤιετο δεῆσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀνεξεύγνυε. [8.5.2] διηγησόμεθα δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὥς πολὺς στόλος ὢν εὐτάκτως μὲν κατεσκευάζετο καὶ πάλιν ἀνεσκευάζετο, ταχὺ δὲ κατεχωρίζετο ὅπου δέοι. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν στρατοπεδεύηται βασιλεύς, σκηνὰς μὲν δὴ ἔχοντες πάντες οἱ ἀμφὶ

βασιλέα στρατεύονται καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. [8.5.3] εὐθὺς δὲ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζε Κῦρος, πρὸς ἑω βλέπουσαν ἴστασθαι τὴν σκηνήν· ἔπειτα ἔταξε πρῶτον μὲν πόσον δεῖ ἀπολιπόντας σκηνοῦν τοὺς δορυφόρους τῆς βασιλικῆς σκηνῆς· ἔπειτα σιτοποιοῖς μὲν χώραν ἀπέδειξε τὴν δεξιάν, ὀψοποιοῖς δὲ τὴν ἀριστεράν, ἵπποις δὲ τὴν δεξιάν, ὑποζυγίοις δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν ἀριστεράν· καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ διετέτακτο ὥστε εἰδέναι ἕκαστον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν καὶ μέτρῳ καὶ τόπῳ. [8.5.4] ὅταν δὲ ἀνασκευάζωνται, συντίθησι μὲν ἕκαστος σκευὴ οἷσπερ τέτακται χρῆσθαι, ἀνατίθενται δ' αὖ ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· ὥσθ' ἅμα μὲν πάντες ἔρχονται οἱ σκευαγωγοὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τεταγμένα ἄγειν, ἅμα δὲ πάντες ἀνατιθέασιν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος. οὕτω δὴ ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ μιᾷ τε σκηνῇ καὶ πάσαις ἀνηριῆσθαι. [8.5.5] ὡσαύτως οὕτως ἔχει καὶ περὶ κατασκευῆς. καὶ περὶ τοῦ πεποιῆσθαι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πάντα ἐν καιρῷ ὡσαύτως διατέτακται ἑκάστοις τὰ ποιητέα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς χρόνος ἀρκεῖ ἐνὶ τε μέρει καὶ πᾶσι πεποιῆσθαι. [8.5.6] ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια θεράποντες χώραν εἶχον τὴν προσήκουσαν ἕκαστοι, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ὀπλοφόροι αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει χώραν τε εἶχον τὴν τῇ ὀπλίσει ἑκάστη ἐπιτηδείαν, καὶ ἥιδεσαν ταύτην ὅποια ἦν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμφισβήτητον πάντες κατεχωρίζοντο. [8.5.7] καλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Κῦρος καὶ ἐν οἰκίαι εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα τὴν εὐθημοσύνην· ὅταν γάρ τις τοῦ δέηται, δηλὸν ἐστὶ ὅπου δεῖ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν· πολὺ δ' ἔτι κάλλιον ἐνόμιζε τὴν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν φύλων εὐθημοσύνην εἶναι, ὅσῳ τε ὀξύτεροι οἱ καιροὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ χρήσεων καὶ μείζω τὰ σφάλματα <τὰ> ἀπὸ τῶν ὑστεριζόντων ἐν αὐτοῖς· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐν καιρῷ παραγινομένων πλείστου ἄξια πλεονεκτήματα ἑώρα γινόμενα ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς· διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ ἐπεμέλετο ταύτης τῆς εὐθημοσύνης μάλιστα. [8.5.8] καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ κατετίθετο τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ὡς ταύτης τῆς χώρας ἐχυρωτάτης οὔσης· ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν πιστοτάτους ὥσπερ εἰώθει περὶ ἑαυτὸν εἶχε, τούτων δ' ἐν κύκλῳ ἐχομένους ἵππείας τ' εἶχε καὶ ἄρματηλάτας. [8.5.9] καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐχυρᾶς ἐνόμιζε χώρας δεῖσθαι, ὅτι σὺν οἷς μάχονται ὅπλοις οὐδὲν πρόχειρον ἔχοντες τούτων στρατοπεδεύονται, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου δέονται εἰς τὴν ἐξόπλισιν, εἰ μέλλουσι χρησίμως ἔξειν. [8.5.10] ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἵππέων πελτασταῖς χώρα ἦν· τοξοτῶν δ' αὖ χώρα ἢ πρόσθεν ἦν καὶ ὀπισθεν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἵππέων. [8.5.11] ὀπλίτας δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μεγάλα γέρρα ἔχοντας

κύκλωι πάντων εἶχεν ὥσπερ τεῖχος, ὅπως καὶ εἰ δέοι τι ἐνσκευάζεσθαι τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ μονιμώτατοι πρόσθεν ὄντες παρέχοιεν αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῆ τὴν καθόπλισιν. [8.5.12] ἐκάθευδον δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν τάξει ὥσπερ οἱ ὀπλίται, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τοξόται, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ νυκτῶν, εἰ δέοι τι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ παίειν τὸν εἰς χεῖρας ἰόντα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τοξόται καὶ οἱ ἀκοντισταί, εἴ τινες προσίοιεν, ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἀκοντίζοιεν καὶ τοξεύοιεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν. [8.5.13] εἶχον δὲ καὶ σημεῖα πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς· οἱ δ' ὑπηρεταὶ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ σώφρονες ἴσασι μὲν καὶ τῶν πλείστων τὰς οἰκήσεις, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἐπικαιρίων, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τὰς τε χώρας τὰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἡπίσταντο οἱ Κύρου ὑπηρεταὶ καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐγίνγνωσκον ἅ ἐκάστοις ἦν· ὥστε ὅτου δέοιτο Κῦρος, οὐκ ἐζήτουν, ἀλλὰ τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐφ' ἑκάστον ἔθεον. [8.5.14] καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰλικρινῆ ἕκαστα εἶναι τὰ φύλα πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢν δῆλα καὶ ὁπότε τις εὐτακτοίη καὶ εἴ τις μὴ πράττοι τὸ προσταττόμενον. οὕτω δὴ ἐχόντων ἡγεῖτο, εἴ τις καὶ ἐπίθοιτο νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰς ἐνέδραν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους ἐμπίπτειν. [8.5.15] καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν δὲ εἶναι οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἡγεῖτο εἴ τις ἐκτεῖναι φάλαγγα εὐπόρως δύναιτο ἢ βαθῦναι ἢ ἐκ κέρατος εἰς φάλαγγα καταστήσαι ἢ ἐκ δεξιᾶς ἢ ἀριστερᾶς ἢ ὀπισθεν ἐπιφανέντων πολεμίων ὀρθῶς ἐξελίσσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ διασπᾶν ὁπότε δέοι τακτικὸν ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τὸ τιθέναι γε τὸ μέρος ἕκαστον ὅπου μάλιστα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ ταχύνειν δὲ ὅπου φθάσαι δέοι, πάντα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τακτικοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι καὶ ἐπεμελεῖτο τούτων πάντων ὁμοίως. [8.5.16] καὶ ἐν μὲν ταῖς πορείαις πρὸς τὸ συμπίπτον ἀεὶ διατάττων ἐπορεύετο, ἐν δὲ τῇ στρατοπεδεύσει ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὥσπερ εἴρηται κατεχώριζεν.

[8.5.17] Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι γίνονται κατὰ τὴν Μηδικήν, τρέπεται ὁ Κῦρος πρὸς Κυαξάρην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσπάσαντο ἀλλήλους, πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε τῷ Κυαξάρῃ ὅτι οἶκος αὐτῷ ἐξηρημένος εἴη ἐν Βαβυλῶνι καὶ ἀρχεῖα, ὅπως ἔχη καὶ ὅταν ἐκεῖσε ἔλθῃ εἰς οἰκεῖα κατάγεσθαι· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα δῶρα ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ καλά. [8.5.18] ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης ταῦτα μὲν ἐδέχετο, προσέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα στέφανόν τε χρυσοῦν καὶ ψέλια φέρουσαν καὶ στρεπτὸν καὶ στολὴν Μηδικήν ὡς δυνατόν καλλίστην. [8.5.19] καὶ ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς ἐστεφάνου τὸν Κῦρον, ὁ δὲ Κυαξάρης εἶπε· Δίδωμι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, καὶ αὐτὴν ταύτην γυναῖκα, ἐμὴν οὖσαν θυγατέρα· καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ

πατήρ ἔγημε τὴν τοῦ ἑμοῦ πατρὸς θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς σὺ ἐγένου· αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἣν σὺ πολλάκις παῖς ὢν ὅτε παρ' ἡμῖν ἦσθα ἐτιθηγήσω· καὶ ὁπότε τις ἐρωτώη αὐτὴν τίνι γαμοῖτο, ἔλεγεν ὅτι Κύρῳ· ἐπιδίδωμι δὲ αὐτῇ ἐγὼ καὶ φερνὴν Μηδίαν τὴν πᾶσαν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔστι μοι ἄρρην παῖς γνήσιος. [8.5.20] ὁ μὲν οὕτως εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Κυαξάρη, τό τε γένος ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν παιδα καὶ τὰ δῶρα· βούλομαι δέ, ἔφη, σὺν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ τῆς μητρὸς ταῦτά σοι συναινέσαι. εἶπε μὲν οὖν οὕτως ὁ Κῦρος, ὅμως δὲ τῇ παιδί πάντα ἐδωρήσατο ὅποσα ὤιετο καὶ τῷ Κυαξάρῃ χαριεῖσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας εἰς Πέρσας ἐπορεύετο.

[8.5.21] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Περσῶν ὁρίοις ἐγένετο πορευόμενος, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο στράτευμα αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπορεύετο, ἱερεῖα μὲν ἄγων ὡς πᾶσι Πέρσαις ἱκανὰ θύειν τε καὶ ἐστιᾶσθαι· δῶρα δ' ἤγεν οἷα μὲν ἔπρεπε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλοις, οἷα δ' ἔπρεπεν ἀρχαῖς καὶ γεραιτέροις καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτίμοις πᾶσιν· ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσι Πέρσαις καὶ Περσίσιν ὅσαπερ καὶ νῦν ἐτι δίδωσιν ὅτανπερ ἀφίκηται βασιλεὺς εἰς Πέρσας. [8.5.22] ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνέλεξε Καμβύσης τοὺς γεραιτέρους Περσῶν καὶ τὰς ἀρχάς, οἵπερ τῶν μεγίστων κύριοί εἰσι· παρεκάλεσε δὲ καὶ Κῦρον, καὶ ἔλεξε τοιαύδε.

Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι καὶ σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐγὼ ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν εἰκότως εὖνους εἰμι· ὑμῶν μὲν γὰρ βασιλεύω, σὺ δέ, ὦ Κῦρε, παῖς ἐμὸς εἶ. δίκαιος οὖν εἰμι, ὅσα γινώσκειν δοκῶ ἀγαθὰ ἀμφοτέροις, ταῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον λέγειν. [8.5.23] τὰ μὲν γὰρ παρελθόντα ὑμεῖς μὲν Κῦρον ηὔξήσατε στράτευμα δόντες καὶ ἄρχοντα τούτου αὐτὸν καταστήσαντες, Κῦρος δὲ ἡγούμενος τούτου σὺν θεοῖς εὐκλεεῖς μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐποίησεν, ἐντίμους δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάσῃ· τῶν δὲ συστρατευσαμένων αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀρίστους καὶ πεπλούτικε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς μισθὸν καὶ τροφὴν παρεσκεύακεν· ἱππικὸν δὲ καταστήσας Περσῶν πεποίηκε Πέρσαις καὶ πεδίων εἶναι μετουσίαν. [8.5.24] ἣν μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω γινώσκητε, πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι ἀλλήλοις ἔσεσθε· εἰ δὲ ἡ σύ, ὦ Κῦρε, ἐπαρθεῖς ταῖς παρούσαις τύχαις ἐπιχειρήσεις καὶ Περσῶν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων, ἡ ὑμεῖς, ὦ πολῖται, φθονήσαντες τούτῳ τῆς δυνάμεως καταλύειν πειράσεσθε τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἐμποδὼν ἀλλήλοις πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἔσεσθε. [8.5.25] ὥς οὖν μὴ ταῦτα γίγνηται, ἀλλὰ τὰγαθὰ, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, θύσαντας ὑμᾶς

κοινῇ καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυραμένους συνθέσθαι, σὲ μὲν, ὦ Κῦρε, ἦν τις ἐπιστρατεύηται χώραι Περσίδι ἢ Περσῶν νόμους διασπᾶν πειρᾶται, βοηθήσειν παντὶ σθένει, ὑμᾶς δέ, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἦν τις ἢ ἀρχῆς Κῦρον ἐπιχειρῇ καταπαύειν ἢ ἀφίστασθαι τις τῶν ὑποχειρίων, βοηθήσειν καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ Κύρῳ καθ' ὃ τι ἂν οὗτος ἐπαγγέλλῃ. [8.5.26] καὶ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶ, ἐμὴ γίγνεται ἡ ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλεία· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ τελευτήσω, δῆλον ὅτι Κύρου, ἐὰν ζῇ. καὶ ὅταν μὲν οὗτος ἀφίκηται εἰς Πέρσας, ὁσῶς ἂν ὑμῖν ἔχοι τοῦτον θύειν τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἅπερ νῦν ἐγὼ θύω· ὅταν δ' οὗτος ἔκδημος ᾖ, καλῶς ἂν οἶμαι ὑμῖν ἔχειν εἰ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ὃς ἂν δοκῇ ὑμῖν ἄριστος εἶναι, οὗτος τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀποτελοίῃ. [8.5.27] ταῦτα εἰπόντος Καμβύσου συνέδοξε Κύρῳ τε καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν τέλεσι· καὶ συνθέμενοι ταῦτα τότε καὶ θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένουσι ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους Πέρσαι τε καὶ βασιλεύς. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπήιει ὁ Κῦρος.

[8.5.28] Ὡς δ' ἀπὼν ἐγένετο ἐν Μήδοις, συνδόξαν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ γαμεῖ τὴν Κυαξάρου θυγατέρα, ἧς ἔτι καὶ νῦν λόγος ὡς παγκάλῃς γενομένης. [ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν λογοποιῶν λέγουσιν ὡς τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφὴν ἔγημεν· ἀλλὰ γραῦς ἂν καὶ παντάπασιν ἦν ἡ παῖς.] γήμας δ' εὐθὺς ἔχων ἀνεξεύγνυνεν.

[8.6.1] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἦν, ἐδόκει αὐτῷ σατράπας ἤδη πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἔθνη. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φρουράρχους καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυλακῶν οὐκ ἄλλου ἢ ἐαυτοῦ ἐβούλετο ἀκούειν· ταῦτα δὲ προεωρᾶτο ἐννοῶν ὅπως εἴ τις τῶν σατραπῶν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐξυβρίσειε καὶ ἐπιχειρήσειε μὴ πείθεσθαι, εὐθὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχοι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ. [8.6.2] ταῦτ' οὖν βουλόμενος πρᾶξαι ἔγνω συγκαλέσαι πρῶτον τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους καὶ προειπεῖν, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν ἐφ' οἷς ἴασιν οἱ ἰόντες· ἐνόμιζε γὰρ οὕτω ῥᾷον φέρειν ἂν αὐτούς· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταίῃ τις ἄρχων καὶ αἰσθάνοιτο ταῦτα, χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν αὐτῷ φέρειν, νομίζοντες δι' ἐαυτῶν ἀπιστίαν ταῦτα γενέσθαι. [8.6.3] οὕτω δὲ συλλέξας λέγει αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.

Ἄνδρες φίλοι, εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἐν ταῖς κατεστραμμέναις πόλεσι φρουροὶ καὶ φρούραρχοι, οὓς τότε κατελίπομεν· καὶ τούτοις ἐγὼ προστάξας ἀπῆλθον ἄλλο μὲν μὴδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖν, τὰ δὲ τεῖχῃ διασώζειν. τούτους μὲν οὖν οὐ παύσω τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ καλῶς διαπεφυλάχασιν τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἄλλους δὲ σατράπας πέμψαι μοι δοκεῖ, οἵτινες

ἄρξουσιν τῶν ἐνοικούντων καὶ τὸν δασμὸν λαμβάνοντες τοῖς τε φρουροῖς δώσουσι μισθὸν καὶ ἄλλο τελούσιν ὃ τι ἂν δέη. [8.6.4] δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε μενόντων ὕμῶν, οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ πράγματα παρέχω πέμπων πράζοντάς τι ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, χώρας γενέσθαι καὶ οἴκους ἐκεῖ, ὅπως δασμοφορῇται τε αὐτοῖς δεῦρο, ὅταν τε ἴωσιν ἐκεῖσε, εἰς οἰκεῖα ἔχωσι κατάγεσθαι. [8.6.5] ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἔδωκε πολλοῖς τῶν φίλων κατὰ πάσας τὰς καταστραφείσας πόλεις οἴκους καὶ ὑπηκόους· καὶ νῦν εἰσιν ἔτι τοῖς ἀπογόνους τῶν τότε λαβόντων αἱ χῶραι καταμένουσιν ἄλλαι ἐν ἄλλῃ γῇ· αὐτοὶ δὲ οἰκοῦσιν παρὰ βασιλεῖ. [8.6.6] Δεῖ δέ, ἔφη, τοὺς ἰόντας σατράπας ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς χώρας τοιούτους ἡμᾶς σκοπεῖν οἵτινες ὃ τι ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκάσῃ καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἦι, μεμνήσονται καὶ δεῦρο ἀποπέμπειν, ὥς μετέχωνεν καὶ οἱ ἐνθάδε ὄντες τῶν πανταχοῦ γιγνομένων ἀγαθῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τί που δεινὸν γίγνηται, ἡμῖν ἔσται ἀμυντέον. [8.6.7] ταῦτ' εἰπὼν τότε μὲν ἔπαυσε τὸν λόγον, ἔπειτα δὲ οὖς ἐγίνωσκε τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἰέναι, ἐκλεξάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἐπιτηδειοτάτους εἶναι ἔπεμπε σατράπας εἰς Ἀραβίαν μὲν Μεγάβυζον, εἰς Καππαδοκίαν δὲ Ἀρταβάταν, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην Ἀρτακάμαν, εἰς Λυδίαν δὲ καὶ Ἰωνίαν Χρυσάνταν, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ Ἀδούσιον, ὃνπερ ἡτιοῦντο, εἰς Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ Αἰολίδα Φαρνοῦχον. [8.6.8] Κιλικίας δὲ καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Παφλαγόνων οὐκ ἔπεμψε Πέρσας σατράπας, ὅτι ἐκόντες ἐδόκουν συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα· δασμοὺς μὲντοι συνέταξεν ἀποφέρειν καὶ τούτους. [8.6.9] ὥς δὲ τότε Κῦρος κατεστήσατο, οὕτως ἔτι καὶ νῦν βασιλέως εἰσὶν αἱ ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις φυλακαὶ καὶ οἱ χιλιάρχοι τῶν φυλακῶν ἐκ βασιλέως εἰσὶ καθεστηκότες καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἀπογεγραμμένοι. [8.6.10] προεῖπε δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις σατράπαις, ὅσα αὐτὸν ἐώρων ποιοῦντα, πάντα μιμεῖσθαι· πρῶτον μὲν ἱππέας καθιστάναι ἐκ τῶν συνεπισπομένων Περσῶν καὶ συμμάχων καὶ ἄρματηλάτας· ὅποσοι δ' ἂν γῆν καὶ ἄρχεῖα λάβωσιν, ἀναγκάζειν τούτους ἐπὶ θύρας ἰέναι καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐπιμελουμένους παρέχειν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ σατράπῃ χρῆσθαι, ἦν τι δέηται· παιδεύειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς γιγνομένους παῖδας ἐπὶ θύραις, ὥσπερ παρ' αὐτῶν· ἐξάγειν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν σατράπην τοὺς ἀπὸ θυρῶν καὶ ἀσκεῖν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πολεμικά. [8.6.11] Ὅς δ' ἂν ἐμοί, ἔφη, κατὰ λόγον τῆς δυνάμεως πλείστα μὲν ἄρματα, πλείστους δὲ καὶ ἀρίστους ἱππέας ἀποδεικνύῃ, τοῦτον ἐγὼ ὥς ἀγαθὸν

σύμμαχον καὶ ὡς ἀγαθὸν συμφύλακα Πέρσαις τε καὶ ἐμοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τιμήσω. ἔστων δὲ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ ἔδραις ὥσπερ παρ' ἐμοὶ οἱ ἄριστοι προτετιμημένοι, καὶ τράπεζα, ὥσπερ ἡ ἐμή, τρέφουσα μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὡς φίλοις μεταδιδόναι ἱκανῶς κεκοσμημένη καὶ ὡς τὸν καλὸν τι ποιοῦντα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιγεραίρειν. [8.6.12] κτᾶσθε δὲ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ θηρία τρέφετε, καὶ μήτε αὐτοὶ ποτε ἄνευ πόνου σῖτον παραθῆσθε μήτε ἵπποις ἀγυμνάστοις χόρτον ἐμβάλλετε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην ἐγὼ εἰς ὧν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ἀρετῇ τὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἀγαθὰ διασώζουσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐμὲ μὲν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ ὑμῖν ἐπίκουρον εἶναι, ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁμοίως αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας σὺν ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεθ' ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ συμμάχους εἶναι. [8.6.13] βουλοίμην δ' ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ τοῦτο κατανοῆσαι ὅτι τούτων ὧν νῦν ὑμῖν παρακελεύομαι οὐδὲν τοῖς δούλοις προστάττω· ἃ δ' ὑμᾶς φημι χρῆναι ποιεῖν, ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς πειρῶμαι πάντα πράττειν. ὥσπερ δ' ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς κελεύω ἐμὲ μιμεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀρχὰς ἔχοντας μιμεῖσθαι ὑμᾶς διδάσκετε.

[8.6.14] Ταῦτα δὲ Κύρου οὕτω τότε τάξαντος ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαι μὲν αἱ ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ φυλακαὶ ὁμοίως φυλάττονται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ τῶν ἀρχόντων θύραι ὁμοίως θεραπεύονται, πάντες δὲ οἱ οἴκοι καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ μικροὶ ὁμοίως οἰκοῦνται, πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν παρόντων ἔδραις προτετίμηνται, πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ πορεῖαι συντεταγμέναι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἰσὶ, πᾶσαι δὲ συγκεφαλαιοῦνται πολιτικαὶ πράξεις εἰς ὀλίγους ἐπιστάτας.

[8.6.15] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὡς χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐκάστους καὶ δύνανιν ἐκάστῳ προσθεὶς ἐξέπεμπε, καὶ προεῖπεν ἅπασιν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς νέωτα στρατείας ἐσομένης καὶ ἀποδείξεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀρμάτων.

[8.6.16] Κατενοήσαμεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι Κύρου κατάρξαντος, ὥς φασι, καὶ νῦν ἔτι διαμένει· ἐφοδεύει γὰρ ἀνὴρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν αἰὶ στράτευμα ἔχων, ὡς ἦν μὲν τις τῶν σατραπῶν ἐπικουρίας δέηται, ἐπικουρῇ, ἣν δὲ τις ὑβρίζει, σωφρονίζει, ἣν δὲ τις ἢ δασμῶν φορᾶς ἀμελῇ ἢ τῶν ἐνοίκων φυλακῆς ἢ ὅπως ἡ χώρα ἐνεργὸς ἦ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τεταγμένων παραλίπηι, ταῦτα πάντα κατευτρεπίζει· ἣν δὲ μὴ δύνηται, βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλλει· ὁ δὲ ἀκούων βουλευέται περὶ τοῦ ἀτακτοῦντος. καὶ οἱ πολλάκις λεγόμενοι ὅτι βασιλέως υἱὸς καταβαίνει, βασιλέως ἀδελφός, βασιλέως ὀφθαλμός, καὶ ἐνίοτε οὐκ

ἐκφαινόμενοι, οὗτοι τῶν ἐφόδων εἰσὶν· ἀποτρέπεται γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὁπόθεν ἂν βασιλεὺς κελεύῃ.

[8.6.17] Κατεμάθομεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλο μηχανήμα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐξ οὗ ταχέως ἠισθάνετο καὶ τὰ ἀμπολυ ἀπέχοντα ὅπως ἔχοι. σκεψάμενος γὰρ πόσον ἂν ὁδὸν ἵππος καθανύτοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλυνόμενος ὥστε διαρκεῖν, ἐποιήσατο ἵπῳνας τοσοῦτον διαλείποντας καὶ ἵππους ἐν αὐτοῖς κατέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους τούτων, καὶ ἄνδρα ἐφ' ἐκάστωι τῶν τόπων ἔταξε τὸν ἐπιτήδειον παραδέχεσθαι τὰ φερόμενα γράμματα καὶ παραδιδόναι καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τοὺς ἀπειρηκότες ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἄλλους πέμπειν νεαλεῖς· [8.6.18] ἔστι δ' ὅτε οὐδὲ τὰς νύκτας φασὶν ἴστασθαι ταύτην τὴν πορείαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡμερινῷ ἀγγέλῳ τὸν νυκτερινὸν διαδέχεσθαι. τούτων δὲ οὕτω γιγνομένων φασὶ τινες θᾶπτον τῶν γεράνων ταύτην τὴν πορείαν ἀνύτειν· εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ψεύδονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι γε τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πεζῇ πορείῳν αὕτη ταχίστη, τοῦτο εὐδηλον. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὡς τάχιστα ἕκαστον αἰσθανόμενον ὡς τάχιστα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

[8.6.19] Ἐπεὶ δὲ περιῆλθεν ὁ ἐνιαυτός, συνήγειρε στρατιὰν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ λέγεται αὐτῷ γενέσθαι εἰς δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέων μυριάδας, εἰς δισχίλια δὲ ἄρματα δρεπανηφόρα, πεζῶν δὲ εἰς μυριάδας ἐξήκοντα. [8.6.20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνεσκεύαστο αὐτῷ, ὥρμα δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν ἐν ἣ ἡ λέγεται καταστρέψασθαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὅσα Συρίαν ἐκβάντι οἰκεῖ μέχρι Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάττης· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἢ εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεία λέγεται γενέσθαι καὶ καταστρέψασθαι Αἴγυπτον. [8.6.21] καὶ ἐκ τούτου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥριζεν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἔω μὲν ἢ Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ ὁ Εὐξείνιος πόντος, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύπρος καὶ Αἴγυπτος, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπία. τούτων δὲ τὰ πέρατα τὰ μὲν διὰ θάλπος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ψυχρος, τὰ δὲ διὰ ὕδωρ, τὰ δὲ δι' ἀνυδρίαν δυσοίκητα. [8.6.22] αὐτὸς δ' ἐν μέσῳι τούτων τὴν δίαίταν ποιησάμενος, τὸν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν χειμῶνα χρόνον διῆγεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐπτὰ μῆνας· αὕτη γὰρ ἀλεινὴ ἢ χώρα· τὸν δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸ ἔαρ τρεῖς μῆνας ἐν Σούσοις· τὴν δὲ ἀκμὴν τοῦ θεροῦς δύο μῆνας ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις· οὕτω δὴ ποιοῦντ' αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἐν ἔαρινῳ θάλπει καὶ ψύχει διάγειν ἀεὶ. [8.6.23] οὕτω δὲ διέκειντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὡς πᾶν μὲν ἔθνος μειονεκτεῖν ἐδόκει, εἰ μὴ Κύρῳ πέμψειεν ὃ τι καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἢ φύοιτο ἢ τρέφοιτο ἢ τεχνῶιτο, πᾶσα δὲ πόλις ὡσαύτως, πᾶς δὲ ἰδιώτης πλούσιος ἂν ὤιετο γενέσθαι, εἴ τι

Κύρωι χάρισαιτο· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος λαμβάνων παρ' ἐκάστων ὦν ἀφθονίαν εἶχον οἱ διδόντες ἀντεδίδου ὦν σπανίζοντας αὐτοὺς αἰσθάνοιτο.

[8.7.1] Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ αἰῶνος προκεχωρηκότος, μάλα δὴ πρεσβύτης ὦν ὁ Κῦρος ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Πέρσας τὸ ἔβδομον ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ πάλαι δὴ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐτετελευτήκεσαν αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἔθυσσε τὰ νομιζόμενα ἱερὰ καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγήσατο Πέρσαις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὰ δῶρα πᾶσι διέδωκεν ὥσπερ εἰώθει.

[8.7.2] κοιμηθεὶς δ' ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ ὄναρ εἶδε τοιόνδε. ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ προσελθὼν κρείττων τις ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον εἰπεῖν· Συσκευάζου, ὦ Κῦρε· ἤδη γὰρ εἰς θεοὺς ἅπει. τοῦτο δὲ ἰδὼν τὸ ὄναρ ἐξηγέρθη καὶ σχεδὸν ἐδόκει εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ βίου ἡ τελευτὴ παρείη. [8.7.3] εὐθὺς οὖν λαβὼν ἱερεῖα ἔθυε Δί τε πατρώϊω καὶ Ἥλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς Πέρσαι θύουσιν, ὧδ' ἐπευχόμενος· Ζεῦ πατρώϊε καὶ Ἥλιε καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθε τάδε καὶ τελεστήρια πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν πράξεων καὶ χαριστήρια ὅτι ἐσημαίνετε μοι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οὐρανίοις σημείοις καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις ἅ τ' ἐχρῆν ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ οὐκ ἐχρῆν. πολλὴ δ' ὑμῖν χάρις ὅτι καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐγίνωσκον τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον ἐφρόνησα. αἰτοῦμαι δ' ὑμᾶς δοῦναι καὶ νῦν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πατρίδι εὐδαιμονίαν, ἐμοὶ δὲ οἷόνπερ αἰῶνα δεδώκατε, τοιαύτην καὶ τελευτὴν δοῦναι. [8.7.4] ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα ποιήσας καὶ οἴκαδε ἐλθὼν ἔδοξεν ἡδέως ἀναπαύσεσθαι καὶ κατεκλίνῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥρα ἦν, οἱ τεταγμένοι προσιόντες λούσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἡδέως ἀναπαύοιτο. οἱ δ' αὖ τεταγμένοι, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, δεῖπνον παρετίθεσαν· τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σῖτον μὲν οὐ προσίετο, διψῆν δ' ἐδόκει, καὶ ἔπιεν ἡδέως. [8.7.5] ὥς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ ταῦτα καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παῖδας· οἱ δ' ἔτυχον συνηκολουθηκότες αὐτῷ καὶ ὄντες ἐν Πέρσαις· ἐκάλεσε δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς Περσῶν ἀρχάς· παρόντων δὲ πάντων ἤρχετο τοιοῦδε λόγου.

[8.7.6] Παῖδες ἐμοὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες φίλοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῦ βίου τὸ τέλος ἤδη πάρεστιν· ἐκ πολλῶν τοῦτο σαφῶς γινώσκω· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρή, ὅταν τελευτήσω, ὡς περὶ εὐδαίμονος ἐμοῦ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν πάντα. ἐγὼ γὰρ παῖς τε ὢν τὰ ἐν παισὶ νομιζόμενα καλὰ δοκῶ κεκαρπῶσθαι, ἐπεὶ τε ἤβησα, τὰ ἐν νεανίσκοις, τέλειός τε ἀνὴρ γενόμενος τὰ ἐν ἀνδράσι· σὺν τῷ χρόνῳ τε προϊόντι ἀεὶ

συναυξανομένην ἐπιγινώσκειν ἐδόκουν καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦμὸν γῆρας οὐδεπώποτε ἡσθόμην τῆς ἐμῆς νεότητος ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον, καὶ οὐτ' ἐπιχειρήσας οὐτ' ἐπιθυμήσας οἶδα ὅτου ἡτύχησα. [8.7.7] καὶ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐπεῖδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας γενομένους, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δουλωθέντας· καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρόσθεν ιδιωτεύουσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ νῦν προτετιμμένην καταλείπω· ὧν τ' ἐκτησάμην οὐδὲν [οἶδα] ὅ τι οὐ διεσωσάμην. καὶ τὸν μὲν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἔπραττον οὕτως ὥσπερ ἡνύχόμην· φόβος δέ μοι συμπαρομαρτῶν μή τι ἐν τῷ ἐπιόντι χρόνῳ ἢ ἴδοιμι ἢ ἀκούσαιοι ἢ πάθοιμι χυλῆν, οὐκ εἶα τελέως με μέγα φρονεῖν οὐδ' εὐφραίνεσθαι ἐκπεπταμένως. [8.7.8] νῦν δ' ἦν τελευτήσω, καταλείπω μὲν ὑμᾶς, ὧ παῖδες, ζῶντας οὕσπερ ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ γενέσθαι· καταλείπω δὲ πατρίδα καὶ φίλους εὐδαιμονοῦντας. [8.7.9] ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ δικαίως μακαρίζόμενος τὸν αἰετὸν χρόνον μνήμης τυγχάνοιμι; δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν με ἤδη σαφηνίσαντα καταλιπεῖν, ὥς ἂν μὴ ἀμφίλογος γενομένη πράγματα ὑμῖν παράσχη. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν φιλῶ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως, ὧ παῖδες· τὸ δὲ προβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐφ' ὅ τι ἂν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι, τοῦτο προστάττω τῷ προτέρῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλειόνων κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἐμπείρωι. [8.7.10] ἐπαιδεύθην δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἐμῆς τε καὶ ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις οὐ μόνον ἀδελφοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων καὶ λόγων ὑπέεικιν, καὶ ὑμᾶς δέ, ὧ παῖδες, οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευσον, τοὺς μὲν γεραιτέρους προτιμᾶν, τῶν δὲ νεωτέρων προτετιμῆσθαι· ὥς οὖν παλαιὰ καὶ εἰθισμένα καὶ ἔννομα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ οὕτως ἀποδέχεσθε. [8.7.11] καὶ σὺ μὲν, ὧ Καμβύση, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε, θεῶν τε διδόντων καὶ ἐμοῦ ὅσον ἐν ἐμοί· σοὶ δ', ὧ Ταναοξάρη, σατράπην εἶναι δίδωμι Μήδων τε καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τρίτων Καδουσίων· ταῦτα δὲ σοὶ διδοὺς νομίζω ἀρχὴν μὲν μείζω καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς βασιλείας τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ καταλιπεῖν, εὐδαιμονίαν δὲ σοὶ ἁλυποτέραν. [8.7.12] ὁποίας μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφροσύνης ἐνδεὴς ἔσῃ οὐχ ὁρῶ· ἀλλὰ πάντα σοὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα ἀνθρώπους εὐφραίνειν παρέσται. τὸ δὲ δυσκαταπρακτοτέρων τε ἐρᾶν καὶ τὸ πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν καὶ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν κεντριζόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὰμὰ ἔργα φιλονικίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι, ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἀνάγκη σοῦ μᾶλλον συμπαρομαρτεῖν, ἃ σάφ' ἴσθι τοῦ εὐφραίνεσθαι πολλὰς ἀσχολίας παρέχει. [8.7.13] οἶσθα μὲν οὖν καὶ σύ,

ὦ Καμβύση, ὅτι οὐ τόδε τὸ χρυσοῦν σκῆπτρον τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν διασῶζόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οἱ πιστοὶ φίλοι σκῆπτρον βασιλεῦσιν ἀληθέστατον καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον. πιστοὺς δὲ μὴ νόμιζε φύσει φύεσθαι ἀνθρώπους· πᾶσι γὰρ ἂν οἱ αὐτοὶ πιστοὶ φαίνοντο, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πεφυκότα πᾶσι τὰ αὐτὰ φαίνεται· ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοὺς τίθεσθαι δεῖ ἕκαστον ἑαυτῶν· ἡ δὲ κτῆσις αὐτῶν ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς σὺν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ. [8.7.14] εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς πειράσῃ συμφύλακας τῆς βασιλείας ποιεῖσθαι μηδαμόθεν πρότερον ἄρχου ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμόθεν γενομένου. καὶ πολῖταί τοι ἄνθρωποι ἀλλοδαπῶν οἰκειότεροι καὶ σύσσιτοι ἀποσκήνων· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σπέρματος φύντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς μητρὸς τραφέντες καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐξηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν γονέων ἀγαπώμενοι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν πατέρα προσαγορεύοντες, πῶς οὐ πάντων οὗτοι οἰκειότατοι; [8.7.15] μὴ οὖν ἂ οἱ θεοὶ ὑφήγηνται ἀγαθὰ εἰς οἰκειότητα ἀδελφοῖς μάταιά ποτε ποιήσητε, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθύς οἰκοδομεῖτε ἄλλα φιλικὰ ἔργα· καὶ οὕτως ἀεὶ ἀνυπέρβλητος ἄλλοις ἔσται ἡ ὑμετέρα φιλία. ἑαυτοῦ τοι κήδεται ὁ προνοῶν ἀδελφοῦ· τίτι γὰρ ἄλλω ἀδελφὸς μέγας ὢν οὕτω καλὸν ὥς ἀδελφῷ; τίς δ' ἄλλος τιμῆσεται δι' ἄνδρα μέγα δυνάμενον οὕτως ὥς ἀδελφός; τίνα δὲ φοβήσεται τις ἀδικεῖν ἀδελφοῦ μεγάλου ὄντας οὕτως ὥς τὸν ἀδελφόν; [8.7.16] μήτε οὖν θᾶπτον μηδεὶς σοῦ τούτῳ ὑπακουέτω μήτε προθυμότερον παρέστω· οὐδενὶ γὰρ οἰκειότερα τὰ τούτου οὔτε ἀγαθὰ οὔτε δεινὰ ἢ σοί. ἐννόει δὲ καὶ τάδε· τίτι χαρισάμενος ἐλπίσαις ἂν μειζόνων τυχεῖν ἢ τούτῳ; τίτι δ' ἂν βοηθήσας ἰσχυρότερον σύμμαχον ἀντιλάβοις; τίνα δ' αἴσχιον μὴ φιλεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; τίνα δὲ ἀπάντων κάλλιον προτιμᾶν ἢ τὸν ἀδελφόν; μόνου τοι, ὦ Καμβύση, πρωτεύοντος ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἀδελφῷ οὐδὲ φθόνος παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφικνεῖται. [8.7.17] ἀλλὰ πρὸς θεῶν πατρώων, ὦ παῖδες, τιμᾶτε ἀλλήλους, εἴ τι καὶ τοῦ ἐμοὶ χαρίζεσθαι μέλει ὑμῖν· οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γε σαφῶς δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐγὼ ἔσομαι, ἐπειδὴν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου βίου τελευτήσω· οὐδὲ γὰρ νῦν τοι τὴν γ' ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐωρᾶτε, ἀλλ' οἷς διεπράττετο, τούτοις αὐτὴν ὥς οὔσαν κατεφωρᾶτε. [8.7.18] τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄδικα παθόντων ψυχὰς οὕτω κατενόησατε οἷους μὲν φόβους τοῖς μαιφόνοις ἐμβάλλουσιν, οἷους δὲ παλαμναίους τοῖς ἀνοσίοις ἐπιπέμπουσι; τοῖς δὲ φθιμένοις τὰς τιμὰς διαμένειν ἔτι ἂν δοκεῖτε, εἰ μηδενὸς αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ κύριαι ἦσαν; [8.7.19] οὗτοι ἔγωγε, ὦ παῖδες,

οὐδὲ τοῦτο πώποτε ἐπέσθην ὥς ἡ ψυχὴ ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν θνητῷ σώματι ᾦ, ζῇ, ὅταν δὲ τούτου ἀπαλλαγῇ, τέθνηκεν· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὅσον ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς χρόνον ᾦ ἡ ψυχὴ, ζῶντα παρέχεται. [8.7.20] οὐδέ γε ὅπως ἄφρων ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ἄφρονος σώματος δίχα γένηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο πέπεισμαι· ἀλλ' ὅταν ἄκρατος καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ νοῦς ἐκκριθῇ, τότε καὶ φρονιμώτατον αὐτὸν εἰκὸς εἶναι. διαλυομένου δὲ ἀνθρώπου δηλὰ ἐστὶν ἕκαστα ἀπιόντα πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον πλὴν τῆς ψυχῆς· αὕτη δὲ μόνη οὔτε παροῦσα οὔτε ἀπιoῦσα ὁρᾶται. [8.7.21] ἐννοήσατε δ', ἔφη, ὅτι ἐγγύτερον μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θανάτῳ οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὕπνου· ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ τότε δήπου θειοτάτῃ καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορᾷ· τότε γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, μάλιστα ἐλευθεροῦται. [8.7.22] εἰ μὲν οὖν οὔτως ἔχει ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐγὼ οἶομαι καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καταλείπει τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι ποιεῖτε ἃ ἐγὼ δέομαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μένουσα ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι συναποθνήσκει, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς γε τοὺς αἰεὶ ὄντας καὶ πάντ' ἐφορῶντας καὶ πάντα δυναμένους, οἳ καὶ τήνδε τὴν τῶν ὅλων τάξιν συνέχουσιν ἀτριβῇ καὶ ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ὑπὸ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἀδιήγητον, τούτους φοβούμενοι μήποτ' ἀσεβὲς μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀνόσιον μήτε ποιήσητε μήτε βουλευσῆτε. [8.7.23] μετὰ μέντοι θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸ πᾶν γένος τὸ αἰεὶ ἐπιγιγνόμενον αἰδεῖσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἐν σκότῳ ὑμᾶς οἱ θεοὶ ἀποκρύπτονται, ἀλλ' ἐμπαῆ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ ζῆν τὰ ὑμέτερα ἔργα· ἃ ἦν μὲν καθαρὰ καὶ ἔξω τῶν ἀδίκων φαίνονται, δυνατοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναδειξεί· εἰ δὲ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀδικόν τι φρονήσετε, ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τὸ ἀξιόπιστοι εἶναι ἀποβαλεῖτε. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἂν ἔτι πιστεῦσαι δύναίτο ὑμῖν, οὐδ' εἰ πάνυ προθυμοῖτο, ἰδὼν ἀδικούμενον τὸν μάλιστα φιλαί προσήκοντα. [8.7.24] εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἱκανῶς διδάσκω οἷους χρὴ πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε· αὕτη γὰρ ἀρίστη διδασκαλία. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ διαγεγένηνται φίλοι μὲν γονεῖς παισὶ, φίλοι δὲ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς· ἤδη δὲ τινες τούτων καὶ ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ἔπραξαν· ὁποτέρους ἂν οὖν αἰσθάνησθε τὰ πραχθέντα συνενεγκόντα, ταῦτα δὴ αἰρούμενοι ὀρθῶς ἂν βουλευοίσθε. [8.7.25] καὶ τούτων μὲν ἴσως ἤδη ἅλεις. τὸ δ' ἐμὸν σῶμα, ὦ παῖδες, ὅταν τελευτήσω, μήτε ἐν χρυσῷ θῆτε μήτε ἐν ἀργύρῳ μηδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ ὥς τάχιστα ἀπόδοτε. τί γὰρ τούτου μακαριώτερον τοῦ γῇ μειχθῆναι, ἢ πάντα μὲν τὰ καλὰ, πάντα δὲ τὰ γαθὰ φύει τε καὶ τρέφει; ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ

ἄλλως φιλόανθρωπος ἐγενόμην καὶ νῦν ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ κοινωῇσαι τοῦ εὐεργετοῦντος ἀνθρώπου. [8.7.26] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἤδη, ἔφη, ἐκλείπειν μοι φαίνεται ἡ ψυχὴ ὄθενπερ, ὡς ἔοικε, πᾶσιν ἄρχεται ἀπολείπουσα. εἰ τις οὖν ὑμῶν ἢ δεξιᾶς βούλεται τῆς ἐμῆς ἄψασθαι ἢ ὄμμα τοῦμόν ζῶντος ἔτι προσιδεῖν ἐθέλει, προσίτω· ὅταν δ' ἐγὼ ἐγκαλύψωμαι, αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, ὧ παῖδες, μηδεὶς ἔτ' ἀνθρώπων τοῦμόν σῶμα ιδέτω, μηδ' αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς. [8.7.27] Πέρσας μέντοι πάντας καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ τὸ μνημα τοῦμόν παρακαλεῖτε συνησθησομένους ἐμοὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἤδη ἔσομαι, ὡς μηδὲν ἂν ἔτι κακὸν παθεῖν, μήτε ἢν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γένωμαι μήτε ἢν μηδὲν ἔτι ὧ· ὁπόσοι δ' ἂν ἔλθωσι, τούτους εὖ ποιήσαντες ὁπόσα ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ εὐδαίμονι νομίζεται ἀποπέμπετε. [8.7.28] καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, μέμνησθέ μου τελευταῖον, τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετοῦντες καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δυνήσεσθε κολάζειν. καὶ χαίρετε, ὧ φίλοι παῖδες, καὶ τῇ μητρὶ ἀπαγγέλλετε ὡς παρ' ἐμοῦ· καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ παρόντες καὶ οἱ ἀπόντες φίλοι χαίρετε. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ πάντας δεξιωσάμενος ἐνεκαλύψατο καὶ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

Τὸ Κύρου μνημα (?)

[8.8.1] Ὅτι μὲν δὴ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἡ Κύρου βασιλεία ἐγένετο αὐτῇ ἑαυτῇ μαρτυρεῖ. ὠρίσθη γὰρ πρὸς ἕω μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθραῖ θαλάττῃ, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, πρὸς ἐσπέραν δὲ Κύπρῳ καὶ Αἰγύπτῳ, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δὲ Αἰθιοπίαι. τοσαύτη δὲ γενομένη μᾶλλον γνώμῃ τῇ Κύρου ἐκυβερνᾶτο, καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε τοὺς ὑπ' ἑαυτῷ ὥσπερ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἐτίμα τε καὶ ἐθεράπευεν, οἳ τε ἀρχόμενοι Κῦρον ὡς πατέρα ἐσέβοντο. [8.8.2] ἐπεὶ μέντοι Κῦρος ἐτελεύτησεν, εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες ἐστασίαζον, εὐθὺς δὲ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἀφίσταντο, πάντα δ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐτρέποντο. ὡς δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω ἄρξομαι διδάσκων ἐκ τῶν θείων. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πρότερον μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς τὰ ἔσχατα πεποιηκόσιν εἴτε ὄρκους ὁμόσαιεν, ἡμπέδουν, εἴτε δεξιὰς δοῖεν, ἐβεβαίουν. [8.8.3] εἰ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν καὶ τοιαύτην δόξαν εἶχον οὐδ' ἂν εἰς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστευνεν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νῦν πιστεύει οὐδὲ εἰς ἔτι, ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσται ἡ ἀσέβεια αὐτῶν. οὕτως οὐδὲ τότε ἐπίστευσαν ἂν οἱ τῶν σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντων στρατηγοί· νῦν δὲ δὴ τῇ πρόσθεν αὐτῶν δόξῃ πιστεύσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἀναχθέντες πρὸς βασιλέα ἀπετμήθησαν τὰς κεφαλὰς. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων βαρβάρων ἄλλοι ἄλλαις πίστεσιν ἐξαπατηθέντες

ἀπώλονται. [8.8.4] πολὺ δὲ καὶ τάδε χείρονες νῦν εἰσι. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ εἴ τις ἢ διακινδυνεύσειε πρὸ βασιλέως ἢ πόλιν ἢ ἔθνος ὑποχείριον ποιήσειεν ἢ ἄλλο τι καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ διαπράξειεν, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ τιμώμενοι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἦν τις ὥσπερ Μιθριδάτης τὸν πατέρα Ἀριοβαρζάνην προδούς, καὶ ἦν τις ὥσπερ Ῥεομίθρης τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τοὺς τῶν φίλων παῖδας ὁμήρους παρὰ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ὅρκους παραβάς βασιλεῖ δόξει τι σύμφορον ποιῆσαι, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ταῖς μεγίσταις τιμαῖς γεραιρόμενοι. [8.8.5] ταῦτ' οὖν ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσεβὲς καὶ τὸ ἄδικον τετραμμένοι εἰσίν· ὁποῖοί τινες γὰρ ἂν οἱ προστάται ᾧσι, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γίνονται. ἀθεμιστότεροι δὲ νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ταῦτη γεγέννηται.

[8.8.6] Εἷς γε μὴν χρήματα τῆιδε ἀδικώτεροι· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότας, ἀλλ' ἤδη τοὺς οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότας συλλαμβάνοντες ἀναγκάζουσι πρὸς οὐδὲν δίκαιον χρήματα ἀποτίνειν· ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἦττον οἱ πολλὰ ἔχειν δοκοῦντες τῶν πολλὰ ἡδικηκότων φοβοῦνται· καὶ εἰς χεῖρας οὐδ' οὗτοι ἐθέλουσι τοῖς κρεῖττοσιν ἰέναι. οὐδέ γε ἀθροίζεσθαι εἰς βασιλικὴν στρατιὰν θαρροῦσι. [8.8.7] τοιγαροῦν ὅστις ἂν πολεμῇ αὐτοῖς, πᾶσιν ἔξεστιν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἄνευ μάχης ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ μὲν θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν, περὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικίαν. αἱ μὲν δὴ γινῶμαι ταῦτη τῷ παντὶ χείρους νῦν ἢ τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῶν.

[8.8.8] Ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλονται ὥσπερ πρόσθεν, νῦν αὖ τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι. νόμιμον γὰρ δὴ ἦν αὐτοῖς μήτε πτύειν μήτε ἀπομύττεσθαι. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ τοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑγροῦ φειδόμενοι ἐνόμισαν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι διὰ πόνων καὶ ἰδρωτός τὰ σώματα στερεοῦσθαι. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ πτύειν μηδὲ ἀπομύττεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, [8.8.9] τὸ δ' ἐκπονεῖν οὐδαμοῦ ἐπιτηδεύεται. καὶ μὴν πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς μονοσιτεῖν νόμιμον, ὅπως ὅληι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ χρῶντο εἰς τὰς πράξεις καὶ εἰς τὸ διαπονεῖσθαι. νῦν γε μὴν τὸ μὲν μονοσιτεῖν ἔτι διαμένει, ἀρχόμενοι δὲ τοῦ σίτου ἡνίκα περ οἱ πρωιαίτατα ἀριστῶντες μέχρι τούτου ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες διάγουσιν ἔστεπερ οἱ ὀψιαίτατα κοιμώμενοι.

[8.8.10] Ἦν δ' αὐτοῖς νόμιμον μηδὲ προχοῖ δας εἰσφέρεισθαι εἰς τὰ συμπόσια, δῆλον ὅτι νομίζοντες τὸ μὴ ὑπερπίνειν ἦττον ἂν καὶ σώματα καὶ γνώμας σφάλλιν· νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν μὴ εἰσφέρεισθαι ἔτι αὖ διαμένει, τοσοῦτον δὲ πίνουσιν ὥστε ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰσφέρειν αὐτοῖ

ἐκφέρονται, ἐπειδὴν μηκέτι δύνωνται ὀρθούμενοι ἐξιέναι.

[8.8.11] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κεῖνο ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχώριον τὸ μεταξὺ πορευομένους μήτε ἐσθίειν μήτε πίνειν μήτε τῶν διὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαίων μηδὲν ποιοῦντας φανεροὺς εἶναι· νῦν δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι ἔτι διαμένει, τὰς μέντοι πορείας οὕτω βραχείας ποιοῦνται ὥς μηδέν· ἂν ἔτι θαυμάσαι τὸ ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

[8.8.12] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐπὶ θήραν πρόσθεν μὲν τοσαυτάκις ἐξῆσαν ὥστε ἄρκεῖν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἵπποις γυμνάσια τὰς θήρας· ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἥττους τοῦ οἴνου ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ὁμοίως οὗτ' αὐτοὶ ἐξῆσαν οὔτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας· ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τινες φιλόπονοι γενόμεοι [καί] σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἱππεῦσι θαμὰ θηρῶιεν, φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς δηλοὶ ἦσαν καὶ ὥς βελτίονας αὐτῶν ἐμίσουν.

[8.8.13] Ἀλλὰ τοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τὸ μὲν παιδεύεσθαι ἐπεὶ ταῖς θύραις ἔτι διαμένει· τὸ μέντοι τὰ ἱππικὰ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν ἀπέσβηκε διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ὅπου ἂν ἀποφαινόμενοι εὐδοκιμοῖεν. καὶ ὅτι γε οἱ παῖδες ἀκούοντες ἐκεῖ πρόσθεν τὰς δίκας δικαίως δικαζομένας ἐδόκουν μανθάνειν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τοῦτο παντάπασιν ἀνέστραπται· σαφῶς γὰρ ὁρῶσι νικῶντας ὁπότεροι ἂν πλεόν διδῶσιν. [8.8.14] ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν φυομένων ἐκ τῆς γῆς τὰς δυνάμεις οἱ παῖδες πρόσθεν μὲν ἐμάνθανον, ὅπως τοῖς μὲν ὠφελίμοις χρῶντο, τῶν δὲ βλαβερῶν ἀπέχοντο· νῦν δὲ εὐόικασι ταῦτα διδασκομένοις, ὅπως ὅτι πλεῖστα κακοποιῶσιν· οὐδαμοῦ γοῦν πλείους ἢ ἐκεῖ οὗτ' ἀποθνήσκουσιν οὔτε διαφθείρονται ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

[8.8.15] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θρυπτικώτεροι πολὺ νῦν ἢ ἐπὶ Κύρου εἰσί. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῇ ἐκ Περσῶν παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖα ἐχρῶντο, τῇ δὲ Μήδων στολῇ καὶ ἀβρότητι· νῦν δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν καρτερίαν περιορῶσιν ἀποσβεννυμένην, τὴν δὲ τῶν Μήδων μαλακίαν διασώζονται. [8.8.16] σαφηνίσαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ τὴν θρύψιν αὐτῶν. ἐκείνοις γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς εὐνάς οὐ μόνον ἄρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστόρνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ ταπίδων τιθέασιν, ὅπως μὴ ἀντερείδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ' ὑπέικωσιν αἱ τάπιδες. καὶ μὴν τὰ πεττόμενα ἐπὶ τράπεζαν ὅσα τε πρόσθεν ἡῦρητο, οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφήρηται, ἄλλα τε αἰεὶ καινὰ ἐπιμηχανῶνται· καὶ ὅσα γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ καινοποιητὰς ἀμφοτέρων τούτων κέκτηνται. [8.8.17] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι οὐ μόνον κεφαλὴν καὶ σῶμα καὶ πόδας ἄρκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἐσκεπάσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἄκραις ταῖς χερσὶ χειρῖδας

δασείας καὶ δακτυλήθρας ἔχουσιν. ἐν γε μὴν τῷ θέρει οὐκ ἄρκοῦσιν αὐτοῖς οὐθ' αἱ τῶν δένδρων οὐθ' αἱ τῶν πετρῶν σκιαί, ἀλλ' ἐν ταύταις ἐτέρας σκιάς ἄνθρωποι μηχανώμενοι αὐτοῖς παρεστᾷσι. [8.8.18] καὶ μὴν ἐκπώματα ἦν μὲν ὡς πλείστα ἔχωσι, τούτῳ καλλωπίζονται· ἦν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκου φανερώς ἢ μεμηχανημένα, οὐδὲν τοῦτο αἰσχύνονται· πολὺ γὰρ ἠϋξῆται ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀδικία τε καὶ αἰσχροκέρδεια.

[8.8.19] Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν ἦν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῖς μὴ ὀρᾶσθαι πεζῇ πορευομένοις, οὐκ ἄλλου τινὸς ἔνεκα ἢ τοῦ ὡς ἱππικωτάτους γίνεσθαι· νῦν δὲ στρώματα πλείω ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν εὐνῶν· οὐ γὰρ τῆς ἱππείας οὕτως ὥσπερ τοῦ μαλακῶς καθῆσθαι ἐπιμέλονται. [8.8.20] τά γε μὴν πολεμικὰ πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως νῦν τῷ παντὶ χεῖρους ἢ πρόσθεν εἰσίν; οἷς ἐν μὲν τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ ἐπιχώριον εἶναι ὑπῆρχε τοὺς μὲν τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας ἀπὸ ταύτης ἱππότης παρέχεσθαι, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰ δέοι στρατεύεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ φρουροῦντας πρὸ τῆς χώρας μισθοφόρους εἶναι· νῦν δὲ τοὺς τε θυρωροὺς καὶ τοὺς σιτοποιοὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ λουτροχόους καὶ παρατιθέντας καὶ ἀναιροῦντας καὶ κατακοιμίζοντας καὶ ἀνιστάντας, καὶ τοὺς κοσμητάς, οἱ ὑποχρίουσιν τε καὶ ἐντρίβουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τᾶλλα ῥυθμίζουσι, τούτους πάντας ἱππέας οἱ δυνάσται πεποιήκασιν, ὅπως μισθοφορῶσιν αὐτοῖς. [8.8.21] πλῆθος μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων φαίνεται, οὐ μέντοι ὄφελός γε οὐδὲν αὐτῶν εἰς πόλεμον· δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γινόμενα· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ῥᾷον οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ οἱ φίλοι ἀναστρέφονται. [8.8.22] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦ μὲν ἀκροβολίζεσθαι ἀποπαύσας, θωρακίσας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἐν παλτὸν ἐκάστωι δούς εἰς χεῖρα ὁμόθεν τὴν μάχην ἐποιεῖτο· νῦν δὲ οὔτε ἀκροβολίζονται ἔτι οὔτ' εἰς χεῖρας συνιόντες μάχονται. [8.8.23] καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ ἔχουσι μὲν γέρρα καὶ κοπίδας καὶ σαγάρεις ὥσπερ <οἱ> ἐπὶ Κύρου τὴν μάχην ποιησάμενοι· εἰς χεῖρας δὲ ἰέναι οὐδ' οὗτοι ἐθέλουσιν. [8.8.24] οὐδέ γε τοῖς δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασιν ἔτι χρῶνται ἐφ' ᾧ Κῦρος αὐτὰ ἐποίησατο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τιμαῖς αὐξήσας τοὺς ἡνιόχους καὶ ἀγαστοὺς ποιήσας εἶχε τοὺς εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἐμβαλοῦντας· οἱ δὲ νῦν οὐδὲ γινώσκοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄρμασιν οἶονται σφίσιν ὁμοίους τοὺς ἀνασκήτους τοῖς ἡσκηκόσιν ἔσεσθαι. [8.8.25] οἱ δὲ ὀρμῶσι μὲν, πρὶν δ' ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι οἱ μὲν ἄκοντες ἐκπίπτουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐξάλλονται, ὥστε ἄνευ ἡνιόχων γινόμενα τὰ ζεύγη πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ τοὺς φίλους ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖ.

[8.8.26] ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ γινώσκουσιν οἷα σφίσι τὰ πολεμιστήρια ὑπάρχει, ὑφίενται, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἄνευ Ἑλλήνων εἰς πόλεμον καθίσταται, οὔτε ὅταν ἀλλήλοις πολεμῶσιν οὔτε ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῖς ἀντιστρατεύωνται· ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐγνώκασι μεθ' Ἑλλήνων τοὺς πολέμους ποιεῖσθαι.

[8.8.27] Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ οἶμαι ἅπερ ὑπεθέμην ἀπειργάσθαι μοι. φημὶ γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀσεβεστέρους περὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνοσιωτέρους περὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδικωτέρους περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ἀνανδροτέρους τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν ἀποδεδεῖχθαι. εἰ δέ τις τὰναντία ἐμοὶ γινώσκοι, τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶν εὐρήσει αὐτὰ μαρτυροῦντα τοῖς ἐμοῖς λόγοις.

HELLENICA - Ἑλληνικά

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Βιβλίον α'

[1.1.1] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὐτῆς Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. [1.1.2] μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέραι. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσὶν, ὥς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὐτοῦ τριήρεις, ὥς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον. [1.1.3] ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπὸ τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. [1.1.4] Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. [1.1.5] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἄβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα, μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικῶντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσὶν. [1.1.6] ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵππευσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο. [1.1.7] συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ὥς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. [1.1.8] ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ ὥιχοντο ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος, εἷς ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων. [1.1.9] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον· ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην ξενία τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἴρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. [1.1.10] ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἀλόντος ἐν Καρίαι ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς· [1.1.11] οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἐξήκοντα,

νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκέλευσε ἐκέλευσεν. [1.1.12] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον. ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἐτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφοτέρωι ἡργυρολογηκότες. [1.1.13] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίωι ἐξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρῃ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόννησον. [1.1.14] ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκωι εἴη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίῃ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως. [1.1.15] τῇ δὲ προτεραίῃ, ἐπειδὴ ὠρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγεῖλαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκρήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν ἀλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν. [1.1.16] μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος πολλῶι. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐξήκοντα οὖσας. [1.1.17] οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις οὖσας πλείους τε πολλῶι ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις. [1.1.18] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβάς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὤχοντο ἄγοντες ἀπάσας εἰς Προκόννησον πλην τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκεῖνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. [1.1.19] οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· [1.1.20] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν

ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν. [1.1.21] καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον· Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὐ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδωσαν. [1.1.22] ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν δύο, Θηραμένην καὶ Εὐμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιτο βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὤιχοντο. [1.1.23] παρὰ δὲ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἐάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ κἄλα. Μίνδαρος ἀπεσσύα. πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίοιμες τί χρὴ δρᾶν. [1.1.24] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἄθυμεῖν ἔνεκα ξύλων, ὥς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἐκάστωι καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μνηοῖν, καὶ ὀπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς. [1.1.25] καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς Ἰδῆς κομίζεσθαι φράζων. [1.1.26] ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβόηθει.

[1.1.27] Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς, τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἰκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφορὰν, ὥς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρήνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, ἐλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἡρημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. [1.1.28] οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τριηράρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοῖη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι,

μεμνημένους Ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γεγονάτε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίστην διὰ τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρχουσιν. [1.1.29] οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ' Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὁμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξιν αὐτούς, ἐπὶ εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκονται, ἀπεπέμψαντο ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· [1.1.30] ἰδία δὲ <οἱ> πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπόθησαν τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίνωσκε τοὺς ἐπικεστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας πρῶι καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεκοινοῦτο ὃ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν, κακεῖνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους. [1.1.31] ἐκ τούτων ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ ἠυδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα. κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

[1.1.32] Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἀρμοστής Ἑτεόνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιπίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκε ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιπίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ. [1.1.33] περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἅγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκαλείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τεῖχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον, ὥς μαχομένους, ἂν προσίωσιν. [1.1.34] ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἅγις ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ᾧ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὀπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.

[1.1.35] Ἅγῆς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μὴ τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. [1.1.36] δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισὼν νεῶν ἕκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ὤιχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἱ αἰὲ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς <Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. [1.1.37] καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀντίβια ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἰροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μηνσὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἱμέραν.

[1.2.1] Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ἥι προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἡλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτῆμονος,] Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τὰ τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, [ὥς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένοις,] ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον. [1.2.2] ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελαν· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τὴν τε χώραν ἐδήμιον καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὄντας τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον. [1.2.3] οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. [1.2.4] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφῶνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολλήν. [1.2.5] Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὢν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῶν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε. [1.2.6] Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἐφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ

αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλήν καὶ ἰππείας ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. [1.2.7] Θράσυλλος δὲ ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ μετὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἀπέπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἰππείας καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς τὸ ἔλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρῃ προσήγε δύο στρατόπεδα. [1.2.8] οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν <σφίσιν> οἷ τε σύμμαχοι οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἱ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἐτέρων πέντε, αἱ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἤκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἰππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατηγῶν, καὶ Σελινούσiai δύο. [1.2.9] οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῶι ἐβοήθησαν· τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥσεί ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἔλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ κάκεϊ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι. [1.2.10] οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῶι. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδία πολλοῖς, καὶ <οἰκεῖν ἀτέλειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεὶ· Σελινουσίους δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. [1.2.11] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κάκεϊ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον εὐθὺ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. [1.2.12] ὁρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεύσας ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς Ἔφεσον. [1.2.13] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Σηστὴν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπαντα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. [1.2.14] καὶ χειμῶν ἐπήγει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν, ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ὤιχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα. [1.2.15] ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἦκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον τειχίζοντες. [1.2.16] καὶ ἐστράτευσαν

πρὸς Ἄβυδον· Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τοὺς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. [1.2.17] ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον δὲ τινὰς καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν. [1.2.18] τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἰλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀρμοστῇ Λαβῳτῇ. [1.2.19] καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.

[1.3.1] Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεῶς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἕαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπλευσαν εἰς Προκόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. [1.3.2] ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδὼνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν κετέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θραῖκας, ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας. [1.3.3] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὀπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῆται τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. [1.3.4] Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστει πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδὼνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἶόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ τείχει. [1.3.5] ἐνταῦθα Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξωθεν τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐβοήθει στρατιῷ τε καὶ ἵπποις πολλοῖς. [1.3.6] Ἴπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὀπλίταις χρόνον πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὀπλίτας τέ τινὰς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἴπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [1.3.7] ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ

δυνάμενος συμμείζαι πρὸς τὸν Ἴπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτερισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. [1.3.8] ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ὤιχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνης εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, [1.3.9] καὶ ὄρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσον περ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. [1.3.10] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· ἐκείνην δ' ἔλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρωνησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θράκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἵππεις πλείους τριακοσίων. [1.3.11] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κάκεῖνον ὁμνύναι, περιέμενεν ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦκεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὁμείσθαι, εἰ μὴ κάκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὁμείται. [1.3.12] μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάται καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τὸν τε κοινὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἰδία ἀλλήλοις πίστει ἐποίησαντο. [1.3.13] Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπήιει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλογος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος. [1.3.14] καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἤγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. [1.3.15] ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀρμοστής καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἑλιζος Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. [1.3.16] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὥς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ' ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινες τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν. [1.3.17] Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἀρμοστής οἴομενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὥς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδαι καὶ

Ἐλίξωι, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθὸν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ὥς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείσαν, ἀθροαὶ δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. [1.3.18] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων, Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος [1.3.19] [ὃς ἐπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ἀπολογούμενος ὅτι οὐ προδιδόη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῶι ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὢν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῖτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολέμιους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους]. [1.3.20] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θράκιον καλουμένας εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. [1.3.21] ὁ δὲ Ἐλίξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιήσαιεν, παρέδωκαν σφᾶς αὐτούς. [1.3.22] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν ἀποδρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

[1.4.1] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδείῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. [1.4.2] ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἱ τε Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὧν δέονται πάντων πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, [1.4.3] καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολὴν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασιλείον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ἣι ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον. [1.4.4] ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν. [1.4.5] Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδέ πο

ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα. [1.4.6] Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, φάσκων τότε μὲν ἀνάξιν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα, τότε δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὥς μηδὲν μέμψησθε· [1.4.7] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖς, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων ὁμομοκέναι καὶ ἀπάξιν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

[1.4.8] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. [1.4.9] ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὤιχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον, ἔχουσιν κακῶς ὑπὸ τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ. [1.4.10] Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἤκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγούς εἵλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν. [1.4.11] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοι. [1.4.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὖνουν οὕσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ἡρημένον καὶ ἰδία μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέραι ἦι Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὃ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ᾗσασθαι. [1.4.13] καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὃ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἡθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες [ὅτι] οἱ μὲν ὥς κράτιστος εἶη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος [ἀπελογήθη ὥς] οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερα τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὖξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ· [1.4.14] ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὥς ἡσεβηκότος

εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπίοντα αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· [1.4.15] ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὀρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίῃ φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· [1.4.16] οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἴων περ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλεον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς <τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἰοισπερ πρότερον>, ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσαν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἐτέροις βελτίοσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι· [1.4.17] οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμῶν καταστῆναι. [1.4.18] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὀρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθύς, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείησαν. [1.4.19] κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ' αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἄπτοίτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. [1.4.20] ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὥς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὥς ἡδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὥς οἷός τε ὦν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· [1.4.21] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὀλίγας μὲν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἱππείας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ' ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῳ μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ' Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδεΐμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ἡριημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί. [1.4.22] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασε τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἱ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. [1.4.23] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ

ολίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κάκειθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

[1.5.1] Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῶι χρόνῳ Κρατησιπίδαι τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκείθεν λαβὼν, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἑφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. [1.5.2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεισιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατὰ τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκῶς εἶη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. [1.5.3] Κῦρος δὲ τὸν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ ἦκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιλίπηι, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατήρ αὐτῶι ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. [1.5.4] οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐπῆνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῶι ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. [1.5.5] ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῶι ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἐκάστη νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὅποσας ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. [1.5.6] ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐπεὶ αὐτῶι προπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκάστωι ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. [1.5.7] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον δὲ τριῶβολον. καὶ τὸν τε προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. [1.5.8] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους. [1.5.9] ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στασιάζοντες. [1.5.10] καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶι τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑφέσῳ οὐσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. [1.5.11] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἦκοντα <τειγίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὐτοῦ κυβερνήτην,

ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. [1.5.12] ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὐτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πρώϊρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. [1.5.13] ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντίοχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν, ὥς ἕκαστος ἥνοιξεν. [1.5.14] ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλείστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον. [1.5.15] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἰροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἡΐονα. [1.5.16] οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλέκεναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρατηγούς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα, Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην, Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένην. [1.5.17] Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονηρῶς καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τεῖχη. [1.5.18] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἐπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν Φανοσθένην, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. [1.5.19] οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδhsαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα ὄντα μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες ἀφείσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. [1.5.20] Κόνων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἐβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων

στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλήιζετο. [1.5.21] καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἵλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῶι, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἐπτὰ μῆνας.

[1.6.1] Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἐσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὸς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, [Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν,] οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν] ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν.

[1.6.2] ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίῃ καὶ ναυμαχίαι νενικηκώς, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦναι, καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. [1.6.3] οὐ φαιμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδης πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς. ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὕσας τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις. [1.6.4] καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθορούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτειν ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδεῖων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γινωσκόντων <ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνώτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιεν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο>, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδης συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιαύδε.

[1.6.5] Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἶκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγὼ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται [ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ], συμβουλευέτε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

[1.6.6] Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἶκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον ἦτετι μισθὸν τοῖς

ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. [1.6.7] Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἄχθεσθεις τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεῖς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἂν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατὰ γε τὸ αὐτοῦ δυνατόν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· [1.6.8] κάκειθεν πέμψας τριῆρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν.

Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. [1.6.9] δεῖ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἤκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, [1.6.10] ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὥς περιττὰ ὄντα οἷχεται· Κύρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾷν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πείσαι. [1.6.11] ὑπισχνοῦμαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχόμεθα χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῖξωμεν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

[1.6.12] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδία. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἐκάστωι τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν πολεμίαν οὔσαν. [1.6.13] οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττικίζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. [1.6.14] τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος οὐδέν' ἂν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. [1.6.15] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ

ἐκεῖσε φύγοι. [1.6.16] Κόνων δ' ἔφυγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἑρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα. [1.6.17] Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθεῖς, ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὐσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνεΐλκυσε. [1.6.18] Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὀρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἐκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἤλθεν. [1.6.19] ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλὼν. [1.6.20] τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεΐχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, ἐπεὶ σκότος εἶη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὥς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέραι εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος. [1.6.21] τῶν δ' ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἦνοιγον, τὰς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχη, ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. [1.6.22] ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν εὐριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων. [1.6.23] ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. [1.6.24] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν

τῇ ἡλικίαι ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀρῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί. [1.6.25] μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κάκεῖθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον δέκα· ἥθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὔσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν. [1.6.26] ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὔσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεῖς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέαι ἄκραι [ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης]. [1.6.27] τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν [ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέαι ἄκραι] ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης. [1.6.28] τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καὶ τινῶν αὐτῷ ἐξαγγελιάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὥς ἐξαπινάίως προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας. [1.6.29] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾷς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἰππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δ' <αἱ> τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὗται ἐπὶ μιᾷς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες. [1.6.30] τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἐτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δὲ Ἀριστογένης. [1.6.31] οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χειρὸν γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾷς ὥς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας. [1.6.32] Ἑρμῶν δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδῃ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλείους ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη <οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται> αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. [1.6.33] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολὺν, πρῶτον μὲν

ἄθροαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεῶς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχος τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν. [1.6.34] ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἐξήκοντα. [1.6.35] ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἑτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμῶν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ἠλίζοντο. [1.6.36] τῷ δ' Ἑτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλῃς πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκησε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι. [1.6.37] καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποιοῦν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον [ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὖριον] καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. [1.6.38] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμαν, τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἱ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνῃν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανάχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραζάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

[1.7.1] Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἴλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. [1.7.2] τῶν δὲ ναυμαχισάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἕξ καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλλου καὶ Ἑρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε

προεστηκώς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἑρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγορεῖ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατηγορεῖ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δεῖσαι τὸν Ἑρασινίδην. [1.7.3] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περὶ τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρή δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλή ἔδωκε. [1.7.4] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ἣ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγοροῦν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δίκαιους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο, ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον ἦν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα. [1.7.5] μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο [οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον], καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις· [1.7.6] καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευδόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλύσαν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· [1.7.7] ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν [τότε γὰρ ὁψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων], τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνουντο. [1.7.8] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἱ τε πατέρες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσι αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῶι κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἦκοιεν, ὥς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλιξένον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν. [1.7.9] ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλή εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ

ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἐκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ’ ἐκάστη δὲ τῇ φυλῇ κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μὴ, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν· [1.7.10] ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἔνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημοσιεῦσαι, τὸ δ’ ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. [1.7.11] παρήλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ’ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους, ἂν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος γενομένους. [1.7.12] τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῆνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ μὴ τις ἑάσει τὸν δῆμον πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται. [1.7.13] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἤπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἂν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. [1.7.14] τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεων τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψηφίσιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὐθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. [1.7.15] οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὁμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ’ οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ’ ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν. [1.7.16] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε.

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ’ ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλευσῶν ἃ μοι δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. [1.7.17] κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελεῖσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. [1.7.18] εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδία ἁμαρτόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιланθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων τε καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι; [1.7.19] οὐκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστ’ ἀληθῆ πεύσεσθε καὶ οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὐρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεοὺς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω δ’ ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ οὐθ’ ὑπ’ ἄλλου οὐδενός

ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ἢ ἂν βούλησθε δίκῃ, καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἓνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. [1.7.20] ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. [1.7.21] κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ νῆ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν <γάρ> μοί ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. [1.7.22] τοῦτο δ' εἰ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῶι ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. [1.7.23] τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον διηρημένων τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἐνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι [ἐάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἐάν τε μὴ], ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἐτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ ἀπολογήσασθαι. [1.7.24] τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀνάιτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ <ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. [1.7.25] ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας, τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. [1.7.26] τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὃν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξενος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ; [1.7.27] ἀλλ' ἴσως ἂν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα <ἀποκτείναιτε>, μεταμελήσει δὲ ὕστερον. <ἀναμνήσθητε> ὥς ἀλγεινὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἦδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. [1.7.28] δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἴτα δ' Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις οὗσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ἢ ἐβούλετο καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προὔθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας,

νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε.
[1.7.29] μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἐαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειρᾶσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρας ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναύαγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἑρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας· Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ἐφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι· [1.7.30] καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, αὗται ἅπασαι γίνονται ἐπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἐκάστην ναῦν τῶν ἀπολωλυῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. [1.7.31] τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων <τῶν> τριηράρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὅς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶςπραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτοις ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν μὴ ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο κρίνεσθαι. [1.7.32] τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων, ὅτι ὁ χειμῶν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεῶς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ἥπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. [1.7.33] μὴ τοῖνυν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας [οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα]· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

[1.7.34] Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ Κανωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου·

ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχισάντων στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ. [1.7.35] καὶ οὐ πολλῶι χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστῆσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων, ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῶι ἀπέθανεν.

Βιβλίον β'

[2.1.1] Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἑτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπὸ τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμῶν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφήν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὅποσοι εἶησαν. [2.1.2] πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρῶιτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ὀρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μὴ τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας διαβολὴν σχοῖεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὦσιν· [2.1.3] ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχὼν τινὶ ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. [2.1.4] θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτῶντων τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, αἰεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθεῖν ἔχων. [2.1.5] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἑτεόνικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσιν· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσίων δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἐκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρήνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἐκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε. [2.1.6] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγόντες εἰς Ἐφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν. [2.1.7] καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταῦτά λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δις τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδωκαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη

τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων].

[2.1.8] Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς [τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χεῖρις, ἐν ἣ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι. [2.1.9] Ἰεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἄρρωστών, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.

[2.1.10] Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου,] Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἐφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ἦται· [2.1.11] ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἶη, καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῶι, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. [2.1.12] λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριῆρεις τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ <πρὸς> τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

[2.1.13] Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἄρρωστών ἐκεῖνον καλοίη, ὢν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας. [2.1.14] ἦκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἶα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῶι πλείους ναῦς ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρὸς τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίαι, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.

[2.1.15] Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς τὰ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἄρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρεΐαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μισοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον. [2.1.16] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὀρμώμενοι τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς

ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγούς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προσεείλοντο Μένανδρον. Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. [2.1.17] Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πρὸς τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἐκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι. [2.1.18] ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν περὶ. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. [2.1.19] προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἰροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἶνου καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. [2.1.20] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὠρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. [2.1.21] ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διεῖχε δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτην σταδίου ὥς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο. [2.1.22] Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὀρθρὸς ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὥς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβάλλων, προεῖπεν ὥς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο. [2.1.23] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὥς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅψε ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. [2.1.24] Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἔπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὅ τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὐταὶ ἦκον. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο. [2.1.25] Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὀρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίου ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὀρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστόν παρήνει πρὸς τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν· οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. [2.1.26] οἱ δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν

στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκείνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὤχητο. [2.1.27] Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπομένοις, ἐπὰν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, τὰ τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονούντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοῦμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἄραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. [2.1.28] Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσήμηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρήγει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια. [2.1.29] Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμπάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἰστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὁκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα. [2.1.30] Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ ἅλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμπακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδεΐμαντον. ἥ δ' ἡμέραι ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μιλήσιον ληιστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. [2.1.31] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐκέλευσε βουλευέσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα δὲ κατηγορίαι ἐγίνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἃ τε ἤδη παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριῆρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν· Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. [2.1.32] ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδεϊμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἡτιιᾶθη μέντοι ὑπὸ τινων προδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ

Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἑλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

[2.2.1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. [2.2.2] Λύσανδρος δὲ τοὺς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινα που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θᾶπτον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνης Σθενέλαον ἀρμοστήν Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

[2.2.3] Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διήκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ' ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκίαι, καὶ Ἰστιαίας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. [2.2.4] τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἣι ἔδοξε τοὺς τε λιμένας ἀποχωῶσαι πλὴν ἐνὸς καὶ τὰ τεῖχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὥς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

[2.2.5] Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τὰς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνῃ· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἑτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν. [2.2.6] εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν. [2.2.7] Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἄγιν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἐτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Πausανίου. [2.2.8] ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν

τῇ Ἀκαδημαίᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ]. [2.2.9] Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀθροίσας, ὥς δ' αὐτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηιώσας Σαλαμῖνα ὠρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἵργε τοῦ εἰσπλου.

[2.2.10] Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουσαν τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν <εἰ μὴ> παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἑτέροι ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. [2.2.11] διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῶι πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἄγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. [2.2.12] ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. [2.2.13] οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς] καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἷάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἄγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἦκειν βουλευσαμένους. [2.2.14] οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἤκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ὥιοντο γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθῆσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἄν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῶι ἀπολεισθαι. [2.2.15] περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβουλευεῖν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλευεῖν. [2.2.16] τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἔνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὅποτε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὃ τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογήσειν. [2.2.17] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε

τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίαι ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἴτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὢν ἐρωτῶιτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ἡιρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. [2.2.18] Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναίων ὄντα, ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου. [2.2.19] Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίαι, ἐρωτῶμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἤκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ἣ ἂντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαίρειν. [2.2.20] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται. [2.2.21] Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανεφέρον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολὺς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοί ἤκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. [2.2.22] τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρή πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τεῖχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην. [2.2.23] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατήισαν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

[2.2.24] Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχη μὲν πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἐλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.

[2.3.1] Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἥ τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Εὐδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορευόντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ἡιρέθη, οὐκ

ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἢ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε.] [2.3.2] ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἐλέσθαι, οἱ τοὺς πατέρας νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ἡρέθησαν οἷδε Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἰππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἰέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἰππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. [2.3.3] τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἐκάστους.

[2.3.4] Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

[2.3.5] Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

[2.3.6] Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν ἐν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον. [2.3.7] Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, [2.3.8] ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα, ἀπάγων τὰ τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδία, καὶ ἀργυρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. [2.3.9] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε τελευτῶντος τοῦ θέρους [εἰς ὃ ἐξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἷδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ

καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας ἄλῳσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἶδε· [2.3.10] Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἐξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεῦξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἰλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος, Παντακλῆς. Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Εὐδῖος, ἐφ' οὗ Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν].

[2.3.11] Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἡϊρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθιρέθη· αἰρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ' ὧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὓστινας πολιτεύσονται, τούτους μὲν αἰεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὥς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. [2.3.12] ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὖς πάντες ἡίδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἢ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἷ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι συνῆιδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. [2.3.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξαντο βουλευέσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλονται, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδῶν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσονται τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. [2.3.14] ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἀρμοστήν συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὥς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττειεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὖς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηροὺς τε καὶ ὀλίγους ἀξιούς, ἀλλ' ἤδη οὖς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δὲ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν. [2.3.15] τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει ὁμογνῶμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἔνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἵπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· [2.3.16] ὁ δὲ [ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ Θηραμένει] ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγγωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ

ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἡττόν τι οἶει ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. [2.3.17] ἐπεὶ δέ, ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως, πολλοὶ δῆλοι ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἢ πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμαμάτων, ἀδύνατον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. [2.3.18] ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυσθῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων· [2.3.19] ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπαν δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὗτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὗτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἶη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βάϊαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἡττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. [2.3.20] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὐτοῖς τὰ ὄπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναδί. [2.3.21] τούτων δέ γενομένων, ὥς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὃ τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἔνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτείνειν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι. [2.3.22] ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὄντινα βούλοιο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκείνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἶων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικούντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; [2.3.23] οἱ δ' ἐμποδῶν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίαι πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὥς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγέλαντες νεανίσκοις οἱ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας

παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. [2.3.24] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε.

ἽΩ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μὲν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείους τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι ὅπου πολιτεία μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται· πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστάσιν διὰ τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι. [2.3.25] ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἷοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὐποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι αἰεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. [2.3.26] καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδῶν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. [2.3.27] νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένην τουτονὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἂν κατανοῆτε, εὐρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτοῦ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδῶν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· [2.3.28] νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερώς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων. [2.3.29] ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὥς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσωι χαλεπώτερον φυλάσσασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δ' ἐχθιον, ὅσωι πολεμίῳ μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὐθις πιστοὶ γίνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὐτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. [2.3.30] ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγνωνά, προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ

ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· [2.3.31] ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. [καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων.] δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἂν δέ τι ἀντικόπτη, εὐθὺς μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως ἂν εἰς οὔρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόπῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς τάναντία πλέοιεν; [2.3.32] καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μετὰίτιος εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις δ' ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοι ἐστὶν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθῇ. [2.3.33] ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν αἰεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ οὐ φυλάσσασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὥς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὥς ἐπιβουλευόντα καὶ ὥς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὥς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. [2.3.34] καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντί τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθαι, ὥς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσῃ τῶν ἐναντία γινωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμῳι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

[2.3.35] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἤρχον δήπου τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὥς διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας

δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι ἀπολέσθαι αὐτοὺς ἀποπλέοντες ὠχοντο. [2.3.36] οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν <παρανενομηκέναι>· ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρῶν ἐτύγγανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίας μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς πενέστας ὠπλίζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. [2.3.37] ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλευοντας ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε. [2.3.38] οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταῦτα ἐγινώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν, ἐκ τούτου καὶ γὰρ ἡρξάμην τάναντία τούτοις γινώσκειν. [2.3.39] ἥιδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμίνιου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἓν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσονται, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίῳ τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται· ἐγινώσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσονται. [2.3.40] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριῆρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγεννημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν. [2.3.41] ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἓνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὐδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσονται. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρηροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῇ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ' αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γε δέοιντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας. [2.3.42] οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ραιδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἐώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς,

πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην φυγαδεύειν· ἦιδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσονται, [2.3.43] τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσονται. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερωδί ποτέρα εὐμενῆς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθροὺς, ὧς Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν. [2.3.44] εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἢ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἢ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας. [2.3.45] ἢ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγὼ εἰμι οἶος ἀεὶ ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. [2.3.46] ἐπεὶ δὲ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνέισαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων; [2.3.47] ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀπμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντως μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγέννησαι. [2.3.48] ἐγὼ δ', ὧς Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν [ἂν] καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν <δραχμῆς> μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμι οἱ οὐκ οἶονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν [ἂν] εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ'

ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι. [2.3.49] εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πάποτε πεπονηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἔσχατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.

[2.3.50] Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο, καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δῆλη ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθεὶς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις. [2.3.51] πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἴου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὀρῶν τοὺς φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπηι. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἶδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὐ φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδὲνα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. [2.3.52] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἰκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτία εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὄνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. [2.3.53] καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἄγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδὲν μοι ἀρκέσει ὃδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, καλοὶ κάγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἐκάστου. [2.3.54] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἑνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· [2.3.55] ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἑνδεκα οὗ δειτὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἴλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ

Σάτυρος, εἶλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρεταί. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γινόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πληρὲς τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρήσαν. [2.3.56] οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλην τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἐπασχε. λέγεται δ' ἐν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὥς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμῶξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἄν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμῶξομαι; καὶ ἐπεὶ γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Κριταῖα τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιώδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

[2.4.1] Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, ὥς ἐξὸν ἦδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

[2.4.2] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὀρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὥς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σὺν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθύς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον. [2.4.3] βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπλήθης καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες. [2.4.4] γινώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν, εἰ μὴ τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατίας ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἱπέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. [2.4.5] ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἥδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία

ἡ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. [2.4.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποιοῦν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ ἔστι μὲν οὖς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωξαν ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν ὀπλιτῶν πλεον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς. [2.4.7] ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκευὴ ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δὲ ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστν. [2.4.8] ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσίνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι, ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγὴν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασιν τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσονται, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραφάμενον αἰεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξίεναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα αἰεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἑνδεκα. [2.4.9] τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἤττον ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ θαρρήτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δὲ τι χωρίον, εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανεράν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. [2.4.10] οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὠιδείου ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἄρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ἦισθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σὺν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν

κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. [2.4.11] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνίεναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὐπω πολλοῖς οὔσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ φέρει πρὸς τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω. [2.4.12] οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλεον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὀπίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῆσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στάς ἔλεξεν· [2.4.13] Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἱ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουσιν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαντον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγέννηται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὐποτε ὦιοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰεὶ ηὔχομεθα. [2.4.14] ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδεύομεθα, νῦν φανερώς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὔσι τροπαῖα ἴστασθαι διδῶσιν· [2.4.15] καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίσασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὀρθιον ἰέναι δύναιντ' ἂν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους ἐξιζόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν. [2.4.16] καὶ ὦιετο μὲν ἂν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἀμαρτήσεται μὲν οὐδεὶς ὢν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ δραπετεύουσιν αἰεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλῶμεθα καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. [2.4.17] ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης

αἰτιώτατος ὢν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὧ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἱ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπιδώσι τὴν πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἂν τις ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾗ παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

[2.4.18] Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρηγγέλλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν [ἂν] τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθεῖη· ἐπειδὴν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μὲν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἐπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ. [2.4.19] καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαιπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἰππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. [2.4.20] Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὐφωνος ὢν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτητα γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας. [2.4.21] πρὸς θεῶν πατρῶιων καὶ μητρῶιων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἐταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἱ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. [2.4.22] ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ

ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακοῦειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. [2.4.23] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὥς οὐ χρεῖη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἡδίκηκεναι, αὐτοὶ τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἓνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.

[2.4.24] Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσινάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱπάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἅφ' ἐσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τεῖχῃ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, αἰεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιεν τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς. [2.4.25] οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν, ἰστοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὀπλῖται, πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνήτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὥσει ἐβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ. [2.4.26] τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὴν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξήκει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ληιστὰς ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰζωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱπέων. [2.4.27] ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱπέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἄστεως

προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἀμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιο τοῦ δρόμου. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολλὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρείχε. [2.4.28] πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἑλευσίνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὥς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθεῖσαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρμοστήν, Λίβυν δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. [2.4.29] καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἑλευσινάδε συνέλεγεν ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Πausanίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. [2.4.30] συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον. [2.4.31] πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Πausanίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἔνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὢν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῃ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. [2.4.32] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρείχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππείας ἑλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ [τοὺς] τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς

τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. [2.4.33] ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἱ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐπιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχῳ, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. [2.4.34] ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὀπλίται, ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Πausanίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγελλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. [2.4.35] ὁ δὲ Πausanίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὥς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθραι πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπέιθοντο. δίστις δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἅστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφοτέρω Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι. [2.4.36] ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὢν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρὴν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφοτέρω τῆς μετὰ Πausανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τοὺς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἅστει ιδιώτας, [καὶ] Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον. [2.4.37] ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ὦιχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἁστεως λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασιν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τόν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. [2.4.38] ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἑκκλητοὶ, ἐξέπεμψαν πεντρκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς

Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίαι διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ὧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν ὥς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἑνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς Ἐλευσίνα κατοικεῖν. [2.4.39] τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ <κατέβησαν> οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν· [2.4.40] Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλευώ ἐγὼ γινῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνωίητε, εἰ ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιοτέροι ἐστε; ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἡδίκηκεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχροῦ ἔνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείαι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. [2.4.41] καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὥς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμη φαίητ' ἂν προέχειν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων περιεῖληφθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἷγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κλοιῶι δῆσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κάκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἡδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἷχονται ἀπιόντες; [2.4.42] οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὢν ὁμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδειξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὖορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταραττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. [2.4.43] καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρωι δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμπσαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ὅρκους ἢ μὴ μὴ μνησικακήσιν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

Βιβλίον γ'

[3.1.1] Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἡξίου, οἷόςπερ αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ, τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο. κάκεῖνος μέντοι προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρῳ περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Σύνεννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα. [3.1.2] ὥς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στρατεύμα' τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὥς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ ὥς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὥς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένης τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.

[3.1.3] Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεῖ δόξας γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, σατράπης κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος, εὐθὺς ἡξίου τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι, ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κῦρον, ὅτ' ἔζη, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ἡρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις, καὶ ἡξίου, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν, ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως ἢ τε χώρα μὴ διοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν. [3.1.4] οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἄρμωστήν, δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμῶδων εἰς χιλίους, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους. ἡιτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλουντο. [3.1.5] ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε [μὲν] στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπειθόντο ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον οὐ κατέβαινεν, ἡγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὧν, δύναιτο ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδήϊωτον διαφυλάττειν. [3.1.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου

συνέμειζαν αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἐκοῦσαν προσέλαβε καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἀλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου· ἐκείνῳ δ' αὕτη ἡ χώρα δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως ἐδόθη ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ Γρόνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὗται αἱ πόλεις ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἑρετριέων μηδίσας ἔφυγεν. [3.1.7] ἦν δὲ ἃς ἀσθενεῖς οὖσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπέιθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος ὑπόνομον ὥρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλὰκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὐτῷ χελώνην ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος δ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.

[3.1.8] Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν πορευομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθείς ἔφυγε· κατηγοροῦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐφείη ἀρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους. [3.1.9] ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνοὺς ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸν Φαρναβάζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἐλόμενος θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ· ἀρμοστής γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὃ δοκεῖ κηλὶς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀταξίας γὰρ ζημίωμά ἐστι. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρναβάζον ἦι. [3.1.10] καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσοῦτοι διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας τοὺς συμμάχους.

Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου, ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν ἔζη, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος

νόσωι ἀπέθανε, παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλωι δοῦναι τὴν σατραπείαν, Μανία ἢ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανίς καὶ αὐτή, ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ αὐτῶι Φαρναβάζωι δοῦναι καὶ παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζωι, ἐπορεύετο. [3.1.11] ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἀνὴρ σοι ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τᾶλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπεδίδου ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἂν οὖν ἐγὼ σοι μὴδὲν χειρόν ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην καθιστάναι; ἂν δέ τί σοι μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου ἔσται ἀφελομένωι ἐμὲ ἄλλωι δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν. [3.1.12] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα σατραπεύειν. ἢ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τοὺς τε φόρους οὐδὲν ἥττον τάνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, αἰεὶ ἦγε δῶρα αὐτῶι, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνει, πολὺ πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα καὶ ἡδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν, [3.1.13] καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῶι καὶ τῶν οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῶι μὲν Ἑλληνικῶι προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἄρμαμάξης θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο. συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῶι Φαρναβάζωι καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν. ὥστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει. [3.1.14] ἥδη δ' οὐσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλεόν ἢ τετταράκοντα, Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὢν, ἀναπτρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τινων ὡς αἰσχροὺς εἶη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ' ἰδιώτην εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι προσῆκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευσούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνίξαι αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, τό τε εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἑπτακαίδεκα. [3.1.15] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἐχυρὰς πόλεις κατέσχευεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίαι. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζωι ἔσωιζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῶι Φαρναβάζωι ἡξίου ἔχειν τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά, ἔστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῶι ἐκείνῳ λάβῃ τὰ δῶρα· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφην ζῆν βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανίας. [3.1.16] ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ

τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἀμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἐκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἡξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους γίνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλῖται ἐπέειθοντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάνυ τι καλῶς περιείποντο· [3.1.17] ὁ δ' ἐν Κεβρῆνι, μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων, νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζῳ τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυομέμῳ αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἐθύετο. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ τρίτῃ· καὶ μέχρι τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος, μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων· ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Φαρνάβαζον βοηθῆσαι ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος. [3.1.18] Ἀθηνάδας δὲ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν Δερκυλίδαν φلυαρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ' ἰκανὸς εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμὼν σὺν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτόν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπήλασαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου, καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονται ἐκ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἂ μὲν ὁ ἄρχων ποιοίῃ οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλοιντο σὺν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι. [3.1.19] ἔτι δὲ διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὥσπερ ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκὼς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ἀναπετάσαντες ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς εὐθὺς ἦι ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν Γέργιθα. [3.1.20] ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὁκνῶν δ' ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πόλεως ἐκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἓνα ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν τούτων ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὁποίους βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ συμμείζας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἡρώτα ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ' ὧτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἔαν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ἦι πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν. [3.1.21] γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο

κωλύειν βίαι τῶν πολιτῶν, εἶασεν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τὴν πόλιν, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος, ὥσπερ Ἑλληνας καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρή, οὕτω πολιτεύειν, ἐξελθὼν ἡγεῖτο ἐπὶ τὴν Γέργιθα. συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν Σκηψίων, τιμῶντές τε καὶ ἠδόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. [3.1.22] ὁ δὲ Μειδίας παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἡξίου τὴν τῶν Γεργιθίων πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοι· ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων ἦιε πρὸς τὰς πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὀρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδας· Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἡγήμην σὺ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταῦθα θύσω τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὥκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρήμα συλληφθῇ, ἐκέλευεν ἀνοῖξαι. [3.1.23] ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐκέλευε θέσθαι περὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνεῖπε καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος, ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας· Μειδίαι γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι. [3.1.24] ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν ἄπειμι, ἔφη, ξενία σοὶ παρασκευάσων. ὁ δέ, Οὐ, μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν ᾧ δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διασκεψώμεθα καὶ ποιήσωμεν. [3.1.25] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἡρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλιπε; Μάλιστα, ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοὶ οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι; πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες τῶν Σκηψίων εἶπον· Ψεύδεται σε οὗτος, ὦ Δερκυλίδας. [3.1.26] Ὑμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν μικρολογεῖσθε, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρῷα· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία δὲ τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν. Ἡμέτερ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ ἡμῖν Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὅπου κεῖται τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου. [3.1.27] ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἴκησιν, ἣν παρελήφει ὁ Μειδίας, ἠκολούθει

κάκεινος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθεν, ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὥς εἴ τι κλέπτοντες ἀλώσوين τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγήσωντο. οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν. [3.1.28] ἐξίῳν δὲ οὗς ἤρυν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες, εἵργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἀνδράσιν· ἂν δέ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γινώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσονται. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου· Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὧ Δερκυλίδα; ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐνθαπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, ὧ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τῇ σουτοῦ Σκήψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρώϊαι οἰκίαι.

[3.2.1] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν ὀκτῶ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ φιλίας χειμάζων βαρὺς εἴη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὥσπερ Θίβρων, μηδ' αὖ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ ἵππῳ κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μὲντοι Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ ἐαυτοῦ οἰκίῃσει Φρυγία, σπονδὰς εἶλετο.

[3.2.2] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίδα Θράικην ἐκεῖ διεχειμάζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου πᾶν τι ἀχθομένου· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν ὀδρυσῶν ἱππεῖς τε ὥς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὥς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ὥς εἴκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἐξῆισαν ἐπὶ λεῖαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ χρήματα. [3.2.3] ἤδη δ' ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ' ἐξῆισαν καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἑλλήνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες παμπλήθεις πελτασταὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἅμ' ἡμέραι προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὥς διακοσίοις οὗσιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐβαλλον, οἱ δ' ἠκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐτιρώσκοντο μὲν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ἐποίουν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργμένοι ἐν τῷ σταυρώματι ὥς ἀνδρομήκει ὄντι, διασπᾶσαντες

τὸ αὐτῶν ὀχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτούς· [3.2.4] οἱ δὲ ἦι μὲν ἐκθέοιεν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥαϊδίως ἀπέφευγον πελτασταὶ ὀπλίτας, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν ἠκόντιζον, καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἐκάστη ἐκδρομῇ κατέβαλλον· τιελος δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ἦισθοντο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀποχωρήσαντες, ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν. [3.2.5] ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θραικῶν ἀποκτείναντες, ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον· ὥστε οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ἦισθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἤϋρον ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολλὸν οἶνον ἐκπιόντες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἵπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες, ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἦγον καὶ ἔκαν τὴν Βιθυνίδα.

[3.2.6] Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν Ἄρακός τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης. οὗτοι δ' ἦλθον ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδαι ἐροῦντες μέντοι ἄρχειν καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν· ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν ὡς ὧν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποίουν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ νῦν οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν, ἐπαινοῖεν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἂν μὲν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἂν δὲ δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτούς. [3.2.7] ἐπεὶ μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεστηκὼς ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἄλλ', ὃ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν· ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν, τότε δέ, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἱκανοὶ ἐστε γινώσκειν. [3.2.8] συσκηνοῦντων δὲ τῶν τε οἴκοθεν πρέσβων καὶ τοῦ Δερκυλίδαι, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον ὅτι καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερροννησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι. τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιτο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Θραικῶν· εἰ δ' ἀποτερισθεῖη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, καὶ σφίσιν ἂν γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοι βούλονται Λακεδαιμονίων· ὥστ' ἔφασαν οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζειν εἰ καὶ

πεμφθείη τις Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράζων. [3.2.9] ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἦν ἔχοι γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδόμενος ὅτι ἔμελλον ὄψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς διαγούσας. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω μενετέον ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλοιο σπονδὰς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἐλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ τότε σπονδὰς, οὕτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκείνιν πόλεις φιλίας ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλησποντον σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Θράκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεῦθου ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον. [3.2.10] ἦν καταμαθὼν πόλεις μὲν ἔνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα ἔχουσιν, χώραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὖσαν, κεκακωμένην δέ, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θραικῶν, ἐπεὶ μετρῶν ἤϋρε τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελὼν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἄθλα ὑποσχόμενος δώσειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτειχίσασιν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὡς ἕκαστοι ἄξιοι εἶεν, ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τεῖχος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ἡρινοῦ χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἔνεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας, πολλὴν δὲ κἀγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην, παμπλήθεις δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομὰς παντοδαποῖς κτήνεσι. [3.2.11] ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.

Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς ἔχουσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ἤϋρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὀρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ ἄγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ ζῶντας ἀπὸ τούτου. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῖτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτοὺς, καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητὴν, καὶ κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔκπλεω πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἵνα εἴῃ αὐτῷ καταγωγὴ, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, ἣ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.

[3.2.12] Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφιερνῆς τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτηι Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνύμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἴῃ ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνει, εἰ βούλοιο, ἀφιέναι αὐτονόμους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ οὖν κακῶς πάσχοι

Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος, οὕτως ἂν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν συγχωρῆσαι αὐτονόμους σφᾶς ἀφεῖναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν. [3.2.13] ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην ἀφιγμένος, ἅμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο Τισσαφέρνης, ἅμα δὲ διαμαρτυρόμενος ὅτι ἔτοιμος εἴη κοινῇ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως· ἄλλως τε γὰρ ὑπερφθόνει τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς ἔφερεν ἀπεστερημένος. ὁ δ' ἀκούων, Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βουλευσόμεθα. [3.2.14] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὰς φυλακὰς εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν πεπερακότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαϊάνδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι ὥς ὀκνοίη μὴ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἐρήμην οὔσαν καταθέοντες φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν χώραν, διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι οὐδέν τι συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι, ὥς προεληλυθότων τῶν πολέμιων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν, ἐξαίφνης ὀρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων· [3.2.15] καὶ ἀνταναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι παρατεταγμένους ἦν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἡ ὁδὸς Κᾶράς τε λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον ἐτύγχανε παρὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅσον εἶχεν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρναβάζου ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ. [3.2.16] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην εἰς ὀκτώ, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα ἐκατέρωθεν καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἶους ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθύετο. [3.2.17] ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στράτευμα, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὥς μαχοῦμενον· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ Πριήνης τε καὶ Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν πόλεων, οἱ μὲν τινες καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ τὰ ὅπλα ἀπεδίδρασκον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῷ Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες. [3.2.18] τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν· ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης τό τε Κύρειον στράτευμα καταλογιζόμενος ὥς

ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς λόγους βούλοιτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἶδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευάσμεν μὲν ἔγωγε μάχεσθαι, ὡς ὁρᾷτε· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνος βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μένοτι ταῦτα δέη ποιεῖν, πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον. [3.2.19] δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Λεύκοφρυν, ἔνθα ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον καὶ λίμνη πλεόν ἢ σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ' ὕστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαιντο. [3.2.20] ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονόμους ἐώη βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι, εἰ ἐξέλθοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρμοσταὶ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἀλλήλοις σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα. Δερκυλίδαι μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.

[3.2.21] Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδᾳ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Ἑλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργεῖους καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην φάσκοντες καταδεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλουν καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ' ἤρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἄρμα, ἐπεὶ ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν, ἄνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν· [3.2.22] τούτων δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ἄγιδος πεμφθέντος θῆσαι τῷ Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν τινὰ ἐκώλουν οἱ Ἑλεῖοι μὴ προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἴη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ. [3.2.23] ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν. ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες οὖν πρέσβεις εἰς Ἥλιν εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δίκαιον δοκοῖν εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἑλείων ὅτι οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα, ἐπιληίδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς

πόλεις, φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἅγις ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἥλειαν κατὰ Λάρισον. [3.2.24] ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγίγνεται· ὁ δ' Ἅγις θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἥλαιοι πολλὸν θρασύτεροι ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ἥιδεσαν δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὕσας. [3.2.25] περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἁγίδι πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἳ τε ἄλλοι πάντες σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἁγίδος δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν Ἥλειων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν Λετρίνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς. [3.2.26] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειράτο. θύσας δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν, καὶ ὑέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐκόντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. [3.2.27] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν [ἀτείχιστος γὰρ ἦν] ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐλεῖν. δηιουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, καὶ οὔσης τῆς στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι <τὸ> παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον <δι' αὐτῶν> προσχωρῆσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες ἐξ οἰκίας ξίφη ἔχοντες σφαγὰς ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ ὅμοιόν τινα Θρασυδαῖω ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου προστάτῃ ὦιοντο Θρασυδαῖον ἀπεκτονέειν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμῃσε καὶ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, [3.2.28] οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ὦιοντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, καὶ οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὄπλα εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὗπερ ἐμεθύσθη. ὥς δὲ ἦισθετο ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν ὁ Θρασυδαῖος, περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἐσμοῦ μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμὼν. [3.2.29] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον, γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ

Ἅγις ἀπιὼν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν, φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ καὶ Λύσιππον ἀρμοστήν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἥλιδος φυγάδας, τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε. [3.2.30] καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο καὶ ἤγετο ἢ τῶν Ἥλειων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα συνεχώρησε Φέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ τὰς Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίζαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις καὶ Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Λασιῶνα τὸν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων ἀντιλεγόμενον. Ἦπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας καὶ Μακίστου ἡξίουσι οἱ Ἥλαιοι ἔχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι. [3.2.31] οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι βίαι πριαμένους ἢ βίαι ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόντων λαμβάνειν, ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἡνάγκασαν· τοῦ μέντοι προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρχαίου Ἥλαιοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἀντιποιοιμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς προεστάναι. τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται καὶ συμμαχία Ἥλειων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἥλειων πόλεμος ἔληξε.

[3.3.1] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἅγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίαι, γέρων ἤδη ὢν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι, καὶ ἔδει βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης, υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός. [3.3.2] εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὃ Ἀγησίλαε, οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἄλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός καὶ ὥς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι ὢν τὸ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἢ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν. Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδὰν ὥς μάλα σευ ψευδομένῳ κατεμήνυσεν ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῳ εἰς τὸ φανερόν τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τοι ἔφυσέ <σε> καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου. οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. [3.3.3] Διοπείθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ,

Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὥς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμὸς εἴη φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντεῖπεν ὥς οὐκ οἶοιτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μάλλον μὴ οὐκ ὦν τοῦ γένους βασιλεύσειε. παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν ὁπότε μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἑρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο. [3.3.4] τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον εἵλοντο βασιλέα.

Οὐπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ Ἀγησιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν δεινотάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν, ἔτι δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος, εἶπεν· Ὡ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτήρσι, καὶ μόλις καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἐπιβουλήν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα. [3.3.5] οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πῶς φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ εἰσαγγεῖλας ὅτι ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύει ὁπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιαῖται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὥς τετταράκοντα, ἡρόμην· Τί δή με τούτους, ὦ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε· Τούτους, ἔφη, νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύναι δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἔνθα μὲν ἓνα, ἔνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἓνα μὲν πολέμιον τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἐκάστῳ πολλούς. [3.3.6] ἐρωτῶντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς συνειδόμενους τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ τούτου ἔφη αὐτὸν ὥς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστατεύουσιν οὐ πάνυ πολλοί, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνειδεῖν· αὐτοὶ μέντοι πᾶσιν ἔφασαν συνειδέειν καὶ εἴλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν. [3.3.7] πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτῶντων· Ὅπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν λήψεσθαι; τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι

οἱ μὲν δὴπου συντεταγμένοι ἡμῶν αὐτοῖ [ἔφασάν γε] ὄπλα κεκτήμεθα, τῷ δ' ὄχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδείξει αὐτὸν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη, πολλοὺς δὲ ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ ἀξίνας, πολλὰ δὲ δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὄπλα πάντ' εἴη ὁπόσοις ἄνθρωποι καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ ὄργανα ὄπλα ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους. πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα πράττεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελμένον εἴη. [3.3.8] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν ἠγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἄλλος ἄλλοθι ἐβουλευσάντο πέμψαι τὸν Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ κελεῦσαι ἥκειν ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ τῶν εἰλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἥ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δ' ἐώκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους. [3.3.9] ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην ἐκείνῳ, ἐν ᾗ γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὕς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων, Ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμπέμψαι ἐξ ἧς ἐπτά οἱ ἂν τύχωσι παρόντες. ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδεῖν οὕς δέοι πέμπειν, καὶ οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν. εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς ἀμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες ὥς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ' ἓνα ἐκείνον ἔπεμπον. [3.3.10] ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα οὐκ ᾔιδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ συμπράττοντες, πρὶν αἰσθῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμῆνυνται, ἵνα μὴ ἀποδρῶσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ' ἔσχον οἱ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὥστε καὶ μόραν ἱπέων ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ' Αὐλῶνος. [3.3.11] ἐπεὶ δ' εἰλημμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦκεν ἱππεὺς φέρων τὰ ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τὸν τε μάντιν Τισαμενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους συνελάμβανον. ὥς δ' ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο, καὶ ὠμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας

ἔλεγε, τέλος αὐτὸν ἤροντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, μηδενὸς ἦττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ τῷ χεῖρι καὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγοντο. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.

[3.4.1] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ ὦν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινός, καὶ ἰδὼν τριῆρεις Φοινίσσας, τὰς μὲν καταπλεύσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζόμενας, προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι γενέσθαι, ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζομένων· ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι. [3.4.2] ἀνεπτρωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἂν αὐτῷ δῶσι τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ τῶν νεοδαμῶδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελεθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ' ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἱ τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ' Ἀγησιλάου. [3.4.3] ἐπαγγελαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ἤτιθεε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον. ἐπὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τᾶλλα καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἐκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο. [3.4.4] ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι θύοι, πέμπαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ στρατεύματος πλεῖστον, εἰς Ἔφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποίητο.

[3.4.5] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης πέμψας ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνας δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτονόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν

τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι, πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι ἂν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἀλλὰ βουλοίμην ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι. Ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως \ σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσιν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. [3.4.6] ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδαι καὶ Δερκυλίδαι καὶ Μεγίλλωι ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀντῴμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθύς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὁμῶς ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.

[3.4.7] Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ' Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γινώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον, προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ' Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αἰεὶ παμπλήθης ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ιδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς. [3.4.8] ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν ὕστερον· οἱ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ ἐσίγων, ἀλλ' ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἥρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὥς δ' αἰεὶ τὰ ἐναντία ὧν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ γινόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἐπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἔτι εἶα ὄχλον τοῖς τε συμπράξαι τι δεομένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἔλαττον ἔξοιεν. εἰ αὐτὸς παρεῖη. [3.4.9] βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύ γε τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω. Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοὺς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι· τοὺς δέ γε αὖξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν, αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἴσως καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴτ' αἰσχύνομαι ἀδυνατῶν παρὰ σοὶ μὴτ' ἐμποδῶν σοὶ ᾧ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ᾧ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοὶ

εἶναι. [3.4.10] εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τοὺς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἱππέας ὥς διακοσίους. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον, ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.

[3.4.11] Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῶι τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὥς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχει, ὅτι ἐπιорκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλήσι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἐφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. [3.4.12] ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὀρμήσειν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον περιῆγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵπῳ τοὺς Ἑλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τάναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβάλων ἀπροσδοκῆτοῖς παμπλήθῃ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε. [3.4.13] καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντος αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὥς προΐδοιεν τί τὰμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ τύχην δὲ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ Ῥαθίην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν

αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέροι, οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνες ἵππεῖς ὥσπερ φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὤρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι. [3.4.14] ὥς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι κρανεῖνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέας, δύο δ' ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἑλληνες ἵππεῖς, βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, πάλιν ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ [Περσῶν] εἰς αὐτῶν ἀποθνήσκει. [3.4.15] γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γινώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν ἱκανὸν κτήσαιοτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι, ἔγνω τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὥς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δεοί. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προειπὼν δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα συντόμως πράττεσθαι ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ζητοίη.

[3.4.16] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἑφεσον· ἀσκήσαι δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἄθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε ὀπλιτικάῃς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεῖς· καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν, ὅσοι κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας. [3.4.17] ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἣ ἦν [τὴν Ἑφεσον] θεάς ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ὀνίων, οἱ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατεσκευάζον, ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως οἶεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. [3.4.18] ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἂν τις κάκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοντο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν δὲ μελετῶιεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα

πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι; [3.4.19] ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίῳν ῥώμην τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ληιστῶν ἀλικομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὀρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.

[3.4.20] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἄφ' οὗ ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ περὶ Ἑριππίδαν παρήσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς νεοδαμῶδεις ὀπλίτας, Ἑριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους, Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὥς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ὥς ἀγωνιούμενοι. [3.4.21] ὁ μὲντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλούμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίῳν πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίῳν ἱππεῖς. [3.4.22] καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπε διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπλήθεσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν. [3.4.23] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γινώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεῖη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἄφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς. τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑψηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. [3.4.24] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν,

καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἑλληνες ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἰροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη, ἃ ἤνυρε πλέον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ὥς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.

[3.4.25] Ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν ἔτυχεν ὦν· ὥστε ἡτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας· Ὡ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις αὐτονόμους οὖσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν. [3.4.26] ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσῃ ταῦτα ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἔως ἂν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκείσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἦι ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν. [3.4.27] ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γινώσκου καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὄντινα αὐτὸς βούλοιο. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῷδε λογισμῷ, ὥς, εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε πεζὸν πολὺ ἂν ἰσχυρότερον εἶναι, καθ' ἐν οὔσης τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις, τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔνθα δέοι. [3.4.28] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθαλαττιδίῳις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὅποσας ἐκάστη βούλοιο τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἱ τε πόλεις ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. [3.4.29] Πείσανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον κατέστησε, φιλότιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς δεῖ. καὶ Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.

[3.5.1] Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ διανοοῦμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἰρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῶιτο τοῖς πράγμασι, ἔμπε Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα, δούς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου, καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα διδόναι τοῖς προεσθηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ' ὧτε πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐλθὼν δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδαι τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίαί τε καὶ Γαλαξιδῶρρι, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυάνθῃ, ἐν Ἀργεὶ δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ. [3.5.2] Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομιζόντες <τε αὐτῶν ἄρχεσθαι>. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνίστασαν καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

[3.5.3] Γινώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστώτες ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους, ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς, χρήματα τελέσαι, νομιζόντες τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα ἔλαβον. [3.5.4] οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὥς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητησίμον, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδήμιον τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἡξίουσιν βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὥς οὐκ ἥρξαντο πολέμου, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς. [3.5.5] οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον πρόφασιν στρατεῦειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν Δεκελείαι καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι ἀκολουθησai. ἠτιῶντο δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους πείσαι μὴ συστρατεῦειν. ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὥς θύειν τ' ἐν Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἶων καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ ὥς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστράτευον. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν εἶναι

τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως·
τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου,
καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδῶν σφίσιν εἶναι. [3.5.6]
οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μὲν
οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον. Λύσανδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν εἰς Φωκέας καὶ
ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ
Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἀλίαρτον. ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ
Παυσανίας, ὅσπερ ἔμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς
ῥητὴν ἡμέραν, ἔχων Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
Πελοποννησίους. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα
ἔπραττε καὶ προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων. [3.5.7] ὁ δὲ
Παυσανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, καθεζόμενος ἐν
Τεγέαι τοὺς τε ξεναγοὺς διέπεμπε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων
στρατιώτας περιέμενεν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο ὅτι
ἐμβαλοῖεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν
Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιάδε.

[3.5.8] Ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισαμένων
χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ' εἷς ἀνὴρ εἶπεν, ὃς
ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε ἅπανσα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ
συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι' ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν
Λακεδαιμονίων, δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει
ἡμῶν. [3.5.9] πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιούμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἐγένεσθε,
προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ
καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν τῷ δήμῳ,
ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ
πλήθει· ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὕτωσιν
ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε. [3.5.10] καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν, ὧς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἂν
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα·
τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων
ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ
πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε
πλείστων ἤρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἔως μὲν
οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖεν. ἔκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρῶστησαν, τότε ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν
ἐγίγνωσκον. [3.5.11] καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ

ὕμεῖς συνασπιδοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε, ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὥς δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσῃσθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς γὰρ ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν ἀεὶ ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν; [3.5.12] Ἥλαιοί γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ πόλεων ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῖς προσγεγέννηται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαροῦμενοι ὑπ' ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετεῖχον, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς; ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἴλωτας ἀρμοστὰς ἀξιοῦσι καθιστάναι, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν, δεσπόται ἀναπεφύησιν. [3.5.13] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὗς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροὶ εἰσιν ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλὴν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν παρεσχέκασιν· ὑπὸ τε γὰρ τῶν ἀρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὗς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει. ὃ γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ' αὐτοῖς συμβαλλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρατῆσαι νῦν τί διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς; [3.5.14] πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς αὖ προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω φανερώς ἀδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους τῶν πώποτε γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχεστε, τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν μόνον δήπου ἡγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχεστε καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἤμεν πολλοῦ ἀξιοὶ καὶ ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὥς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δὲ γε εἰκός τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρω ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων βοηθήσομεν. [3.5.15] καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων ἤρχεστε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίων ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὠπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ' οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρῃ πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ.

[3.5.16] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἀμύπητοι μὲν συνηγόρεον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς.

Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρακινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δὲ γε μεθ' ὑμῶν μαχούμεθα ἐκεῖνοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. [3.5.17] οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Πausανίας μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων στράτευμα, ἔφθη τὸν Πausανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἀλιάρτῳ γενόμενος. [3.5.18] ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμόνος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ἦιε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειθεν αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλουν, προσέβαλε πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. [3.5.19] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἱ τε ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἵππεις. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενε, ἄδηλον· τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ἀλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι. [3.5.20] ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε καὶ στενοπορία ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ ὀπλίται ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἔπεσον αὐτῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι. [3.5.21] ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπεὶ ἦισθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τοὺς τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἐκάστους, ἐκ τούτου μείζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Πausανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπὴν τε καὶ ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν. [3.5.22] ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες συμπαρετάξαντο ὃ τε Πausανίας οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ

ἐμάχετο, ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μείζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ δὲ Πausανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τὸν τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας. [3.5.23] λογιζόμενος δ' ὁ Πausανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι <οἱ> ἐν τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκῶς εἶη καὶ τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐ προθύμως στρατεύονται· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἰππικὸν ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολὺ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον εἶη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἔκειντο, ὥστε οὐδὲ κρεῖττοσιν οὗσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ράϊδιον εἶη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι. [3.5.24] οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ὑποδοῖεν τοὺς νεκροὺς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ὧτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν χωρίων τοῦ ἐπιβαίῃ, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη. [3.5.25] ὁ μέντοι Πausανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν εἰς Ἀλάρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη.

Βιβλίον δ'

[4.1.1] Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίαι, τὰς δ' ἐκούσας προσελάμβανε. [4.1.2] λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξιοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.

[4.1.3] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν Ὅτυς καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀνεβέβηκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ Ὅτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελταστάς. [4.1.4] χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθριδάτῃ, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δοίης Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα; Πολύ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου. [4.1.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ Ὅτυς ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἀσπασόμενος· ἥρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην· [4.1.6] Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος. Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη, ἐόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλὸς ἐστι; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἐσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου μὲν φασὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι. Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, καλὴ γάρ ἐστι. [4.1.7] Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύοιμ' ἂν σοι τὴν παῖδα ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν, οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ ἥδιον; πατὴρ δ' εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος τοσαύτην, ὃς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται αὐτὸν ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὀραῖς, πεποίηκεν. [4.1.8] εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν <ἂν> δύναται. νόμιζε δὲ τούτωνπραχθέντων μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἂν σοι μόνον κηδεστήν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα. [4.1.9] καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοτέρως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις, τίς ἂν ποτε γήμει; ποῖαν γὰρ νύμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι ἱππεῖς καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι τὴν σὴν

γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν; [4.1.10] καὶ ὁ Ὅτυς ἐπῆρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ταῦτα καὶ Σπιθριδάτη λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι, καίπερ ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλον μοι δοκῶ ἡδесθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκω. [4.1.11] Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνη εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ ταῦτ' ἐστί; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἴτ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἥριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν βουλευθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς. [4.1.12] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον, Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ Ὅτυ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν; Πολύ γ' ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. προσιόντων δ' εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἥριππίδας· [4.1.13] Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἂν τις μακρολογοίῃ; τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἂν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκοίῃ. [4.1.14] Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μὲν, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα, σὲ δὲ λαμβάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἥρος οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὅτυς, κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ βούλοιο. [4.1.15] ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὅτυν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλιᾶν Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Δασκυλείῳ ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασιλεία ἦν Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν περιειργμένοις παραδείσοις, αἱ δὲ καὶ <ἐν> ἀναπεπταμένοις τόποις, πάγκαλαι. [4.1.16] παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἰχθύων πλήρης. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων. [4.1.17] καταφρονητικῶς δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐσπαρμένοις, ἄρματα μὲν ἔχων δύο δρεπανηφόρα, ἵππεας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίους. [4.1.18] οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα, συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἐπτακοσίους· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἄρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἵππευσιν ὀπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. [4.1.19] ὡς δὲ τὰ ἄρματα

ἐμβalόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἄθροον, ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατέβαλον ὥς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ὦν. [4.1.20] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ αἰσθάνεται ὁ Σπιθριδάτης τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Καυῇ κόμῃ μεγάλῃ στρατοπεδευόμενον, ἀπέχοντα στάδια ὥς ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ εὐθὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν. [4.1.21] καὶ ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὀπλίτας τε εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς ἄλλους τοσοῦτους καὶ ἱππέας τοὺς τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁπόσους πείσειεν. [4.1.22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἅμα δείλῃ καλλιερησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένου οὐδ' οἱ ἡμίσεις ἐκάστων ἐξῆλθον. [4.1.23] ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέποιτο, καταγελῶιεν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἐπορευέτο σὺν ἧι εἶχε δυνάμει. [4.1.24] ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ ἐπιτεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδεῖαι, τῆς μὲν προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄντων πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ οἷα Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύη πολλὰ καὶ ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα. [4.1.25] διὰ γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι μή, εἴ πού κατασταίῃ, κυκλωθεὶς πολιορκοῖτο, ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας ἐπήιει, ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα ἀφανίζων τὰς στρατοπεδεύσεις. [4.1.26] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα ἀπήγαγον οἱ τε Παφλαγόνες καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης, ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα τὸν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις. [4.1.27] ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι ταῦτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀδικηθέντες καὶ ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι ὤιχοντο ἀπιόντες εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμησεν αὐτῷ. [4.1.28] Ἀγησιλάωι μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.

[4.1.29] Ἦν δὲ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, ὃς καὶ Φαρναβάζωι ἐτύγγανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὦν καὶ Ἀγησιλάωι κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὗτος οὖν εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὥς οἶοιτο συναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας Φαρνάβαζον. [4.1.30] ὥς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπονδὰς λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ

αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαὶ ἐν πόαι τινὶ κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἦκεν ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑποτιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτά, ἐφ' ὧν καθίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι μαλακῶς, ἡσυχύνη ἐντρυφήσαι, ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν φαλότητα· κατεκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί. [4.1.31] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἔπειτα τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπρούτεινε καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤρξατο λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος· [4.1.32] ὦ Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα παρέχων ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν πώποτε μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ' εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχοιτ' ἂν κατηγορήσαι. [4.1.33] τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν ὥς οὐδὲ δεῖνπον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χώρῃ, εἰ μὴ τι ὧν ἂν ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δέ μοι ὁ πατήρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ δένδρων καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ' οἷς ἡϋφραινόμην, ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν κατακεκομμένα, τὰ δὲ κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γινώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με ὅπως ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι. [4.1.34] ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν ἐπὶ ἡσυχύνησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος χρόνῳ ποτὲ εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' οἶμαι μὲν σε, ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίνονται ἄνθρωποι. οὗτοι δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμῳ γένωνται, σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καί, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους. καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες πάντα ἡναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ νομίζειν· σοί γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιησαίμεθα. [4.1.35] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαι σε ἔδει ἀντὶ δεσπότη βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότης, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σοι συνεβούλευον· νῦν δὲ ἕξεστί σοι μεθ' ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα προσκυνῶντα μηδὲ δεσπότην ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ σαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων. [4.1.36] οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μὲν, ἐλεύθερον δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους σοι

καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἴης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνος ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι; [4.1.37] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἀπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνομαι ἅπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι, Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάτῃ [τοιούτῳ τι, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστίν], εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα. [4.1.38] ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὦ λῶϊστε σύ, τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν γένοιο. ἐν δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε ἅπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς σῆς χώρας, τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, κἂν πόλεμος ᾗ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.

[4.1.39] Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπήει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Παραπίτας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἐτι ὢν, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ προσδραμών, Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι. Ἐγὼ δέ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησό νυν, ἔφη. καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτόν [εἶχε δὲ καλόν] ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος, φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετεδίωκε τὸν πατέρα. [4.1.40] ὡς δ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημίας ἀποστερῶν ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας υἱόν, τά τ' ἄλλα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκου υἱέος Ἀθηναίου, πάντ' ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι' ἐκεῖνον ἐγκριθεῖ τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίαι, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.

[4.1.41] Καὶ τότε δὴ, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, εὐθὺς ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπέφαιναν. ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς Θήβης πεδῖον κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυρηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν πάμπληθες στράτευμα. παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὅποσα ὀπισθεν ποιήσαιο ἔθνη πάντα ἀποστερήσειν βασιλῆως.

[4.2.1] Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτους ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθηοντο τά τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν καὶ στρατεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο

εἶναι. [4.2.2] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο, τά τε ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι. [4.2.3] ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν, ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἶων τιμῶν καὶ οἶων ἐλπίδων ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὅμως δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν παρέσομαι πράξων ὧν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε. [4.2.4] ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησίου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ δὲ καλῶς τάκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν ἤκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. [4.2.5] καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὐξενον ἄρμωσθιν καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα δύναιτο διασώζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ' Ἑλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἅθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο καὶ ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱπάρχοις, ὅστις εὐῖπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον δώσων. [4.2.6] τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ εὐκρίνειν. [4.2.7] ἦν δὲ τὰ ἅθλα τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς κόσμον καὶ ὀπλιτικά καὶ ἱππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι χρυσοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἅθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων, παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη. [4.2.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριπίδας καὶ Ὅρσιππος, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἰς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν, ἐπεὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.

[4.2.9] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ πόλις, ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ γένους ὄντα καὶ

πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον. [4.2.10] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῆσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο πῶς ἂν τὴν μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιντο. [4.2.11] Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πρᾶγμα οἷόνπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. οἱ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίνωνται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ῥεῦμα ποιοῦσι, [4.2.12] καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐξέρχονται, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες τὰς πόλεις πλείους τε καὶ δυσμαχώτεροι γίνονται. ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὁπόσοι σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται, ἐὰν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν τυπτομένους· ἐὰν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους δὲ τοὺς σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι. [4.2.13] δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο καὶ διωμολογοῦντο εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα, ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν, ἐν τούτῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ Μαντινέας ἐξῆσαν τὴν ἀμφιάλον. [4.2.14] καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν οἱ γυμνήτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων. [4.2.15] ὥς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῆσαν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπέιχον τῶν πολεμίων, κάκεῖνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.

[4.2.16] Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐκατέρων. συνελέγησαν γὰρ ὀπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἡλείων δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἀλιέων ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς

δὲ τούτοις ἰππεῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρήτες δὲ τοξόται ἠκολούθουν ὥς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆται Μαργανέων καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων. Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν· ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ <ή> μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν. [4.2.17] ἥ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν, περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους, καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἀπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. ὀπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον· ἰππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρήσαν] εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς ἑξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν, Λοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλεόν ἦν· καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρήσαν αὐτοῖς.

[4.2.18] Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι κατήπειγον τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ' Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθύς τὰ τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς μάχης ἐσομένης. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν παντελῶς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθεῖσαν, ἐπηκολούθουν, καίπερ γινώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι. [4.2.19] τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠισθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθύς ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὥς ἐκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν, παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, καὶ οὕτω πολλὸν ὑπερέτεινον τὸ κέρας, ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἐξ φυλαῖ κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας. [4.2.20] οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαιγιασάμενοι οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέραι, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ

Θεσπιάας γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώραι ἔπιπτον ἑκατέρων. [4.2.21] αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς ὄντες, συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας φυλάς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρῆσαι παρήλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν· [4.2.22] τοῖς δ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολέμαρχου ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρώτους. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν. [4.2.23] τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἡττώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς πολέμοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.

[4.3.1] Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβρόθήει· ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι νικῶιέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολέμιων παμπλήθεις· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν. [4.3.2] ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου· Ἄρ' ἂν, ὃ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὥς τάχιστα πύθοιντο; ἀπεκρίνατο δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα ἂν ἀπαγγεῖλαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ αἰὲ φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω, ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν. [4.3.3] ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον ἐπορεύετο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κρανωνῖοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ἐτύγγανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες. [4.3.4] ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας

οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρανὸν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἵππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. [4.3.5] ὥς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῶι εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν. [4.3.6] οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἃ ἑκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον. πέμπει τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὥς τάχιστα καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν. [4.3.7] οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὥς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἠλίσκοντο. [4.3.8] Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία γίνεται· ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἠλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο. [4.3.9] καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μετὰ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἠδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονούντας ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ ἐνενίκηκε σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῶι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια.

[4.3.10] Ὅντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδὴς ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλη ὅτι ἡττημένοι εἶεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος τεθναίῃ. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο. [4.3.11] εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλοις, Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ. [4.3.12] ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου, καὶ πολλὸ ἐλαττόνων αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος [τοῦ] Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμειζαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιτο εἰς τὴν Κνίδον, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νήϊ μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν. [4.3.13] ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἷη αὐτῷ οἷον ἀγαθῶν μὲν γιγνομένων ἠδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὀρώιεν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου

μεταβαλὼν ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκῶς, νικῶν δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. [4.3.14] ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων· ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικόντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.

[4.3.15] Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ Βοιωτοί, Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ ἀμφοτέρω· σὺν Ἀγησίλαῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα ἢ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβάσα, ἥμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμῳδεῖς συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσας διῶν παρέλαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο ὀπλιταὶ Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταὶ γε μὴν πολὺ πλείους οἱ μετ' Ἀγησίλαου· ἵππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος. [4.3.16] ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἷα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆισαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησίλαῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. [4.3.17] συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἦν· ἡνίκα δ' ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάζαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων, ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὐτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. [4.3.18] κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομένιους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἶψαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως. [4.3.19] ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἐξεστὶν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἴλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα. ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς

ὄπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. [4.3.20] ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάου ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων τί χρή ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων, ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔαν τε ἀπιέναι ἦι βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα. τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν. [4.3.21] πρῶι δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίοιν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων· Γῦλις δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Φωκέας, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει. [4.3.22] καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεύη ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σῖτον ἥρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωρούντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες. ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ διώξαντες κατέβαλόν τινας, ἐκ τούτου ὄπισθεν μὲν οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον. [4.3.23] οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προορᾶν τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα ἀποθνήσκουσι Γῦλις τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οἱ μὲν καταλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες, ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν ἅπαντες ἀπολέσθαι.

[4.4.1] Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἴκου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι

ἐκ Σικυῶνος. ὁρῶντες δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν
δηιουμένην καὶ ἀποθνήσκοντας διὰ τὸ αἰετῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς εἶναι,
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὄντας καὶ τὰς
χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὖσας, οἱ πλείστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν
εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον ταῦτα ἀλλήλους.
[4.4.2] γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορινθίων
οἳ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ
πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγενημένοι ὥς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδῶν ποιήσονται τοὺς
ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσει πάλιν ἡ πόλις λακωνίσει,
οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχειροῦν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ πάντων
ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, κἂν νόμοι τις
καταγνωσθῇ, οὐκ ἀποκτινύουσιν ἐν ἐορτῇ· ἐκεῖνοι δ' Εὐκλείων
τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο, ὅτι πλείους ἂν ὦντο λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ, ὥστε ἀποκτείνειν. [4.4.3] ὥς δ' ἐσημάνθη οἷς εἴρητο οὗς ἔδει
ἀποκτείνειν, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μὲν τινα συνεστηκότα ἐν
κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δὲ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι δ' ὃν καὶ
κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὥς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα, εὐθὺς ἔφευγον οἱ
βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ
τοὺς βωμούς· ἔνθα δὴ οἱ ἀνοσιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον
φρονούντες, οἳ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς
τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥστ' ἐνίοις καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων δ'
ἀνθρώπων, ἀδημονῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν. [4.4.4]
ἀποθνήσκουσι δ' οὕτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοί· μᾶλλον γὰρ
ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι, ὑποπτεύσαντος
Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἡσυχίαν ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κραναίῳ. ὥς
δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ἤισθοντο, καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος
ἀφίκοντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν
Ἀκροκόρινθον, προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀπεκρούσαντο· [4.4.5] βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ
κικόκρανον ἀπὸ τοῦ κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου. καὶ
θυομένοις δὲ τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντιες ἔφασαν ἄμεινον
εἶναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὥς φευξόμενοι
ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον
καὶ μητέρες ἰοῦσαι καὶ ἀδελφοί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων
ἦσαν οἱ ὁμνύοντες ὑπισχνούντο μηδὲν χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι,
οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθόν τινες οἴκαδε αὐτῶν. [4.4.6] ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς
τυραννεύοντας, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ καὶ

ὄρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς
ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῆς ἐν Ἄργει
μετέχειν, ἥς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον
δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντό τινες αὐτῶν οἱ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον
εἶναι· πειρωμένους δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον
ποιῆσαι καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μαιφόνων καθάραν,
εὐνομίαι δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναιτο καταπραῖσαι
ταῦτα, σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ μὴ δύναιτο, τῶν γε
καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ὀρεγομένους ἀξιεπαινοτάτης
τελευτῆς τυχεῖν. [4.4.7] οὕτω δὲ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἄνδρε δύο, Πασίμηλός τε
καὶ Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι Πραξίται τῷ
Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ, ὃς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας
φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι δύναιντ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ
εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν
γινώσκων τῷ ἄνδρῳ ἀξιοπίστῳ ὄντε, ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξάμενος
ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἀπιέναι μέλλουσιν ἐκ Σικυῶνος μόραν καταμεῖναι,
ἔπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον. [4.4.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ ἄνδρῳ καὶ κατὰ τύχην καὶ κατ'
ἐπιμέλειαν ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἔνθαπερ τὸ
τροπαῖον ἔστηκεν, οὕτω δὲ ἔχων ὁ Πραξίτας ἔρχεται τὴν τε μόραν
καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Κορινθίους ὅσοι φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπεὶ δ'
ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις, φοβούμενος τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν
ἄνδρα εἰσπέμψαι σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τῷ δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην καὶ
οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὥστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε πάντα εἶναι
ἀδόλως οἷάπερ ἐλεγέτην. [4.4.9] ἐκ τούτου δ' εἰσέρχεται. ὥς δὲ πολὺ
διεχόντων τῶν τειχῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων παραταπτόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἑαυτοῖς
ἔδοξαν εἶναι, σταύρωμά τ' ἐποίησαντο καὶ τάφρον οἷαν ἐδύναντο
πρὸ αὐτῶν, ἕως δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσοιεν αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ
ὀπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακή. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ
νυκτὶ ἢ εἰσηλθὼν ἡμέραν ἄμαχοι διήγαγον· τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι ἦκον οἱ
Ἀργεῖοι πασσυδαὶ βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὐρόντες τεταγμένους
Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυωνίους δὲ
ἐχομένους, Κορινθίους δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
πρὸς τῷ ἐώϊῳ τείχει, ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι [δὲ] τοῦ ἐώϊου τείχους
<οἱ> περὶ Ἰφικράτην μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι·
εὐάνθυμον δ' εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. [4.4.10]
καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες τὸ σταύρωμα ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ

θάλατταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. Πασίμαχος δὲ ὁ ἵππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἵππιας οὐ πολλοὺς, ὥς ἑώρα τοὺς Σικυωνίους πιεζομένους, καταδήσας ἀπὸ δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ ἀφελόμενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν, μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἦει ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀρῶντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὥς Σικυωνίους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπῶν ὁ Πασίμαχος· Ναὶ τὼ σιῶ, ὦ Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος μετ' ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτόν. [4.4.11] οἱ μέντοι φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς διέδυσαν ἄνω, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστὺ κύκλου· οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς ἦισθοντο κρατούμενα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀριστεραῖ ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα. οἱ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν ὀπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι αὐτῶν παιόμενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἀθρόοι σὺν πολλῷ ὄχλῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὥς δ' ἐνέτυχον τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν Κορινθίων, καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν. ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες ἥλλοντο κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὠθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνίγοντο. [4.4.12] οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠπόρουν τίνα ἀποκτείνειν· ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἷον οὐδ' ἠϋζαντό ποτ' ἄν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντα πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις θεῖον ἠγήσαιτο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλοὶ ἔπεσον ὥστε εἰθισμένοι ὀρᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι σωροὺς σίτου, ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἐθεάσαντο σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες. [4.4.13] μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἦγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἰρεῖ προσβαλὼν πρῶτον μὲν Σιδοῦντα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κρομμυῶνα. καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας

φρουρούς τοῦμπαλιν ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τειχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον εἴη πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.

[4.4.14] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἐκατέρων διεπέπαυντο, φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τεῖχη· μισθοφόρους γε μὴν ἑκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.

[4.4.15] Ἦνθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλίγοις δὲ λεηλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσοῦτους ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῶι φεύγειν κατάγοιεν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου ὥστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς φυγάσιν, ὅσον χρόνον εἶχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναθαρρῆσαι ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οἶανπερ καὶ παρέλαβον. [4.4.16] οἱ δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται παντάπασι οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβηντο. τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ ἐδεδίεσαν ὥς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν τοῖς ὀπλίταις· ἥδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσοῦτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλόντες ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν. [4.4.17] καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν, ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε, ἐπεκδραμόντες πελτασταῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι ἐνέκλινάν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὥς οἱ σύμμαχοι φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαιῶν ὀρμώμενοι σὺν μόραι καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων φυγάσι κύκλωι περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύοντο. [4.4.18] οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ῥώμην τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τεῖχη τῶν Κορινθίων διήρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἡγήσαντο κράτιστον εἶναι ἀνατειχίσαι τὰ διηρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τεῖχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες πανδημεὶ μετὰ

λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς Σιλυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνυ καλὸν ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ ἐῷον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἐτείχιζον.

[4.4.19] Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργεῖους τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἡγεῖτο, καὶ δηιώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τείχῃ. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριῆρεις περὶ δώκεκα· ὥστε μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέραι ὧν ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχῃ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ἤιρηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τό τε τῶν συμμάχων στράτευμα διῆκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἶκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

[4.5.1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων ὅτι <οἱ> ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν καὶ σώζοιντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοιντο αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἴσθμόν· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὥς Ἀργούς τῆς Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὥς δ' ἦισθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρείας ὁδόν. [4.5.2] ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ ὀρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτὸς τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε καὶ περιέμενεν, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια. καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἃ τῶν ἄθλων δις ἕκαστος ἐνικήθη, ἔστι δὲ ἃ δις οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν. [4.5.3] τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρῃ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ἀπεχώρησε μετ' ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὥς προδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως· ὥστε οἱ Κορινθιοὶ δέισαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο ὑπὸ τινων ἢ πόλιν, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτην σὺν τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρῃ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ προΐει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θερμαῖς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, ἡ δὲ

μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέρευσεν. [4.5.4] ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῷ καιρίῳ δ' ἐνθυμήματι ἠυδοκίμησε τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρῃ φερόντων τὰ σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος διὰ τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, καὶ ἀνεβέβηκεσαν δὲ ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία, ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης, πάντες μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ καόμενος· ὅφ' ὅτου δ' ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἶδεν. [4.5.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦισθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῳ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἑραιοὺν κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δοῦλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων Οἰνόνῃ τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἶρεϊ, καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον. οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἑραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέψοντες Ἀγησίλαῳ γινῶναι ὅ τι βούλοιο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ' ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραθῆναι. [4.5.6] ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξήκει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑραίου πάμπολλα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα· πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθεν τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἦκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους μὲν οὐδ' ὁρᾷ ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι καθήμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος ἐθεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι· οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἀεί πως ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι. [4.5.7] ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησίλαου καὶ εὐοκίμους ἀγαλλομένους τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἵππεὺς τις προσήλανε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς ἰδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵπου καὶ προσδραμὼν αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὢν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας πάθος. ὁ δ' ὥς

ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεπήδησε καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοντῆρας καὶ ξεναγούς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν. [4.5.8] ὥς δὲ συνέδραμον οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν, οὐ γάρ πω ἡριστοποιήντο, ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιτο ἤκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν ὑψηγέιτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντες παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ μὲν ὑψηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαιίου, προσελάσαντες ἵππεῖς τρεῖς ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνηρημένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὄπλα καὶ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ "Ηραιον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.

[4.5.9] Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ ἐρωτώμενοι ὅ τι ἤκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ τι καλῶσι βούλοιντο εἰς ἅστῳ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας· Ἀλλ' οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν, ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ ὄντες γνώσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστί. [4.5.10] καὶ οὐκ ἐνέυσσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν, εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυνεν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήκει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς μὲν τὸ ἅστῳ οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν ἀπέπεμψεν. ἅτε δὲ ἀήτους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί· οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικηφόροι λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν. [4.5.11] ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῶδε τρόπῳ. οἱ Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεὶ ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν παιᾶνα. ἐάν τε στρατοπεδεύομενοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν Λεχαιῷ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς παρέταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἵππεων μόρᾳ παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς παρῆγεν. [4.5.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους

τοῦ Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις οὓσιν ὥς ἑξακοσίους ἀπῆιε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἱππαρμοστήν ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱπέων μόρῃ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὀπόσου αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὀπλίται οὐδὲν ἡγνόουν· κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφίσιν. [4.5.13] οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἰππονίκου, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱπέων, ἐνόμισαν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ πορεύοιντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ γυμνά ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ραϊδίως ἂν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὀπλίτας. γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. [4.5.14] καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας παρέταξε τοὺς ὀπλίτας οὐ πόρρῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρῃ. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μὲν τις ἐτέτρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον· καὶ οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν· ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἀποδιῶξαι τοὺς προειρημένους. [4.5.15] ὥς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ἦρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς ὀπλίται ὄντες πελταστὰς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους ἕκαστος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτην, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκοντίζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ πλαγίου παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο. [4.5.16] ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι πλείους αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπeson. ἤδη δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται καὶ σὺν τούτοις αὖθις δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὥς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἔως ἀπέκτεινάν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὖθις, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμοι θρασυτέροί τε καὶ ἀεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες. [4.5.17] ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ

βραχύν τινα γήλοφον, ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὥς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ Λεχαίου ὥς ἕξ ἢ ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον, ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἦδη, ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνησκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὀρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους. [4.5.18] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπῆι, ἄλλην δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαίῳ. διὼν δὲ ἐπ' οἴκου ὥς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὥς δ' ἐδύνατο πρωιαίτατα ἐξωρμάτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος παρῆλθεν. οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχίματι θεάσασθαι. [4.5.19] ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπετύγχανεν Ἴφικράτης. καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδοῦντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶνι ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἴλε ταῦτα τὰ τεῖχη, ἐν Οἰνότηι δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἐάλω, πάνθ' εἴλε ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇι παριόντες ἐκ Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν, ἀλλὰ παραπλέοντες καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὀρμώμενοι πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.

[4.6.1] Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς Καλυδωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπεστράτευσαν, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν συμπαρῆσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. [4.6.2] Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἐπόμεθα ὅποι ἂν ἡγήσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων οὕτω γιγνομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' ἢ ἐάσαντες τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμήσομεν Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε καὶ τοῖς

συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἥ εἰρήνην ποιησόμεθα ὅποιαν ἂν τινα δυνώμεθα.
[4.6.3] ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίαι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος. οἱ μέντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημεὶ συνεστρατεύοντο.
[4.6.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἄσθη, πάντα δὲ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἀλίσκηται ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς πολέμιας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων εἶπεν ὥς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους αἰρήσονται, δηιώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παραλείψει οὐδέν. [4.6.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, οὕτως ἐποίει, καὶ κόπτων συνεχῶς τὴν χώραν οὐ προΐηι πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ δέκα ἢ δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἡγησάμενοι ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος, τὰ τε βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ πλεῖστα εἰργάζοντο. [4.6.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάντῃ ἤδη θαρρεῖν, ἡμέραι πέμπτη ἢ ἕκτη καὶ δεκάτη ἀφ' ἧς εἰσέβαλε, θυσάμενος πρῶτι διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἣν τὰ βοσκήματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπλήθη καὶ βουκόλια καὶ ἵπποφόρβια καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα. [4.6.7] τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλλοντες καὶ σφενδονῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας τοῦ ὄρους ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευαζόμενον. εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον. [4.6.8] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λειμῶνός τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχοντα ὄρη· καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνοντες εἰς τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὁρῶν προσέκειντο καὶ πράγματα παρείχον, ὥστε οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι. [4.6.9] ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ ἀπὸ

τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ τε ὀπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἵππεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδὲν ἔβλαπτον· ταχὺ γὰρ ἦσαν, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῖεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες. χαλεπὸν δ' ἠγησάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας, ἔγνω διώκειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων προσκειμένους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὄντας· εὐβατώτερον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὀπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις. [4.6.10] καὶ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐσφαγιάζετο, μάλα κατεῖχον βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, καὶ ἐγγὺς προσιόντες πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἧβης, ἤλανον δὲ οἱ ἵππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἠκολούθει. [4.6.11] οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀπέθνησκον φεύγοντες πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὀπλῖται ἦσαν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ πολὺ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα βέλη ἠφίεσαν καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες ἱππέας τε κατέτρωσαν καὶ ἵππους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τριακοσίου. [4.6.12] τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαε· πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἰλὲ γε οὐδεμίαν. ἡνίκα δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπήιει ἐκ τῆς χώρας. [4.6.13] οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον αὐτόν, ὅτι πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήφει οὔτε ἔκοῦσαν οὔτε ἄκουσαν, ἐδέοντό τε, εἰ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε χρόνον καταμεῖναι αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία λέγοιεν τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, στρατεύομαι πάλιν δεῦρο εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν θέρος· οὗτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω σπείρωσι, τοσοῦτωι μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουσι. [4.6.14] ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν ἀπήιει πεζῇ δι' Αἰτωλίας τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς ὥς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ' ἂν ἀκόντων Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι· ἐκεῖνον μέντοι εἶασαν διελθεῖν· ἤλιπζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος ἐκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλουν τριήρεσιν ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.

[4.7.1] Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς,

εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἥρος πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαινε ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείαι σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἂν πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν σῖτον φθειρόντων ὥσπερ εἰ περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι πολιορκοῖντο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο.

[4.7.2] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεῦειν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ὅπισθεν καταλιπόντας ὄμορον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἄργος φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἡγήτεον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἐπρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαιεν αὐτῷ ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπῆρετο αὖ τὸν Απόλλω εἰ κάκείνῳ δοκοίη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα κατὰ ταυτά. [4.7.3] καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ στράτευμα, ἐκεῖσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει, ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὥσπερ εἴωθεσαν, ἑστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας σπονδὰς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδὰς, ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἐκπληξιν κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε. [4.7.4] διεπνοποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ ἐσπέρα, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἤδη γιγνομένων, ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὑμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ παιᾶνα· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ὥιοντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι καὶ Ἅγις σεισμοῦ ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν ἐξ Ἥλιδος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, κωλύειν ἂν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν νομίζοι· [4.7.5] καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἡγεῖτο οὐ πόρρῳ εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἄτε δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου

ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ Ἄργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποῖ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγαγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποῖ τὴν χώραν ἐδήλωσεν, ὥσπερ πένταθλος πάντῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπειρᾶτο. [4.7.6] καὶ ἤδη μὲν ποτε βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τάφρους πάλιν διέβη· ἦν δ' ὅτε οἰχομένων τῶν πλείστων Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν προσήλθεν ὥστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ὄντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ὥστ' ἠναγκάσθησαν οἱ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ Κρῆτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπποι κατετοξεύθησαν. [4.7.7] ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἰρκτὰς στρατοπεδευομένου αὐτοῦ πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μὲν τινες πληγέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τειχίσαι φρουρίον τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ ἄλφοβα. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, ἅτε ἀπροσδοκῆτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλὼν.

[4.8.1] Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις γενόμενα διηγῆσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας λόγου παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τοὺς τε Λακωνικοὺς ἄρμοστὰς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις ὥς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιέν τε αὐτονόμους. [4.8.2] οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἡδοντό τε καὶ ἐπῆνουν καὶ ξένια προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὥς οὕτω μὲν ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλῃαι ἔσονται, εἰ δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὥς μία ἐκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανὴ εἶη παρέχειν καὶ κίνδυνος εἶη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἰσθοῖντο, συσταῖεν. [4.8.3] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπεΐθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβάς δ' εἰς Ἐφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετταράκοντα τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ πεζῇ παρήει ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πάλοι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ,

ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὧν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρμοσται ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ κατέσχε τὴν Ἀβυδὸν καὶ διέσωιζε φίλην τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς ἔλεξε τοιάδε. [4.8.4] ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὗσι τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον <ὡς>, εἰ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης, ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ φίλους καὶ κακῶς ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ ὄντως ἡ ἡμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἂν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοεῖτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν οὐπω ναυτικόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος γενήσεται. [4.8.5] οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ προθύμως ἐπέισθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἄρμοστὰς φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμποντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβάς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν, καταντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον ὀκτῶ σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἥθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων ἄρμοσται ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἥ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις, καὶ Αἰγαιεῖς καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία δύνανται οἰκεῖν οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν <ἂν> ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποῖον δὲ δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὁ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλήχθαι. [4.8.6] ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ἤρρε τὴν τε Ἀβυδὸν καὶ τὸν Σηστόν οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπέιθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐδήμιον τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ'

Ἑλλήσποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλεῖστον ναυτικὸν ἄθροισθείη. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλθεῖν τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ὃ τι δύναιτο. [4.8.7] καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὀρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φαράς ἐδήλωσε ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὃ τι ἐδύνατο, φοβούμενος δὲ τὴν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὠρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικούντα. [4.8.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἄλοϊεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ τεῖχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων τεῖχος φρουροὺς τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον ἄρμοσθην ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ εἰς Ἴσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα εἶχεν, ὥχετο ἐπ' οἶκον ἀποπλέων. [4.8.9] λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος <ὥς> εἰ ἐώη αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων, καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τὰ τε μακρὰ τεῖχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος, οὗ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένους· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλεῖστα ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελεῖς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀνατειχισμόν. [4.8.10] ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τεῖχους ὥρθωσε, τὰ τε αὐτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ λιθολόγοις μισθὸν δίδους, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τεῖχους ἅ καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐθελούσiai συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος ἦρχεν. [4.8.11] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένῃ ἀπέθανε, καὶ Πόλλις

αὐτὸν ἐπιστολεὺς ὢν τρωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν, Ἡριπίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς παρ' Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς ἐξέλειπε τὸ Ῥίον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὐτὸ παρέλαβον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡριπίδου ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν ἐκράτει.

[4.8.12] Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἀνορθοίη καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων τὰς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ παρὰ θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἢ καὶ ἀποστῆσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ἢ παῦσαι γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα. γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα. [4.8.13] αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρακάλεσαν δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ παρεγένοντο ἀπὸ τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Ἀργούς. [4.8.14] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἦκοι τῇ πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἴασπερ βασιλεὺς ἐπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τὰς τε νήσους ἀπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι. καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς [οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ] βασιλεὺς πολεμοίῃ ἢ χρήματα δαπανώῃ; καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατόν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν πόλεων. [4.8.15] τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις λόγοι ταῦτ' ἦν. οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους εἶναι τὰς νήσους, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖν, οἱ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ ἀναγκασθεῖν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους, οἱ τ' Ἀργεῖοι, οὗ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὡς Ἄργος ἔχειν τοιούτων συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἵκαδε ἕκαστος.

[4.8.16] Ὁ μέντοι Τιρίβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως ματὰ Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὐτῷ ἡγεῖτο εἶναι· λάθραι γε μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδαι, ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ

ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης προσδέονται, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὥς ἀδικοῦντά τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθῆ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων εἶρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαινε πρὸς βασιλέα, φράσων ἅ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφὼς εἶη ὥς ἀδικοῦντα, καὶ ἐρωτήσων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων πάντων. [4.8.17] καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν, ὥς Τιρίβαζος ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν, Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν. ὁ μέντοι Στρούθας ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσεῖχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἐώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὀρμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε καὶ Λευκόφρυος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τὴν βασιλέως. [4.8.18] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὅτι Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἐκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς, ἔπεμψεν ἱππείας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὃ τι δύναιτο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων ἐτύγγανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου διασκηνῶν μετὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ αὐλητοῦ. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς [ἰσχύος], ἅτε λακωνίζων, ἀντεποιεῖτο. [4.8.19] ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλοὺς τε ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους ἱππείας. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν καὶ Θέρσανδρον πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ διώκοντες παμπλήθεις κατέβαλον, ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλείους διὰ τὸ ὀψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας. πολλάκις γάρ, καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας τὴν βοήθειαν ἐποίησατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐγεγένητο.

[4.8.20] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὐκ ἄξιον εἶη περιδεῖν Ἀθηναίους Ῥόδον καταστρεψαμένους καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθεμένους. γνόντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώτεροι, ἑαυτῶν, ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς ὀκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἐκδικον ἐπέστησαν. [4.8.21] συνεξέπεμψαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν. ἐκέλευσαν δ' αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τάς τε Θίβρωνα

ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασώζουσιν, καὶ στράτευμα τὸ περισωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἴ ποθεν δύναιτο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Διφρίδας ταῦτ' ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ τ' ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν τὴν Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί, καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν· ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν εἶχε μισθοδοτεῖν. [4.8.22] ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ εὐχαρὶς τε οὐχ ἥττον τοῦ Θίβρωνος, μᾶλλον τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγχειρητικώτερος στρατηγός. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ πρὸς ᾧ εἶη ἔργωι, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν. ὁ δ' Ἐκδικος ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κνίδον ἔπλευσε καὶ ἐπίθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδωι δῆμον πάντα κατέχοντα, καὶ κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν [διέπλεον] διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ Κνίδωι. [4.8.23] οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἦισθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπωι περιπλεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἐκδικον, κάκεῖνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὃ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κνίδον, ὁ δ' Ἐκδικος οἴκαδε. [4.8.24] αὐτὸς δ' ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἥδη ἔχων ναῦς ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι· πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίαι τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρωι ἑαυτοῖς πράττοντες· οἱ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλωι χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ συμμαχίαν ἔπεμπον Εὐαγόραι τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς βασιλέα, ὃ τε Τελευτίας Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμοῦντων βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμωι διέφθειραν. ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κνίδον καὶ διαθέμενος ἃ ἔλαβεν, εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν.

[4.8.25] Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν δύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν. ὁ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε, νομίζων οὗτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ραϊδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὗτ' ἂν τοὺς σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι, τὰς τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὄντας καὶ μάχῃ κεκρατηκότας· [4.8.26] εἰς δὲ

τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε καταπρᾶξαι ἂν τι τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκόν τε τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλέα καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα ἀλλήλοις μὲν διήλλαξεν αὐτούς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ Θράκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων τούτων μᾶλλον προσέχειν ἂν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν νοῦν. [4.8.27] ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ πόλει, [4.8.28] ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους προσποιησάμενος ἀπέπλει ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐπιτυχὼν δ' ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν Μυτιληναίων λακωνιζούσαις, ἐπ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ἦει, πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνῃν κατεπεφεύγεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους προσλαβὼν, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθείς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις, ὡς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσας Λέσβου ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσιν, ὡς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἴωσιν, ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἅπαντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθῆναι, τοῖς δ' αὖ ἐπιβάταις ὡς φίλην Λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλὴν εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν. [4.8.29] Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς ἄρμοστής ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἤκουσε τὸν Θρασύβουλον προσιέναι, τοὺς τ' ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτόθι, ἀπῆντων ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον. [4.8.30] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεηλατῶν χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως <δ> ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐρρωμενέστατον τὸ στράτευμα ποιήσαιο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἡγγυρολόγει καὶ εἰς Ἄσπενδον ἀφικόμενος ὠρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα ποταμόν. ἤδη δ' ἔχοντες αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τῶν

στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ αὐτόν.

[4.8.31] Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλόμενοι ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πεπραμένη εἴη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ Καλχηδὸνα ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλησπόντια πόλεις φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῖς Φαρναβάζου εὖ ἔχοιεν, ἔγνωσαν ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι. [4.8.32] τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδαι οὐδὲν ἐμέμφοντο· Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἄρμωσθης εἰς Ἄβυδον. εἰ δὲ λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ πολεμήσειν ὑπισχεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ. [4.8.33] οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν τῶν τ' Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄβυδον ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδήμιον τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν· καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε συμπληρώσας ἐξ Ἀβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας κατῆγεν, εἴ τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων συμμάχων. [4.8.34] αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ φθαρεῖν σφίσιν ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Θρασύβουλος, ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἴφικράτην ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔχοντα καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρινθον Ἄργος ἐπεποίητο, οὐδὲν ἔφασαν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν ἀργολιζόντων· καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήναζε οἶκοι ἔτυχεν ὧν. [4.8.35] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἴφικράτης ληιστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλοις· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἴφικράτης αἰσθόμενος καὶ Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἄντανδρον σὺν τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις ὀπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας ὅτι τὴν Ἄντανδρον φιλίαν προσειληφὼς εἴη, ὑπονοῶν ὅτι καταστήσας αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύσοιτο πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἵκαδε, διαβὰς τῆς νυκτὸς ἥι ἐρημότατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐποίησατο. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις αἱ διήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τῆς ἄνω, ὅπως δοκοίη, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ' ἀργυρολογίαν

ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι. [4.8.36] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀναξίβιος ἀπεπορεύετο, ὥς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν γεγενημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας, ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε τῶν ἀπαντῶντων τὸν Ἰφικράτην ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου, ἀμελέστερον ἐπορεύετο. [4.8.37] ὅμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξίβιου ἦν, οὐκ ἐξανίστατο· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστὴν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὰ χρύσεια αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ἐπόμενον ἐν τῷ κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς αὐτόν. [4.8.38] καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γνοὺς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, ὁρῶν ἐπὶ πολὺ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς προεληλυθότας, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἅπαντας, ὥς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας· Ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν σωτηρίαν. [4.8.39] καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐν χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀρμοστήρων ὥς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὥς διακόσιοι ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Χερρόνησον.

Βιβλίον ε΄

[5.1.1] Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὦν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἑτεόνικος ἐν τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειζία χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον τῶν Αἰγινήτων πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ θάλατταν ὁ πόλεμος ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λήζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς. [5.1.2] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς Αἶγιναν καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ, ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπήλασε, τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.

[5.1.3] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἰέραξ ναύαρχος ἀφικνεῖται. κακεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας· μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὀρμώμενος, οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταίνίωσεν, οἱ δ' ὑστερήσαντες ὅμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ἤρχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ. [5.1.4] γινώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα οὔτε κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχανήμα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν διηγοῦμαι· ἀλλὰ ναι μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ κινδύνων ἀξιολογώτατον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.

[5.1.5] Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἰέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατέλιπε καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἁρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ὑπὸ ψηφίσματος Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπὸ τε τῶν ληιστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς τρισκαίδεκα, καὶ αἰροῦνται Εὐνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς. [5.1.6] ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες καὶ

Τιριβάζωι τοῦτο ποιοῦντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἴγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἐφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν, ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε τὸν ἐπιστολέα. καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε· παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδήϊου τὴν χώραν, καὶ χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἄβυδον. [5.1.7] οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἀθροισθέντες ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὥς δ' ἦισθοντο εἰς ἄββυδον καταπεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ Χερρονήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ μέντοι Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμωι· καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἴγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν· ἐκβιβάσας δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας. [5.1.8] ὁ δ' Εὐνόμος ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφηγεῖτο, ὅπως μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἐπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ τὸν λαμπτήρα, ὑπολειπόμενος, ὅπως μὴ φανερός εἴη μηδ' αἰσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων τε ψόφωι τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν. [5.1.9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστήρα τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμωι ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι ὠρμίζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ὦιχετο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγιναν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.

[5.1.10] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν Εὐαγόραι, πελταστάς τ' ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς καὶ ὀπλίτας. αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν, ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρῃ, ὥσπερ συνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀπλίται, Δημαινέτου αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα ὥς ἐκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται. [5.1.11] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετὰ τε τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν οἱ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν ὅσοι

ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ' ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί, ὃ τι ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὄπλον ἔχων. [5.1.12] ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον. ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὀπλίται. καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ ἐλάττους διακοσίων. [5.1.13] ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν θάλατταν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἑτεονίκῳ ἠθέλον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ <ἐπὶ ταύτη< ἐκπέμπουσιν <ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς ναῦς< ναύαρχον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἦκοντα οἱ ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιαύδε. [5.1.14] ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων ἤκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυμῆσθε, πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὐχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἥττον ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τὰ τ' ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσατε μὲν ἂν ἴσως, εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἢ γε μὴν θύρα ἢ ἐμὴ ἀνέωικτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεώϊζεται δὲ καὶ νῦν. [5.1.15] ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἂν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν με ὀράτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἶσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾷσθε, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐκ τούτων ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνητε. [5.1.16] καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἢ ἡμετέρα, ἢ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τάγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ ραιθυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὁπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνους γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως μὲν συμπονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ συνευδαιμονῶμεν. [5.1.17] τί γὰρ ἡδιον ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν μήτε Ἑλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅθεν περ κάλλιστον; ἢ γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν τε καὶ εὐκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.

[5.1.18] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν ὅ τι ἂν δέηι, ὥς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· Ἄγετε, ὧ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν ἅπερ καὶ ὥς ἐμέλλετε· προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι μιᾶς ἡμέρας σίτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἦκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα, ὅπως πλεύσωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιζόμενοι. [5.1.19] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τότε μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τότε δὲ κώπαις προσκομιζόμενος. εἰ δέ τις ὑπολαμβάνει ὥς ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς κεκτημένους, ἐννοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ. [5.1.20] ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργῶπα ἀπολωλότους· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμοῦσαι, ἀσφαλέστερον ἠγήσατο ἐπ' εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὕσας πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ἦδει ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἐμελλον οἱ ναῦται σκηνησίειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίνωσκεν ὅτι οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται ἄλλος ἄλλῃ σκηνησίειν. [5.1.21] ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεῖχε πέντε ἢ ἑξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ ἀνέπαυεν. ὥς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαιεν, ἠγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύειν μὲν οὐδὲν εἶα στρογγύλον πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν· εἰ δὲ πού τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὁρμοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἅπλουν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτηγικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους ἄγειν ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου δύναιτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήνεγκαν. [5.1.22] ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν αἰσθόμενοι ἐνδοθεν ἔθεον ἔξω, σκεψόμενοι τίς ἢ κραύγῃ, οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς ἄστρ' ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν καὶ ὀπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὥς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐαλωκότος. [5.1.23] ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῶν τριήρων τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἅτε ἐκ τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἀλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὀλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μὲν τινας σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε. [5.1.24] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.

καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων ἐλάμβανεν ὅ τι ἐδύνατο. καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.

[5.1.25] Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν. ὥς δ' ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἴφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ ὤχετο εἰς Ἄβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὥς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν Καλχηδονίων· ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. [5.1.26] αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίδωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσιν, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης, βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμμεῖξαι. [5.1.27] ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι προσπλέοιεν τριῆρεις ὀκτὼ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων, ἐνήδρευεν ὥς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον, ἐδίδωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχὺ κατειλήφει· παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίδωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἀλίσκομένους σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας <καὶ> τῶν βραδυτέρων ἠλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἦλωσαν ἅπασαι. [5.1.28] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἱ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν, ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν Τιριβάζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει, ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ὤχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ ἔγρημε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατήγεν. [5.1.29] οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὥς πρότερον καταπολεμηθεῖσαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως γεγεννημένου, πολιορκούμενοι

δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν ληιστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόραι μὲν ἐν Λεχαίῳ, μόραι δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῳ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλιντο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίσταν, μὴ ἀποσταίεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἷ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουρὰν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν. [5.1.30] ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμποι, ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνήλθον, ἐπιδείξας ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίνωσκε τὰ γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.

[5.1.31] Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενᾶς καὶ Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἰμβρου καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων. ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταῦτα βουλομένων καὶ πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.

[5.1.32] Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουσαν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὁμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν μὴ ὁμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ' εἶη. Ἴτε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὤχοντο. [5.1.33] ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐπισπεύσοντας, διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγοὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὀρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρήσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιάσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἵκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ' εἰς τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις. [5.1.34] οἱ δ' αὖ Κόρινθοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων φρουρὰν. ἀλλ' ὁ

Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς μὲν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὐτῆς ἢ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολῖται ἐκόντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.

[5.1.35] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὠμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις ἐμμενεῖν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεὺς, ἐκ τούτου διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικά στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαίρεσεως τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. [5.1.36] ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὐπὲρ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν, ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν φήναντες ἐπ' αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξοίεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.

[5.2.1] Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὥς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, τούτους κολάσαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι ὥς μὴ δύναιντο ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περαιοῦν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. [5.2.2] αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὥς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, καὶ ὥς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι, ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὥς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι δὲ γινώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινεῖαι μάχην τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι. [5.2.3] ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τεῖχη, φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας,

λέγων ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἢ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις· Ἀγησίπολις δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Πausανίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείαι τοῦ δήμου προστάτας. [5.2.4] ὥς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδήϊου. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδ' οὕτω καθήρουν τὰ τεῖχη, τάφρον ὥρυτε κύκλῳ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς δ' ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος, ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλῳ τεῖχος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠικοδόμησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη, εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας χαλεπὸν ἔσσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν στρατείαις τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ' ὄντα εὐμεγέθη. [5.2.5] ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας ἤριετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπὲρ τε τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων. βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μὲν τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ ἐμηχανῶντο ὥς μὴ πίπτει ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ κύκλῳ τείχους δοριάλωτοι γένοιτο, ὠμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπεῖσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ διοικιοῖντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες ἀνάγκην εἶναι συνέφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν. [5.2.6] οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἐξήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας. καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀπείχοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾷον ἢ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας. [5.2.7] ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθιερέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διωκίσθη δ' ἡ Μαντίνεια τετραγῆι, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὤικουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν ὤικουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς περὶ τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκραταὶ δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἥδοντο τοῖς πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ καθ' ἓν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην ἐκάστην ξεναγόν. συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν

κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας οὕτω διεπέρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτη γε τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.

[5.2.8] Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὁποῖοι τινες ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καιρὸν ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς ἕως μὲν σφεῖς οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο ὅποι ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον, ὥς ἔπεσθαι μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχοιντο εἶσω τῶν πυλῶν. [5.2.9] ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν ἔλεγον ὥς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πόλει εἶεν, ἀδικοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἄξιον δ' ἔφασαν μὴ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράξασθαι κατελθεῖν αὐτούς. ἃ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιντο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν ἔνδοθεν παρείησάν τινες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγὴν. [5.2.10] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες, ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα, τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πριαμένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιτο, δίκη διακριθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.

[5.2.11] Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγισται τῶν περὶ Ὀλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. ἀκούσαντες δ' οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦκον, προσήγαγον αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. [5.2.12] ἔνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς πρᾶγμα μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὀλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ' ὧν νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως. [5.2.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους

ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ ἡισθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρесьόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν. [5.2.14] ἡμεῖς δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολιτα εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ' ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι νῦν γ' ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὀπλίται μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους <ὀκτακοσίων>, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ τοσοῦτοι· ἱππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι. [5.2.15] κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ἐψηφισμένον εἶη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι, ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς Παλλήνης οὔσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ' ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὗται αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηνται· μάλιστα γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὅμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ' ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν διδασκούςας ταῦτα. [5.2.16] ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἶη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος ἀθροιζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδῶν, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυσιτιάν ὑπάρχει; [5.2.17] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θρᾶικες οἱ ἀβασίλευτοι, οἱ θεραπεύουσι μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ αὕτη δύναμις προσγένειτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι. [5.2.18] τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἂν τις λέγοι; καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ φρονήματα αὖξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν, ὧ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν ὅτι οὕτω τὰ κεῖ ἔχει·

ὕμεῖς δὲ βουλευέσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε εἰδέναι, ὥς ἦν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὐπω δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὗται, ἂν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον, ταχὺ ἀποστήσονται· [5.2.19] εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ἐγκτήσεσι παρ' ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ γινώσκονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἔπεσθαι κερδαλέον ἐστίν, ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ' ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τὰ τε αὐτῶν σώιζουσιν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως εὖλυτα ἔσται.

[5.2.20] Λεγθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὃ τι γινώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταγμα ἐκάστην πόλιν. [5.2.21] λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργυρίον τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγίναϊον κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἱππέας τε εἰ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἱππεῖ δίδοσθαι· [5.2.22] εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιοῦν στατήρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἡμέρας. [5.2.23] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν ἐδίδασκον ὥς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν εἶη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περανθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐν ἣι αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ ἀθροίζοιτο, ὥς τάχιστα ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονός τε, ὅση ἂν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου τάς τε οὐπω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις στήναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἦττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν. [5.2.24] δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὥς δισχιλίους. ὁ μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξῶν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων ἀθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτεΐδαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἐκοῦσαν, σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων οὖσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.

[5.2.25] Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὥς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν Θήβαις,

ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες μὲν ἐτύγγανον Ἴσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἐταιριῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἴσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδαι. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσωικειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε· [5.2.26] Ἐξεστί σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῆιδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσης ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσσεσθαι. [5.2.27] καίτοι νῦν μὲν, ὥς ὀραῖς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ σοῦ στρατεῦειν Θηβαίων ἐπ' Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ ταῦτα μεθ' ἡμῶν πράξης, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμπομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος Ὀλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἔσει Θήβας, πολὺ μείζω πόλιν Ὀλύνθου. [5.2.28] ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ ἀπιέναι· ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἦι καιρὸς, πρὸς σὲ ἦξω ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτὸς σοι ἡγήσομαι. [5.2.29] ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν, θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ' ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθύς εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δ' ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδόντες τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα παρίεναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὄντινα μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθύς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν. [5.2.30] ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γὰρ φασὶ πολέμιοι ἦκειν, ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντας ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν, εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ Ἴσμηνίαν, ὥς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοὶ τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ λαβόντες ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται. [5.2.31] οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα παρῆσάν τε καὶ ἐπεΐθοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον· τῶν δὲ μὴ

εἰδόντων, ἐναντίων δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ οἴκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ἦισθοντο [οἱ] ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταῦτα γινώσκοντες Ἀνδροκλείδαι τε καὶ Ἰσμηνῖαι μάλιστα τριακόσιοι. [5.2.32] ὥς δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ Ἰσμηνίου ἄλλον εἵλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἐπορεύετο. ἦρε δ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδαι, ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι πεπραχὼς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ δὲ ἀγαθὰ, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν, πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ἐστὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα. [5.2.33] ἔπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑώρατε γὰρ αἰεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν ἐν Πειραιεὶ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν, Φωκεῦσι δέ, ὅτι ὑμᾶς εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἑώρων, ἐπεστράτευν; [5.2.34] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν αἰεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν τότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῆσθε. [5.2.35] ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατείληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνῖαι κρίσιν ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἓνα ἀφ' ἐκάστης καὶ μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὥς βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὥς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγεννημένος εἴη καὶ ὥς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων μετεिल्φῶς εἴη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν. [5.2.36] ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνήσκει·

οἱ δὲ περὶ Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔτι πλείω ὑπηρετοῦν ἢ προσετάρτετο αὐτοῖς. [5.2.37] τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὀλυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστελλον. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν μὲν ἄρμοστήν, τὴν δ' εἰς τοὺς μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοὶ τε ἅπαντας συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύοντες ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίαι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ οἱ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τελευτίαι ὑπηρετοῦν, καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι, καὶ ἡ τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ ἀδελφοῦ, προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὀπλίτας καὶ ἰππέας. [5.2.38] ὁ δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τοῦ τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ὥς πλείστην δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἡξίου αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι χρήματα διδόναι, ὥς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν τὸν Ἑλμίας ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι κατεστραμμένοι τὴν μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας εἶεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν ἐλάττω, εἰ μὴ τις αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως. [5.2.39] ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτεΐδαιαν, ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὐτ' ἔκαεν οὐτ' ἔκοπτε, νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσῃ τούτων, ἐμποδῶν ἂν αὐτῷ πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ ἀναχωροίῃ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδῶν καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὀπισθεν ἐπίοι. [5.2.40] ὥς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα στάδια, ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων, οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαιναν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἰέναι ἢ ἐξῆισαν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἢ δ' ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν. καὶ τῶν ἰππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἰππέας ὥς εἰς τετρακοσίους διὰ τε τὸ ἄγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὥς ἡδόμενος παρείη. [5.2.41] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολεμῖοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει, συσπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἰππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους

ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι ἱππικόν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν ἡττηθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἦλασεν. ἐπήγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει. [5.2.42] ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἦσθοντο οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, δέισαντες μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρους πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας παμπόλλους ἱππέας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μέντοι πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ὄντος. [5.2.43] ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖον τε ἐστάθη καὶ ἡ νίκη αὕτη τῷ Τελευταίᾳ ἐγεγένητο, ἀπὼν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτίννουν.

[5.3.1] Ἄμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὥς ἐξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρία καὶ διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὥς δ' εἶδε τὴν καταδρομὴν, ἡσυχίαν [τε] εἶχε, τοὺς θ' ἵππους ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἦλαννον, τότε δὴ συντεταγμένους ἔχων ἐξελαύνει. οἱ δὲ ὥς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. [5.3.2] ὁ δ' ὥς ἄπαξ ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ ἀποκτιννύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν ὀλυνθίων τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχίρεις τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην παντελῶς εἰργάζοντο. [5.3.3] προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευταίου ἐστρατευμένου πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὥς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον εἶη ἢ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι, ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἡσυχὸν πορευόμενοι διέβησαν τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στράτευμα. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας, ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδα τὸν τῶν πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν. [5.3.4] οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὥς εἶδον προθέοντας τοὺς πελταστάς,

ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἡσυχοί, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως, καὶ ὥς φεύγουσι διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, ἠνίκα ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες, ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτὸν τε ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Τλημονίδα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν. [5.3.5] ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ὥς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὄπλα ἤγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, διώκειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ ἐγγυτέρω τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε ἠναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη. [5.3.6] ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένη τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει. τούτου δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἴστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλῳ, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθῳ, οἱ δὲ εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὥς δ' ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διώκοντες παμπλήθεις ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὅτιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.

[5.3.7] Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν [ὥς] ἐγὼ φημι ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν οὖν <ὥς> οὐδ' οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπότες ὀργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν· ἀτὰρ ἀντιπάλους τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμη προσφέρεισθαι ὅλον ἀμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπρονοόητον, ἡ δὲ γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἥττον μὴ τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως βλάβῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.

[5.3.8] Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι, ὅπως τὸ τε φρόνημα τῶν νενικηκότων κατασβεσθεῖη καὶ μὴ μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν. [5.3.9] πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ κάγαθοι ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων, καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθελονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι

τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον.

[5.3.10] Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν ἔδοσαν, νομίζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι, θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἤξiouν τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων καὶ τίς αὕτη δίκη εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζουεν, οὐδὲν εἰσήκουον. [5.3.11] ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν οὐ δοκοῖεν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐξημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. [5.3.12] οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἴκαδε μὲν ὤκνουν ἀπιέναι, μένοντες δ' ἐδίδασκον ὥς οὔτοι μὲν εἶησαν οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα, οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν, οὔτοι δὲ οἱ πριάμενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ ἀποδιδόναι, οὔτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιωθῆναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδεὶς τολμῶι ἰέναι δηλώσω τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα. [5.3.13] τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ αὐτοῦ Ἀρχιδάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον, καὶ τότε τῶν κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν· αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ Προκλέα τὸν Ἴππονίκου. [5.3.14] ὥς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομένων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ' ἐπορεύετο, πολλὰ πρεσβεῖα ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ' ἵνα ἀδικοίῃ στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθήσειεν. [5.3.15] οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσιν, ἐδέοντό τε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὥς οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν ἔφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, ἔφη, ποιήσαντες οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡδικήθητε. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι. [5.3.16] οὐκ

ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε [καί] εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ περιτειχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς. πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀλίγων ἔνεκεν ἀνθρώπων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλεον πεντακισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ' ἔνδηλον εἶη, οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερωῖ τοῖς ἔξω ἐκκλησιάζον· ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμχανήσατο. [5.3.17] ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε συσσίτιά τε αὐτῶν κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν διδόναι, ὅποσοι γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἅπασιν τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας, εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.

[5.3.18] Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εὐθύς [τε] ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιὼν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήκει αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδήμιον καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῆτον· Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβαλὼν εἴλε κατὰ κράτος. [5.3.19] ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καῦμα περιφλεγές λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρωσ αὐτὸν τότε ἔσχε τῶν τε σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν ὑδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι ἐβδομαῖος ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθείς καὶ κοιμισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.

[5.3.20] Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἢ τις ἂν ὤιετο ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν συνουσίαν. συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὅταν οἴκοι ᾖσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἵππικῶν καὶ παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπιδεῖτο αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηναίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἄρμοσθην ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυνθον ἐκπέμπουσιν.

[5.3.21] Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσου ἐλέγετο ἐν [τῇ] Φλειοῦντι σῆτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἡμισυν ψηφισάμενοι σῆτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν, καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος

χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι διήκεσαν. [5.3.22] καὶ τόλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὥστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς δὲ οἷς ἠπίσται εἴρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἰς τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου. [5.3.23] ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ ἡῦρισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπεῖσασθαι πρεσβείαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰοῦσι· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει ὃ τι βούλονται. [5.3.24] ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποίουν, πέμψας μὲν πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπέισατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ. φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέραι ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίῃ. ὅμως μέντοι ὃ γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ ὑφείλετο ὄπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ. [5.3.25] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων, πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἰκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρῖναι ὄντινὰ τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὄντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἶη· ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσοιντο· ἕως δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς φρουροῖς ἐξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἶκαδε ἀπήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὐτὸς ἐπετετέλεστο ἐν ὀκτῶ μηνσὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.

[5.3.26] Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ δὴ παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σῖτον αὐτοῖς, ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες συνθήκας ἐποίησαντο τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν, ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ ὁμόσαντες ταῦτα ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἶκαδε.

[5.3.27] Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους

μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργεῖους δὲ τεταπεινωθῆναι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν, Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἡρημῶσθαι, τῶν δ' αὖ συμμάχων κεκολασμένων οἱ δυσμενῶς εἶχον αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.

[5.4.1] Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὥς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ οἱ ὁμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἔασιν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν πρῶτον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τοὺς τε τῶν πολιτῶν εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουλευθέντας Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν, τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἐπτά μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἥρκεσαν καταλῦσαι. ὥς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.

[5.4.2] Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχois, καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπηρετεῖ, ὥς ἐδόκει, ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὢν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε πεφευγόντων Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ τὴν περὶ Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δούς καὶ λαβὼν συνέθετο ὥς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίνεσθαι. [5.4.3] ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἔξ τοὺς ἐπιτηδαιοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο ὄπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός· ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἐν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς πύλας ἦλθον, ὥς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκα περ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιούσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν. [5.4.4] ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς πολεμάρχοις, ὥς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδοι τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνόμενος ἄξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις, τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ, ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι, μάλα ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν. [5.4.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἐταῖρας, ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας ὥς δεσποίνιας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους

ὥς θεραπαίνας. [5.4.6] κἀκείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προταμειὸν τοῦ πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες, εἴ τις τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δοὺς οἶνον εἰς ἐνὸς τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε τὰς ἐταῖρας δῆ, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἐκάστωι. ἦν δὲ σύνθημα. ἐπεὶ καθίζουσιν, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους. [5.4.7] οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὥς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου οἰκίαν· κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἀπαγγεῖλαι τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγγανε μὲν χωρὶς κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων εἰσιέναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντες, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ εἶπον τὴν θύραν κεκλεισθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεωιγμένην, ἠπειλήσαν ἀποκτείνειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ. [5.4.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκειον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ πολεμάρχων ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὥς δὲ ἀνέωixe, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὅπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν, καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὅπλα. [5.4.9] ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, ἱππέας τε καὶ ὀπλίτας, ὥς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ δὲ πολῖται, ἕως μὲν νυξ ἦν. ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερόν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον, ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέας οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις Ἀθηναίων [τοὺς] δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν. οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὃ ἀπεστάλκεσαν \ [5.4.10] ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἀρμοστής ἐπεὶ ἦισθετο τὸ νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καὶ Θεσπιάς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιᾶς αἰσθόμενοι προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλεον ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἤδη παρῆσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. [5.4.11] ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τὴν τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἀπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν κηρυγμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβᾶσιν, ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι

ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπιοῦσι διδοῖεν. οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ἤιτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι καὶ ὄρκους ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξέπεμπον. [5.4.12] ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες ἀπέσφαζαν.

[5.4.13] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν ἄρμοστήν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης εἴη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἴη τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἕξω στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κακεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἔνεκεν κατέμεινε, ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν τι βούλοιντο περὶ τούτων. [5.4.14] οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι, πρῶτον τότε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν εἰς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἀνακειῖου λελυμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα οὔσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἐξέφυγεν, οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταιὰς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας. [5.4.15] ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιάς ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς οὔσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς. κακεῖ μὲν ἄρμοστήν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν οἰκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευσε ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦσθαι. [5.4.16] καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀποροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ εἰρήνη εἴη· ἤγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας. [5.4.17] ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο,

ὄν καὶ οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων. πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς Κρεύσιος τὸ καθήκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν ὄνους κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, ἀμύπολλα δὲ ὄπλα ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. [5.4.18] τέλος δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύεσθαι, ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγιοσθένει ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὄπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε ἤδη ἕκαστοι ἀπῆσαν· ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.

[5.4.19] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὀρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ρώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη παρίοντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τῷ δύο στρατηγῷ, οἱ συνηπιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.

[5.4.20] Οἱ δ' αὖ Ὀθηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβοῦμενοι, εἰ μηδένες ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιόνδε εὐρίσκουσι μηχανήματα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσῃ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κάκεῖνος πειθόμενος αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι, ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἤγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρῶν δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. [5.4.21] Θριαῖσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐποίησεν ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι στράτευμα ἀμύπολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὀπλισάμενοι καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὀπλίται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν. [5.4.22] τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν ὄντες παρὰ Καλλίαι τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὠκυλλος· οὗς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἂν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι ἦσαν ὡς εἰ ἤιδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὐτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ' ἂν ἠυρέθησαν.

[5.4.23] ἔτι δ' ἔλεγον ὥς εὐδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο ὅτι οὐδ' ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνήιδει. Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα πεύσονται ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κακεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες μηδὲν συνειδέναι ἀφειθήσαν. [5.4.24] οἱ δ' ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὅμως δὲ καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι <ή> δίκη κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.

[5.4.25] Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρία Κλεώνυμος, ἡλικίαν τε ἔχων τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἅμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλικίων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι, ἅτε ἐταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρία, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον, τὸν δὲ γε Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο, καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιθέναι. [5.4.26] ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον· Ὑξεσί σοι, ὦ υἱέ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεηθέντι Ἀρχίδαμου εὐμενῇ Ἀγησίλαον ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο σωτήρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι. [5.4.27] ὁ μὲντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἂν τι βούλωμαι διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς δέομαι· ὅμως δ', ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν με προθυμίαν ἔξειν ταῦτά σοιπραχθῆναι. [5.4.28] καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθὼν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μὲν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν παρῆν, παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχώρει. τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἰσῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπὼν ὦχετο οὐδὲ προσελθὼν. καὶ τῇ ὕστεραίαι δὲ ταῦτα ταῦτα ἐποίησεν. [5.4.29] ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐφοῖτα, οὐδὲν μὲντοι ἡρώτα, ἀλλ' εἶα αὐτόν. ὁ δ' αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐπεθύμει μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὅπως μὲντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτόν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοιδορημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου εἶη. [5.4.30] τέλος μὲντοι ὁ

Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν· ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμός με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι σῶσαί οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταυτὰ σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως <ἂν> συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγινώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ὀρῶ. [5.4.31] ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ' ἡττηθεὶς τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ εἶπεν ἐλθὼν· Ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἡδίκηκε Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν αὐτὸν οἶδα· νῦν δέ, εἰ ἡδίκηκε τι, ἡμῶν ἔνεκεν συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν μέλλῃ καλὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὦν ἀπήει. [5.4.32] τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, πάντες οἱ Ἀγησιλάου φίλοι ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς. Μὰ Δία οὐκ ἄρα ταῦτ', ἔφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγησιλάωι, ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός γε πρὸς πάντας ὅσοις διείλεκται ταυτὰ λέγει, μὴ ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι· ὅστις μέντοι παῖς τε ὦν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτινύναι· τὴν γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν. [5.4.33] ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμωι. ὁ δ' ἡσθεὶς, εὐθύς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῆι ἦδη ἴσμεν· εὖ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῇς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λευκτροῖς πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ τρεῖς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὥς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατήσχυεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκόσμησε. τοιοῦται μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε.

[5.4.34] Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον ὥς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν. [5.4.35] οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουρὰν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν τὴν στρατίαν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν

ὅτι τῇ πόλει δοκοίη ἀντειπεῖν παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον. [5.4.36] γινώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μὴ τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ράϊδιον ἔσται εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν, μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως <προσ>γένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείη. [5.4.37] ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέαι αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίοις ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοὺς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπεν, ἕως στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην ἔφη πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. [5.4.38] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν εἰς Θεσπιάς ἐκεῖθεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἦι ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδευόμενος ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων ἐδήμιον τῆς χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἀντιπαρῆισαν αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνόμενοι. [5.4.39] καὶ ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὠδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος ἐξόδῳ ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπionτων πρὸς δεῖπνον καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων, ἐπελαύνουσι· καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἕνα, Εὐδικον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς φυγάδας, οὐπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους. [5.4.40] ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὀπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἱ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς. οἱ μέντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐώικεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι που ἐν μεσημβρίαι· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὐ. ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα. [5.4.41] ὡς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι ἀεὶ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἦγεν ὡς οἷόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρῆλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν

Φοιβίδα κατέλιπεν ἄρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.

[5.4.42] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν ληιστήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομαὺς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενοι στρατεύουσι πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἶα αὐτοὺς ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῇ ἐμβολῇ θάπτοντα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεοκόμοι δὲ ἀπορριπτοῦντες ὃν εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαυνον οἴκαδε· οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέπεσεν. [5.4.43] ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ' ὀπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασθαι· αὐτὸς τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ τοὺς τῶν Θεσπιῶν ὀπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν. [5.4.44] ὥς δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπηι ἀδιαβάτῳ ἐγίνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαῖεν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὖ τοῦτο ὥς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς. [5.4.45] καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιῶν, κάκεῖνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπεῖξιν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο. [5.4.46] ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο εἰς Θεσπιάς καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μὲντοι δῆμος ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει· ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι δυναστεία καθειστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμπσαντες τὰς Θεσπιάς ἐφύλαττον.

[5.4.47] Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ἥπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο

ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταυτὰ γινώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ. [5.4.48] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο, πάλιν προσεποιήσατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπιάς πρῶτον ἰέναι, καὶ πέμπων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς πρεσβείας ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν πρὸς Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον. [5.4.49] ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ θυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐρυθράς· καὶ ὡς στρατεύματι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν ἔλθειν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ' ἣν τὸ πρόσθεν εἰσηλθε. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδήμιον μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων· ἔτι γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον, φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἀπῆι ἐν ἀριστεραῖ ἐχὼν τὸ τεῖχος. [5.4.50] οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ Γραὸς στήθει, ὅπισθεν ἔχοντες τὴν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα, νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἦγεν, ἐπισιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἦι. [5.4.51] οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι δεῖσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι ἐρήμη ἦν, ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιας ὁδόν· ἦν γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρῳ ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς ἐπέδραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις. [5.4.52] οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον, ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἷς τῶν πολεμάρχων, ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου ἐτράπησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρῖται καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Θηβαίων παρελαύνοντας <εἰς> τὴν πόλιν. [5.4.53] ὡς μέντοι ἐγγὺς τοῦ τεῖχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρῖται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶττον ἢ βάδην ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖόν [τε] ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ ἀναβάντες. [5.4.54] ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἔνθαπερ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ Θεσπιάς.

θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῶν πελταστῶν, οἱ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν ἀνακαλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς, ἥδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους συνεστρατεύοντο, ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλοὺς· ταχὺ γὰρ πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἀλίσκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἰππέων. [5.4.55] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὐρὼν στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ βουλομένων τῶν φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅρκους ὁμοσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.

[5.4.56] Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων Ὀρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεισφέρουσιν, ἐπληρώσατο τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τὸν τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξώγησεν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἵρξεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει, οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς ἐσκήνου. [5.4.57] ἀκολουθοῦντος δὲ τινος τῶν Ὀρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κάγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ' εὐπόρως ἥδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.

[5.4.58] Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἥρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος κλινοπετὴς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ῥήγνυται ὅποια δὴ φλέψ, καὶ ἐρρὺν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων, Συρακόσιός τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῶι φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο σχεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο. καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἡρώσκει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.

[5.4.59] Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουρὰν τε

ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὡς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἶων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.

[5.4.60] Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι ἐγίνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν κατατριβήσονται ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐλεῖν λιμῶι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν βούλονται, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλονται, ἐπὶ Κρεύσιος. [5.4.61] ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἐξήκοντα μὲν τριῆρεις ἐπλήρωσαν, Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπολιορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν, τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τε Αἴγιναν καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη. [5.4.62] παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατόν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις, ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς. [5.4.63] καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἐξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἐλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ εἰς τὰς Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὗτ' ἐν ᾧ Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὗτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὲ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον. [5.4.64] ὁ μέντοι Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησατο· οὐ μέντοι ἠνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους

μετέστησεν· ἐξ ὧν τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα πόλεις πάσας εὐμενεστέρας ἔσχεν. [5.4.65] ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυτικόν, καὶ Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν· ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε, καίπερ ἔξ νεῶν αὐτῷ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτίδων, ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἐξήκοντα οὖσαις ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐνανυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἠττήθη, καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείαι. [5.4.66] ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέον νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων, ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἐξ τριήρεις, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύξειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγε, τροπαῖον αὐτὸν κακεῖνος ἐστήσατο ἐν ταῖς ἐγγυτάτω νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἄς τε εἶχεν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο, γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἐβδομήκοντα, πολὺ δὲ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρήματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο Ἀθήνηθεν· πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο, ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.

Βιβλίον ζ΄

[6.1.1] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ πόλεις, ἐστράτευσον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὥς δ' αὖ καὶ οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.

[6.1.2] Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας Φαρσάλιος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα ἠυδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλὸς τε κάγαθος εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγγράπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις, εἷς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν. [6.1.3] κάκεῖνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τὴν τε ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσωιζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλα διοικῶν ἀπελογίζετο κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὅποτε μὲν ἐνδεήσειε, παρ' ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὅποτε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου, ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.

[6.1.4] Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, ἐάν τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰέναι, ἐάν τέ τι χαλεπὸν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνιστῇται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν οὖν εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε τάδε·

[6.1.5] Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἄκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν [Φάρσαλον] δυνάμην ἂν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστί σοι ἐκ τῶνδε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων. καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς ἐξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδεμία πόλις δύναιτ' ἂν ραιδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλθοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων στρατεύματα τοὺς

μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὐπω ἀκμάζοντας·
σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ
οὐδεὶς μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἱκανὸς ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ ἴσα πονεῖν. [6.1.6] αὐτὸς
δ' ἐστί, λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τάληθῃ, καὶ τὸ σῶμα μάλα
εὖρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοῖνυν τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πείραν
λαμβάνει καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν· ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν
τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ ὅταν πῃ στρατεύηται. καὶ οὗς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς
τῶν ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὗς δ' ἂν ὀρεῖ φιλοπόνως καὶ
φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ τοὺς μὲν
διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις
δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε
πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ
ἐντιμωτάτην τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται. [6.1.7] ἐπεδείκνυε δὲ
μοι εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ
Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἑπείρῳ ὑπαρχος· ὥστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ
φοβούμενος οὐ ῥαιδίως ἂν ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψασθαι; τάχα οὖν
ὑπολάβοι ἂν τις ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἤδη
στρατεύεις ἐπὶ τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νῆ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττον μοι
δοκεῖ εἶναι ἐκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι.
βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν βουλεύοισθε ὃ τι δύνασθε κακὸν
ἐμοί, ἐγὼ τ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὥς ἀσθενεστάτους βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ
πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ γένοισθε, δηλὸν ὅτι αὐξοίμεν ἂν ὃ τι δυναίμεθα
ἀλλήλους. [6.1.8] γινώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σὴ πατὴρ εἰς
σὲ ἀποβλέπει· ἐὰν δὲ μοι φιλικῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσης,
ὑπισχνοῦμαι σοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστόν σε τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετ' ἐμὲ
καταστήσειν. οἶον δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ δευτέρᾳ σοι δίδωμι ἄκουε, καὶ
μηδὲν πιστευέ μοι ὃ τι ἂν μὴ λογιζομένῳ σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνεται.
οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν εὐδὴλον ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης καὶ
τῶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἡρτημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐγὼ ταγὸς Θετταλῶν
ἀπάντων κατασταίην· ὥς γε μὴν, ὅταν ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς
ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν οἱ ἱπεύοντες γίνονται, ὀπλίται δὲ πλείους ἢ
μύριοι καθίστανται. [6.1.9] ὦν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν
μεγαλοψυχίαν ὁρῶν οἶμαι ἂν αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ
εἶναι ἔθνος ὁποῖοι ἂν ἀξιόσαιεν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάτης
γε μὴν γῆς οὕσης Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη ὑπήκοα μὲν
ἐστίν, ὅταν ταγὸς ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτη
ἀκοντισταὶ εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ πελταστικῷ εἰκὸς ὑπερέχειν τὴν

ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. [6.1.10] καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοί γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσί μοι σύμμαχοι· καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖνυν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πάντα ποιήσαιεν ἂν ὥστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἔτι ῥᾷον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἂν. [6.1.11] εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα. ἔχοντες μὲν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα ἄγονται, πολὺ δῆπου πλείους ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσοῦτους καὶ τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τοὺς γε μὴν ναύτας τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς μὴδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἔχοντας, ἂν μὴ πρίωνται; [6.1.12] καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δῆπου ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησὺδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἡπειρωτικὰ ἔθνη καρπουμένους. πάντα γὰρ δῆπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν, οἷσθα δὲ δῆπου ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἡπειρον καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὃν ἐγὼ ὑπήκουον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους πλὴν ἐνὸς μᾶλλον δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα δὲ ὑφ' οἷας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσης καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεὺς. [6.1.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους ἀποστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μὴδὲν ἔχοντας ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἀπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ' ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐκτέον μου εἶη, ὅτι τοιοῦτος εἶην, ἀφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τάληθῃ, ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίους, εἰ μὴ πεισοίμεθα. αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ' ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν σοι, ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμπειν συμμαχίαν ὥς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ', ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα ὅ τι ἂν ἀποβαίνῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ δοκῶσιν ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως εἶης εἰ τῇ πατρίδι ἢ σε τιμᾷ καὶ σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα; [6.1.14] περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἦκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα ὅσα ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὁρῶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ νομίζω οὕτως ἔχειν, ὧ ἄνδρες

Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς εἰ μὲν πέμπετε ἐκεῖσε δύναμιν μὴ ἔμοι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς ἱκανὴν <δοκεῖν εἶναι> πρὸς Ἰάσονα πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἢ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις· εἰ δὲ νεοδαμῶδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν, συμβουλευέω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν. [6.1.15] εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, πρὸς τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα ὃς φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγὸς ἐστὶν ὥς ὅσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα βιάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφαρμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς γάρ ἐστι καὶ νυκτὶ ὅσαπερ ἡμέραι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον καὶ δεῖπνον ποιησάμενος ἅμα πονεῖσθαι. οἶεται δὲ καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι, ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἔνθ' ἂν ὠρμημένος ᾖ καὶ διαπράξῃται ἃ δεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ δὲ ταῦτα εἴθικεν. ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες ἀγαθόν τι πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασι πάντες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ γίγνεται. [6.1.16] καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ διὰ ταῦτα ἀσχολίαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ [εἰς τὸ] πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ δεόμενον. ὑμεῖς οὖν σκεψάμενοι εἶπατε πρὸς ἐμέ, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν προσήκει, ὅποια δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ μέλλετε ποιήσειν.

[6.1.17] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε μὲν ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραία καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τάς τε ἔξω μόρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν καὶ τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰς [ἔξω] τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι ἐπικουρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπλέοντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ δύναιτο ἄριστα τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως. [6.1.18] κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασώζῃ· τοὺς δὲ ἑαυτοῦ παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τε πόλιν πείσας ἐκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν συγκαταστήσειν αὐτόν. ὥς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, εὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἤγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν καθειστήκει. [6.1.19] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἱππικόν τε ὅσον ἐκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὀπλιτικόν. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἱππεῖς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὀπλῖται δὲ ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους

δισμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκοις πᾶσι καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.

[6.2.1] Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν ὀρῶντες διὰ σφῶς τοὺς Θηβαίους, χρήματά τε οὐ συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναϊόμενοι καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ ληιστείαις ἐξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλακαῖς τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.

[6.2.2] Εὐθύς δ' ἐκεῖθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ὥς εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. [6.2.3] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οἷα πεπονθότες εἶεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθύς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδικοῦν τε ἡγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκευάζον καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἐξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας καὶ Ἥλιδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ Τροιζήνος καὶ Ἑρμιόνης καὶ Ἀλιῶν. [6.2.4] ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ὥς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἴη τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι. [6.2.5] καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων. [6.2.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδήμιον ἐξειργασμένην μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς δὲ οἰκῆσεις καὶ οἰνῶνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν· ὥστ' ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εἴη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν. [6.2.7] ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως ὥς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ τῆς

χώρας ὄντι, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίῃ· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν εἰς τὰπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν, ἔνθεν ᾧετ' ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι, ὁπότε μὴ χειμῶν κωλύοι, ἐφώρμει. [6.2.8] ἐπολιόρκει μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσήγετο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν· [6.2.9] καὶ πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε ἐδέοντο καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὥς μέγα μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβάλοιεν ἂν, εἰ Κερκύρας στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν· ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλὴν γε Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείω ἂν γενέσθαι. ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέρας Ἡπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου. [6.2.10] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, καὶ στρατηγὸν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα εἰς ἐξακοσίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους. [6.2.11] καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς διακομισθέντες που τῆς χώρας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐξήκοντα ναῦς πληροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν. [6.2.12] ὁ δ' οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι, ἐπὶ νήσων πλεύσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν, οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι. [6.2.13] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς τὸν περίπλου χρόνον. συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἴφικράτην ἀνθαιροῦνται. [6.2.14] ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη στρατηγός, μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ πού τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἔπλει καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὥς ἐὰν τάκεῖ καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς ἀποπέμψοι. καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ ἅπασαι περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. [6.2.15] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω σφόδρα ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτομολούντων ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπρᾶσθαι ὅστις αὐτομολοίῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἠῆτομόλουν, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν ἀπέπεμπε. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τοὺς γε δούλους οὐκ ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω

ἀπέθνησκον. [6.2.16] ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὄρων ταῦτα, ἐνόμιζέ τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους ἐκαινούργει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους ἐπεποιήκει, τοῖς δὲ <μὲν>ουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μνηοῖν ὤφειλε τὸν μισθόν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὥς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεμπον, ἅτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης. [6.2.17] κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τάς τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεκδραμόντες τοὺς μὲν τινὰς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν. [6.2.18] αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος, αὐτὸς τε ἐξωπλίζετο καὶ ὅσους εἶχεν ὀπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους. [6.2.19] ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τινῶν λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ ράδιον εἴη μὴ διδόντας τὰπιτήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν, τὸν μὲν τινα βακτηρίαί, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεζήλθον πάντες· ὅπερ ἥκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει. [6.2.20] ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνестρέφοντό τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν μνημάτων ἐβαλλον καὶ ἠκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ' ἐκδραμόντες καθ' ἑτέρας πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἀθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις· [6.2.21] οἱ δ' ἐπ' ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρῶντο. ὥς δ' ἥρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὥς φεύγουσιν ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ' οὐκέτι ἐπανεστρεψαν· καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμων. [6.2.22] ὁ δὲ Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο βοηθεῖν διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκειμένους, αἰεὶ δ' ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. τέλος δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἀθρόοι γενόμενοι πάντες ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἤδη μάλα ὀλίγοις οὔσι. καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὄρωντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῆσαν. [6.2.23] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἤδη ἅπαντες. ἐκινδύνευσαν δ' ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐλεῖν σὺν τῷ χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν τε ὄχλον ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνδαπόδων, οἰθθέντες ὄφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀνестρέφοντο. [6.2.24] καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἵστασαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τοὺς τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγέννητο, οἱ δ' ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ ἀθυμία ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι Ἰφικράτης τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι δὲ τῷ ὄντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν. [6.2.25]

Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγγανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ ὢν, τό τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε, καὶ περιπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα γεμίσας τῶν τε ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφύλαττε τὸ χαράκωμα. [6.2.26] τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταραγμένοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον, πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλιπόντες· δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.

[6.2.27] Ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἅμα μὲν ἔπλει, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο· εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἰστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὥς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ τοῖς ἀκατίοις δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα εἶη, ὀλίγα ἐχρήτο· τῇ δὲ κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἄμεινόν τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν ἐποίει. [6.2.28] πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπῃ μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα ἢ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἂν καὶ ἀντιπρώιρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὴ νικητήριον ἦν τὸ πρώτους καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἰ τοῦ ἄλλου ἐδέοντο, καὶ πρώτους ἀριστῆσαι· τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τὸ τε ἐλαττωθῆναι πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἅμα ἔδει, ἐπεὶ σημήνειε· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἀφικνουμένοις καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ σπουδῆς. [6.2.29] φυλακάς γε μὴν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ ἀριστοποιούμενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ προσήκει, καθίστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὐτὸς τοὺς ἰστοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολλὸ οὖν ἐπὶ πλεον οὗτοι καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου καθορῶντες. ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάθῃ προσίων. πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἶη, εὐθὺς δειπνήσας ἀνήγετο· καὶ εἰ μὲν αὔρα φέροι, θέοντες ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ δὲ ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπαυεν. [6.2.30] ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τότε μὲν ἐπὶ κέρως ἦγε, τότε δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἅμα μὲν ἔπλεον, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ ἡσκηκότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν <ὑπὸ> τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς ὤιοντο, κατεχομένην θάλατταν

ἀφικνοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἡρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν· διὰ δὲ τὸ τἀναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας ἔφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέραινε. [6.2.31] περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἥλειαν δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα ὑπὸ τὸν Ἴχθυον καλούμενον ὠρμίσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὥς, εἰ δέοι, πάντα ὅσα χρή παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς ἡκηκόει, ὑπώπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἔνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν, ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.

[6.2.32] Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται ναυμαχήσῃν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσῃν ὤιετο, ἡῦρετο <ὅπως> μήτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι.

[6.2.33] Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου, βοηθήσους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς χώρας ὅθεν τοὺς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι, ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς. [6.2.34] κάκεῖνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὁρμούντων ὥς δέοι σημαίνειν· αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων προσέταξεν εἴκοσιν, οὓς δεῆσοι, ἐπεὶ κηρύξειεν, ἀκολουθεῖν· εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν δίκην. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσημάνθησαν προσπλέουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύχθη, ἄξια ἐγένετο θεᾶς ἢ σπουδῇ· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ δρόμῳ τῶν μελλόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς. [6.2.35] πλεύσας δὲ ἔνθα ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιοι τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ Ῥόδιος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀπαντῶν ταῖς Ἴφικράτους ναυσὶν ὅμως ἀπέφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν νῆες ἅπασαι ἐάλωσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. [6.2.36] ὁ μέντοι Ἴφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἔλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα, τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἐκάστῳ

τακτὸν ἀργύριον ἀποτεῖσαι, πλὴν Κρινίππου τοῦ ἄρχοντος· τοῦτον δ' ἐφύλαττεν, ὥς ἢ πραξόμενος πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὥς πωλήσων. κάκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαιρέτῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκει, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἴφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους ἐγγυητὰς δεξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων. [6.2.37] καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ πλεῖστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίτας ἔχων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν· καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν ἐπεκούρει, εἴ τίς τι δέοιτο, Θυριεῦσι δέ, μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις καὶ χωρίον καρτερόν ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει. [6.2.38] καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυτικὸν προσλαβὼν, σχεδὸν περὶ ἐνενήκοντα ναῦς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ' ἐκόντων, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τὴν τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.

[6.2.39] Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἴφικράτους οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε γὰρ φρονίμους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, σῶφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους νομίζων, οὕτω θρασέως μῆτε καταραιθυμῶν μῆτε καταμελῶν μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μεγαλοφρονοῦντος ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κάκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν.

[6.3.1] Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὁρῶντες ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας Πλαταιᾶς, φίλους ὄντας, καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς αὐτούς, ἰκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιᾶς μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπήνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ἡσυχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι ᾔθελον, ἐπεὶ ἐώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας. [6.3.2] ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλονται, εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα περὶ εἰρήνης· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν αἰρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἴππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου, Δημόστρατος, Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς,

Κηφισόδοτος, Μελάνωπος, Λύκαιθος. [6.3.3] [ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους·] <καὶ> Καλλίστρατος δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἴφικράτει, εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ εἰρήνην ποιήσιν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν αὐτῶν Καλλίας ὁ δαιδοῦχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἷος μηδὲν ἦττον ἡδεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος· καὶ τότε δὴ ἦρξατο ᾧδέ πως.

[6.3.4] Ὡς ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατὴρ πατρίαν ἔχων παρεδίδου τῷ γένει. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι, ὥς ἔχουσα ἢ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ, ὅταν μὲν πόλεμος ᾗ, στρατηγούς ἡμᾶς αἰρεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιούς ἡμᾶς ἐκπέμπει. κἀγὼ πρόσθεν δις ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἤκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν. [6.3.5] ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν, ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, ἀλλ' ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ γινώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι; καὶ σωφρόνων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα εἶη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν, οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἶη μὴ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι; [6.3.6] δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὄπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρῶτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούριον τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ' ὧν ἐλάβετε σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δηλώσαντας, ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὥς πλείστην τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὥς σχολαίτατα, ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύεσθαι ἢ δυνατόν τάχιστα.

[6.3.7] Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφῆς εἶναι ῥήτωρ, ᾧδε ἡγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἃ μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ· ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι,

οἵτινες βούλονται, ἣν ἂν ποιήσωνται φιλίαν, ταύτην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμένειν, διδακτέον εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἷτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μὲν φατε· αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρῆ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐστὲ μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγήσθε. καίτοι τί τοῦτο αὐτονομίᾳ προσήκει; [6.3.8] ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἡγεῖσθε· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι. ἔτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομίαι, καθίστατε ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως δύνωνται βίαι κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὥστ' εἰοίκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἡδόμενοι. [6.3.9] καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταττεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, μάλα γινώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐάσοιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Καδμείαν, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους εἶναι. δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλεῖστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.

[6.3.10] Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπῇ μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν, ἡδομένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐποίησε. μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἀμαρτήματα καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γινώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον· ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι ἐνίστε γίνεσθαι ἄνθρωποι ἀμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς. [6.3.11] καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγωγε ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως πραχθέντα ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ καταληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, <ὥς> ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν, ἐπεὶ ἡδίκηθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ' ἐκείνοις γεγένηται. ὥστε πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδὲς ἐστὶ νῦν ἐλπίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι. [6.3.12] ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ

φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἦλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἤκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι. βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ἐκείνῳ λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοबीμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ τοῦτο οἶεταί τις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλῶσας ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πεπραῆχθαι; [6.3.13] εἶεν. τί μὴν ἤκομεν; ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀποροῦντες, γνοίητε ἂν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν τῷ παρόντι. <τί μὴν ἐστίν; εὐδηλον ὅτι εἰ τῶν συμμάχων τινὲς οὐκ ἄρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἄρεστὰ.> ἴσως δὲ καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἔνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς ἃ ὀρθῶς ἔγνωμεν ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι. [6.3.14] ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει οἱ μὲν λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν ἡμεῖς φίλοι γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπὸν τι προσδοκῆσαιμεν; καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι; κατὰ θάλατταν γε μὴν τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδεῖων ὄντων; [6.3.15] ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι αἰεὶ ποτε γίνονται καὶ ὅτι καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν, ἀλλ' αὐθῖς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα πρὶν τι ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι; [6.3.16] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονεικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται, πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες τὴν ἄσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ γε τῶν κυβευτῶν οἵτινες αὖ ἐὰν ἐν τι ἐπιτύχωσι, περὶ διπλασίων κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους. [6.3.17] ἃ χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα μηδέποτε καταστῆναι, ὥστ' ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ' ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν δι' ὑμᾶς καὶ ὑμεῖς δι' ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.

[6.3.18] Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐνηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τὰ τε στρατόπεδα διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ

τὰ πεζικά, τὰς τε πόλεις αὐτονόμους ἔαν. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. [6.3.19] ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμαχῶν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραφάμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁμωμοκυΐαις πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων Βοιωτοὺς ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὢν τὸ πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε καὶ ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλονται ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν. [6.3.20] οὕτω δὴ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ Θηβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὥς νῦν Θηβαίους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπίς εἴη, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.

[6.4.1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς τε φρουράς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀπῆγον καὶ Ἱφικράτην καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο, καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι. [6.4.2] Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τοὺς τε ἄρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπῆγαγον, Κλεόμβροτον δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα τὰ οἶκοι τέλη τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Προθόου λέξαντος ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ περιαγγεῖλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὅποσον βούλοιτο ἐκάστη πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μὴ τις ἐώη αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας, ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ βούλονται βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἶεσθαι τοὺς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι. [6.4.3] ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκείνων μὲν φλυαρεῖν ἠγγήσατο· ἡ δὲ γάρ, ὥς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν· ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις. [ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος, ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο τὴν εἰρήνην γεγεννημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους ἡρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν στρατεῦειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους.] ἐπεὶ οὖν ἦισθετο οὐχ ὅπως τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας, [ὥς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτούς], οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ ἦι μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ

τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος αἰρεῖ, καὶ τριῆρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει. [6.4.4] ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ οὐ πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἄλλ' ἢ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι προσιόντες ἔλεγον· [6.4.5] ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης, κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν. ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδήϊωσας, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς, Ἀγησιλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἴπερ οὖν ἡ σαντοῦ κήδηι ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δὴ, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται. [6.4.6] ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο πρὸς τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ' αὖ Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες ἐλογίζοντο ὥς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀποστήσονται μὲν αἱ περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσονται· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τάπιτήδεια, ὅτι κινδυνέουσι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἅτε δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνήσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν. [6.4.7] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μὲν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὥς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνημα, αἷ λέγονται διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνημα οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς ὥς οἱ τε νεῶι πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνέωγοντο, αἷ τε ἱέρειαι λέγοιεν ὥς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὥς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες λέγουσιν ὥς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων. [6.4.8] εἰς δ' οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα ἐναντία ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης κατωρθοῦντο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ' ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ ἡ τελευταία βουλή περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξύναι τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον. [6.4.9] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὠπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἦδη ἦν ὅτι

μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι ὠρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ Βοιωτίου στρατεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων καὶ σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μάχεσθαι, περιόντες κύκλοι οἱ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος μισθοφόροι καὶ οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπέστρεψάν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν· ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μεῖζόν τε καὶ ἄθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα. [6.4.10] ἔπειτα δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ, προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμονῖοι τοὺς ἱππείας, ἀντετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς διὰ τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς Θεσπιᾶς, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν. [6.4.11] ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ' ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὅποια δοθείη αὐτῶι ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν. [6.4.12] τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὥς εἰ νικήσειαν τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο. [6.4.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθῆσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν καὶ ταχὺ ἡττηντο οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων· φεύγοντες δὲ ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὀπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὅμως δὲ ὥς οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἂν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. [6.4.14] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ <μὲν ἵπποι> καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι οἱ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὥς ἐώρων τὸ δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέκλιναν· ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων καὶ ἡττημένοι ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον ἢ πρὸ

τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὕσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ χώραν ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλον τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἦσαν μὲν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ ἀφόρητον τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι κωλύειν ἰστάναι τοὺς πολέμιους, τοὺς τε νεκροὺς μὴ ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι. [6.4.15] οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὀρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὀρῶντες δ' αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων, τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὕς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ γεγεννημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὲ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωσαν.

[6.4.16] Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ἀγγελῶν τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδῶν τε οὔσης τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ δὲ ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἔλυποῦντο μὲν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, ἀνάγκη· τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι εἶων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐκάστου τῶν τεθνεώτων ἀπέδωσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν κραυγὴν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦν ὄρα, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες, λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφόμενους, ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἡγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες, τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιόντας.

[6.4.17] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίπων μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης· ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐστρατεύοντο· καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον. [6.4.18] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὐπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι. προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶτοι· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ ἐτύγγανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι

καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοὶ τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυωνίων συμπληροῦν, ἐφ' ὧν διανοοῦντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν. [6.4.19] καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει.

Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι εὐθύς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον. λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι. [6.4.20] τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγγανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα ἠνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περὶ τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο. καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κήρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι Ἰάσωνα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο. [6.4.21] ὁ δ' εὐθύς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ θάλατταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππείας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτωι πολέμωι τῶν Φωκέων χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὀφθεῖς ἢ ἀγγελλεῖς ὅτι πορεύοιτο. πρὶν γοῦν συλλέγεσθαι τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω γιγνόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα. [6.4.22] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων τῶν Θηβαίων ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν μὲν ἐκείνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους, ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἶη διακινδυνεύσαι, ὥστε ἢ ἔτι μείζω καταπρᾶξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης νίκης. [6.4.23] οὐχ ὁπᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε, ἐκρατήσατε; οἶεσθαι οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν, εἰ ἀναγκάζοιντο <ἐκγενέσθαι τοῦ ζῆν>, ἀπονοηθέντας διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικροὺς. [6.4.24] τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν οἷον μὲν εἶη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ νενικηκός. εἰ δ' ἐπιλαθέσθαι, ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος, συμβουλευώ ἀναπνεύσαντας καὶ ἀναπαυσασμένους καὶ μείζους γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. νῦν δέ, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν

συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ὑμῶν. [6.4.25] ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διάφοροι καὶ οὗτοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφοτέρω ἐκείνου δέοιντο. οἱ μὲντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλη ὅτι εἶψαν αἱ σπονδαί, παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δευπνήσαντας συνεσκευάσθαι πάντα, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοινεν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐδείπνησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγείλαντες ἀκολουθεῖν, ἡγοῦντο εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἐσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεῦσιος, τῷ λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς. [6.4.26] μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι, οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτί τε καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγόσθενα τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀναμείνας, ἕως καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.

[6.4.27] Ὁ μὲντοι Ἰάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος Ὑαμπολιτῶν μὲν τό τε προάστιον εἶλε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πολλούς· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Φωκίδα διήλθεν ἀπραγμόνως. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή τινες ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσονται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμούμενος μή τινες τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὖσαν καταλαβόντες εἵργοιεν αὐτόν, εἴ ποί βούλοιο τῆς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι. [6.4.28] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ νόμῳ Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς τρέφειν περὶ αὐτόν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἵππεις, καὶ τούτους ἐκτεπονημένους ὡς ἂν κράτιστοι εἶεν· ἔτι δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ συμμάχους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι βούλεσθαι γίνεσθαι. μέγιστος δ' ἦν τῶν καθ' αὐτόν τῳ μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι. [6.4.29] ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ οἷς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὕς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν· καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπαγγελιομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν

στέφανον ἔσσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων βούν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψει. [6.4.30] παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ ὡς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ Πύθια χρόνον Θετταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι· διενοεῖτο γάρ, ὡς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως μὲν διενοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφῶν τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει. [6.4.31] ὁ δ' οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικούτος ὢν καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκῶς καὶ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ Φεραίων ἵππικοῦ, καὶ ἤδη καθημένος καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος, εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ νεανίσκων ἑπτὰ προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τι ἀλλήλοις ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται. [6.4.32] βοηθησάντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων δορυφόρων εἷς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ πληγεὶς ἀποθνήσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ' ἵππον ἐγκαταληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι δὲ ἀφικοιντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις ἐτιμῶντο. ὧι καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.

[6.4.33] Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν, καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος, πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ γὰρ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναιῶς τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανεράν πρόφασιν ἐγένετο. [6.4.34] ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἥρξε μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, κατεσκευάσατο δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι ὁμοίαν. ἔν τε γὰρ Φαρσάλῳ τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτὼ τοὺς κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας ἐποίησε. [6.4.35] ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὗτος ἀποθνήσκει ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύοντος. ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλεπὸς μὲν Θετταλοῖς ταγὸς ἐγένετο, χαλεπὸς δὲ Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος, ἄδικος δὲ ληιστὴς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν. τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ ἀποθνήσκει, αὐτοχειρίαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης. [6.4.36] τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔκρυσεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ δεξαμένη μεθύοντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπεὶ κατεκοίμισεν,

ὁ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν. ὥς δ' ἦισθετο ὀκνοῦντας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς, εἶπεν ὥς εἰ μὴ ἤδη πράξοιεν, ἐξεγερεῖ αὐτόν. ὥς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσασα τὴν θύραν εἶχετο τοῦ ρόπτρου, ἕως ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνὴρ. [6.4.37] ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μὲν τινων ὥς ἐπεὶ ἔδῃσε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, νεανίσκον ὄντα καλόν, δεηθείσης αὐτῆς λῦσαι ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν· οἱ δὲ τινες ὥς ἐπεὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίνοντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὅτι πέμπων εἰς Θήβας ἐμνήστευε τὴν Ἰάσονος γυναῖκα [ἄνα]λαβεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν αἷτια τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο Τισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.

[6.5.1] Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θετταλικά, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονα ἐπράχθη καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τισιφόνου ἀρχῆς, δεδήλωται· νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἔνθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λευκτρα βοηθείας ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι οἴονται χρῆναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ οὕτω διακέοιντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλονται τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἢν βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψεν. [6.5.2] ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν κοινωνεῖν βουλομένων ὁμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον. Ἐμμενῶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δὲ τις στρατεύῃ ἐπὶ τινα πόλιν τῶν ὁμοσασῶν τόνδε τὸν ὄρκον, βοηθήσω παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὄρκῳ· Ἡλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὥς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους· σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις. [6.5.3] οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ψηφισάμενοι, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ἔγραψεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὀρκωτάς, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει ὀρκῶσαι. καὶ ὤμοσαν πάντες πλην Ἡλείων.

Ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὥς ἤδη αὐτόνομοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, συνῆλθόν τε πάντες καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν. [6.5.4] οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγοῦντο, εἰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς σφετέρας γνώμης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν Ἀγησίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς αὐτούς, τὸν

μὲν δῆμον τῶν Μαντινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ ἤθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῶι, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν ὅτου δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ σπινθὴρι αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπίσχωσι τῆς τειχίσεως, ποιήσειν ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνου γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος. [6.5.5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἶη ἐπισχεῖν, δόγματος γεγενημένου πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἤδη τειχίζειν, ἐκ τούτου ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπῆι ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατόν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ’ αὐτονομίαι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεων τινες συντειχοῦντας, οἱ δὲ Ἥλεῖοι καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ’ ἦσαν.

[6.5.6] Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ Πρόξενον ἐνήγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνιέναι τε πᾶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, καὶ ὃ τι νικῶν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἐὰν τε κατὰ χώραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι. [6.5.7] ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς νομίσαντες, εἰ συνέλθοι ὁ δῆμος, πολὺ ἂν τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὄπλα. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀνθωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῶι μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὥρμησαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ ἄλλους ὀλίγους μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον· καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἷος μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνουσαι τῶν πολιτῶν. [6.5.8] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρουν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἡθροισμένοι. καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς. [6.5.9] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὥς ἦσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον, ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον φερούσας πύλας, καὶ φθάνουσι πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῶν καταφυγόντες, καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώξαντες ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸν νεῶν καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν διελόντες ἔπαιον ταῖς κεραμίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τὴν

ανάγκην, παύεσθαί τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξιέναι ἔφασαν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι ὡς ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον αὐτούς, δῆσαντες καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν ἀπήγαγον εἰς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ μετὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καταγνόντες ἀπέκτειναν.

[6.5.10] Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν περὶ Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθητέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοῖς τεθνεῶσί τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι· καὶ οὕτω στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους σὺν ὅπλοις ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Τεγεάτας. καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐκέλευεν ἡ πόλις ἡγεῖσθαι. [6.5.11] οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνελέγοντο. Ὀρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεγμένων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ξενικόν, οὗ Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οἴκοι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τούτων ἐπιμελόμενοι. Ἥραεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας. [6.5.12] ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὁμορον οὔσαν Εὐταιαν, καὶ εὐρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίαι οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσων δέοιντο· εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἠρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῆιει εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπωικοδόμει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο, ἕωσπερ αὐτοῦ διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μισθοφόρους.

[6.5.13] Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τεύχους μάλα χαλεπῶς ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἐλυμίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενιοὶ ὀπλίται οὐκέτι ἡκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο καὶ μάλα θρασέως, ἐνταῦθα γνόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς ὡς εἰ μὴ ἀποκρούσονται αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν κατακοντισθήσονται, ὑποστρέψαντες ὁμόσε ἐχώρησαν τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις. [6.5.14] καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύτροπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνήσκει· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἂν ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἱππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὀπισθεν περιέλασαν τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς διώξεως. καὶ οἱ

μὲν Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον.

[6.5.15] Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καὶ νομίσας οὐκ ἂν ἔτι συμμεῖξαι αὐτῶι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόρους, οὕτω προΐει. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ Τεγεάτιδι χώραι ἐδειπνοποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίαι διαβαίνει εἰς τὴν Μαντινικὴν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντινείας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἅμα ἐδήμιον τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπόρθει τοὺς ἀγρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ συλλεγόντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσέαι νυκτὸς παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν Τεγέα. [6.5.16] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίαι ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας Ἀρκάδες, ἐχόμενοι τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὄρων, παρῆσαν μάλα πολλοὶ ὀπλίται, συμμεῖξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦσαν μὲν τινες οἱ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔπειθον χωρὶς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν ἐπιπέσοιεν αὐτῶι, ἔγνω κράτιστον εἶναι εἶσαι συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ εἰ βούλοιντο μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην ποιῆσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγεγέννητο. [6.5.17] οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν Μαντινείαν θυομένῳ τῶι Ἀγησιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον δ' ἐπαναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὄπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἐξ ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ἐσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὀπισθεν κόλπον τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα. [6.5.18] τῇ δ' ὑστεραίαι ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθύετο μὲν πρὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθωιντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἀπ' οὐρᾶς εἰς δόρυ ὀπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἅμα ἔκ τε τοῦ στενοῦ ἐξῆγε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν ἀεὶ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐποιεῖτο. [6.5.19] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδίπλωτο ἢ φάλαγξ, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῶι ὀπλιτικῶι προσελθὼν εἰς τὸ

πεδῖον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ' ἑννέα ἢ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι ἐξῆσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἥλεῖοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, πρὶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παραγένοιντο· εὐδὲ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι παρέσοιντο· καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα δεδανείσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν. [6.5.20] οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἐν τῇ Μαντινείᾳ· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μάλα βουλόμενος ἀπάγειν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμῶν, ὅμως ἐκεῖ κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺν ἀπέχων τῆς Μαντινέων πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοίη φοβούμενος σπεύδειν τὴν ἄφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρῶτον ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν ὡς στρατοπεδευσόμενος ἔνθα περ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐταίας ἐξώρμητο. [6.5.21] ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἤγε τὴν ταχίστην εἰς τὴν Εὐταίαν, καί περ μάλα ὀψίζων, βουλόμενος ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὀπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τις εἴποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἐδόκει τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβελήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ δηιοῦντι τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἠθελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε, τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.

[6.5.22] Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ ἤισθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγγανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραῖας, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἠθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες παρεῖναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντινείαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ συμμιγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις. [6.5.23] ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν ὦοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μὲν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα ἔτι ἑώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἥλεῖοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινούντες δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγεννημένοι καὶ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφοτέρω καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ

Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί. ταῦτα δὴ συνιδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν λέγοντες ἰκέτευον μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν. [6.5.24] οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῳ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμῶδεις τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ πάνυ προπετεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. [6.5.25] ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦκον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἂν τι ἐξαπατῶντες φαίνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ ὥς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι οἱ περίοικοι ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπέισθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Οἶον τῆς Σκιρίτιδος. [6.5.26] καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ Ἰσχόλαος ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γ' ἔφασαν ἀναβῆναι· νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι, ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπλήθεις Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀναβαίνοντες ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὁ τε Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθνήσκει καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μὴ τις ἀμφιγνοηθεὶς διέφυγε. [6.5.27] διαπραζάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤισθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ θρασύτερον κατέβαινον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς ἔκαον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο· τῇ δ' ὕστεραιαί ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὀπλῖται· ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν Εὐρώταν παρῆσαν κόντες καὶ πορθοῦντες πολλῶν κάγαθῶν μεστὰς

οἰκίας. [6.5.28] τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν ὀρᾶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτειχίστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ διαταχθεὶς, μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον. ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἰλωσιν, εἴ τις βούλοιο ὄπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολεμήσαιεν. [6.5.29] καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλεόν ἢ ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὖ οὗτοι παρεῖχον συντεταγμένοι καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἔμμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβροήθησαν δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἐπιδαῦριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων, ἥδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἦττον ὠρρώδουν. [6.5.30] ὥς δὲ προῖδὸν τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ' Ἀμύκλας, ταύτῃ διέβαινον τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι, ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοιντο, εὐθύς ὧν ἔκοπτον δένδρων κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλείστα, καὶ οὕτως ἐφύλαττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν ἐποιοῦν, καταλειπόντες δὲ τὰ ὄπλα εἰς ἀρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐτρέποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέραι τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἵππόδρομον εἰς Γαιαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἳ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἥλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρήσαν. [6.5.31] οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινόμενοι, ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες ὀπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ τῶν Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐνέκλιναν. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἳ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων στράτευμα ἔμμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο. [6.5.32] καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλεῖν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς ἥδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι ἀπᾶραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ' Ἔλος καὶ Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπασαν, Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δὲ τινες τῶν περιοίκων οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.

[6.5.33] Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅτι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι

ὑπολοίπων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ Ὠκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμνησκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἀεί ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς παρίσταντο ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν. [6.5.34] ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅς' ἀγαθὰ εἶη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφοτέρωι ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῇ ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοί τε ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἠρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συμβουλομένων, αὐτοὶ τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως ὑφ' ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν, συμβουλομένων αὖ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. [6.5.35] εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδέ πως εἶπεν· Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ ἄνδρες, ὁμονοήσωμεν, νῦν ἐλπίς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πάνυ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦς τις τοιοῦτος διῆλθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, <σφίσιν> ἐμποδῶν γένοιτο. [6.5.36] ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους βοηθεῖν δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινέας ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ Πρόξενον ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.

[6.5.37] Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδηιώσαμεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασιν καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασιν καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα διηρπάκασιν. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ ταῦτα ὦν αὐτοὶ

ἐπεμελήθητε ὀρκῶν ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ὁμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους. [6.5.38] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδῶν γένοιτο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς εἴονται ἐμποδῶν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. [6.5.39] εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἴχετε. συμφορώτερόν γε μεντὰν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἱ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους. [6.5.40] εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὖς ἂν εὖ ἄλλ' οὖς ἂν κακῶς τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μὴ ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ιδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν ἔρρωμενέστατοι ᾖσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐὰν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν προπεπονημένων. [6.5.41] ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐκ ἐπ' ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ παθεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν· ἄλλ' εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὀρῶντες καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς αἰεὶ, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἳ τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες Ἑλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι. [6.5.42] οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές. ὥστε εἰ κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἂν ποτε ἔτι πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρή ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἰσχυρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι. [6.5.43] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἴ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις; τίνας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας ἥδιον τούτων ποιήσαισθε, ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες εἵλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι; πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἔνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ

μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπίς καὶ αὐθις γενέσθαι πᾶσαν προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι; [6.5.44] ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ἔνεκα προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνονται ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ βοηθοῦσαι αὐτοῖς. [6.5.45] ἐγὼ δέ, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἀκούων ἐξήλουν τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ' οὐκέτ' ἀκούω, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἤδη παρὼν ὁρῶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τε ἦκοντας καὶ δεομένους αὐτῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι. [6.5.46] ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἱ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν [μὴ] περιδεῖν ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμεΐᾳ οὐκ εἶσαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας Λακεδαιμονίων μῆτε ὑβρισθῆναι μῆτε ἀπολέσθαι ἐάσατε. [6.5.47] καλοῦ γε μὴν κάκεινον ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ὕβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν περισώσατε; πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν ὑμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε αὐτοῖς. [6.5.48] ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα οἱ συναγορεύοντες βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἣ που ὑμῖν γε τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα φανείη, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ ἐπάθετε μνησθείητε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.

[6.5.49] Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ βοηθεῖν πανδημεῖ, καὶ Ἴφικράτην στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ Ἴφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἠγεῖτο μὲν ὁ

Ἴφικράτης, οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι ἔργον ἠγήσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθύς μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὥς δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προθύμως μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἠγοῖτο, προθύμως δ', εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον. [6.5.50] τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἥλειοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὁμοροὶ οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες οἱ δὲ φέροντες ὅ τι ἠρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι ἐώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην, τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο, τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμῶν ἦν, ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο. [6.5.51] ὥς δ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαιμόνος, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἴφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπήγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω· ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε, πάντα εὐρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνειῳ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιτο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε, παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην παρὰ Κεγχρεῖας πάροδον. [6.5.52] μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὸ Ὀνειον ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τοὺς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππείας καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἦττον ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν, πολὺ ῥαῖον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου τυχεῖν καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλοὺς τε προσάγειν καὶ ἦττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἅτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταζάμενοι χωρίον οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἔδει ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο· ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλοντο εἴκοσιν ἱπέων. καὶ τότε μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλοντο ἀπῆλθον.

Βιβλίον ζ'

[7.1.1] Τῷ δ' ὑστέρωι ἔτι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες Ἀθήναζε, βουλευσόμενοι καθ' ὃ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο. λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ξένων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς δεοὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις τὴν συμμαχίαν εἶναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τὸν λόγον.

[7.1.2] Ἐπείπερ, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φιλία ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ. ἐὰν οὖν ἥ ἑκατέροις μάλιστα συνοίσει, ταύτη καὶ τὰς συνθήκας ποιησώμεθα, οὕτω κατὰ γε τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα συμμένοιμεν ἂν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδόν τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλευται ὑμετέραν μὲν εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν· ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μᾶλλον ἢ θεαίᾳ φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ διωρίσθαι. [7.1.3] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεφυκότες πρὸς τοῦτο· πλεῖστοι γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὗται πᾶσαι ἀσθενέστεραι τῆς ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας ἔχετε, ὧν ἄνευ οὐχ οἶόν τε ναυτικῇ δυνάμει χρῆσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε πολλὰς, καὶ πάτριον ὑμῖν ἐστὶ ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι. [7.1.4] ἀλλὰ μὴν τὰς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταῦτα πάσας οἰκείας ἔχετε. καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρία γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά· ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελόμενοι ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγώνων ἐμπειροὶ γίνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε· οὐδαμόθεν ἂν τριήρεις πλείους ἀθρόαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἰσχυρὸν γενόμενον ἥδιστα πάντες συλλέγονται. [7.1.5] ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν ἐν τούτῳ· πλείστους γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγῶνας ἡγωνισμένοι κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἀποτετυχήκατε, πλεῖστα δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεθ' ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιστα τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν. [7.1.6] ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ προσήκουσα ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶνδε ἐνθυμήθητε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμῖν ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε ποτε αὐτοῖς

κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατῆσαι, εὐθὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὐδηλον ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἅπανα ὑμῖν ἥρτηται σωτηρία. [7.1.7] οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεῖσθαι, οἱ πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι μόνον ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως; [7.1.8] τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα οὕτως ἔχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν ἐν μεσογαίαι· ὥστε τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες καὶ εἰ θαλάττης εἵργοιντο, δύναιντ' ἂν καλῶς διαζῇν. ἐγνωκότες οὖν καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ γῆν πόλεμον τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστου δὲ ἄξιον, τὸ πευθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι κατὰ γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. [7.1.9] ἔπειτα δὲ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυτικῶι, οὕτως αὖ ἐκείνοι κατὰ γῆν πλείστοι καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν ἐξέλθοιεν· ὥστε πρὸς τούτους αὖ εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμαχούς εὐθαρσεστάτους προσιέναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν, οὕτως ἐκείνοις κατὰ γῆν· πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὗτοι ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡγωνισμένοι ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσὶ, πλείστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες. [7.1.10] ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα οὐδὲν ἦττον τούτοις ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμέλεια ἢ ὑμῖν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔξεστι γινώσκειν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προύργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς τὸ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ περὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο. [7.1.11] πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτοις αὖ δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ τῇ βουλῇ προβεβούλευται, ταῦτα εἰρηκὰ τε καὶ συμφορώτατα ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὐτυχοῖτε τὰ κράτιστα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.

[7.1.12] Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων παρόντες ἐπήνεσαν ἀμφοτέροι ἰσχυρῶς τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθὼν· Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε ἐξαπατῶμενοι; ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἀκούσητέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἤδη γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε κατὰ θάλατταν· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐὰν συμμαχῶσι, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριηράρχους

Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἴσως τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναῦται δῆλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἢ Εἰλωτες ἢ μισθοφόροι. [7.1.13] οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. οὐκοῦν οὕτως ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἐκείνων δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων. ἀποκρίναι δέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἥκοις τὴν συμμαχίαν ποιούμενος; Εἶπον ταῦτα. [7.1.14] Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κηφισόδοτος, ἰσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει μὲν ἐκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπείσθησαν, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἐκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι.

[7.1.15] Στρατευομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φυλάττειν τὸ Ὀνειον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι, παραταξάμενοι ἐφύλαττον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνειοῦ, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληγεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπεῖχον τῶν φυλαττόντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡνίκ' ἂν ὦιοντο ὀρμηθέντες καθανύσαι ἅμα κνέφαι, πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φυλακὴν ἐπορεύοντο. [7.1.16] καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι προσπεσόντες ἔπαιον παρεσκευασμένοι ἀπαρασκευάστους καὶ συντεταγμένοι ἀσυντάκτους. [7.1.17] ὥς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγγύτατα λόφον, ἐξὸν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ λαβόντι ὀπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὀπλίτας, ὀπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ Κεγχρειῶν κομίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἀπορούντων τῶν Θηβαίων πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὥς τοῖς πλείστοις ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.

[7.1.18] Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμερίζαντες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἡλείοις, εὐθὺς μὲν

προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδauρον ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκεῖθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς τῶν ἐναντίων, ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως, δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα ἰόντι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεωιγμέναι τύχοιεν, εἰσπεσοῦμενοι. [7.1.19] ἐκβοηθήσαντες δὲ τινες ψилоὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλα συχνούς, καὶ τρεψάμενοι ἐδίωκον ὡς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια. τούτου δὲ γενομένοι οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἐλκύσαντες καὶ ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.

[7.1.20] Ἄμα τε δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ ἱππέας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ δ' ὕστεραίαι οἱ Θηβαῖοι τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξάμενοι καὶ ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδῖον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλόφων ἔφθειρον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ στρατεύματι, ὀρῶντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τάντίπαλα· [7.1.21] οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς, ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν, οὗτοι διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ παραθέοντες ἠκόντιζόν τε προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὥρων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἠκόντιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. εἰ δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν ἐπελαύνοιέν τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδῶντες ἀνεχώρουν. εἰ δ' αὖ τινες διώξειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὅποτε ἀποχωροῖεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ εἰργάζοντο, καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἠνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ προῖέναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν. [7.1.22] μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι μείναντες οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος οἴκαδε. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· Δέρας δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἰροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Συρακούσας. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου

όμοθυμαδὸν καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἡγουμένων Θηβαίων.
[7.1.23] ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκομήδης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε οὐδενὸς ἐνδεῆς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος, οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὥς μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρίς Πελοπόννησος εἴη, μόνοι γὰρ αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν, πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν φύλων τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια παρεχόμενος ὥς ἐπικούρων ὅποτε δεηθεῖεν τινες, οὐδένας ἡιροῦντο ἀντ' Ἀρκάδων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους πώποτε ἄνευ σθῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν Θηβαίους ἐλθεῖν ἄνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. [7.1.24] ἐὰν οὖν σωφρονῇτε, τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἂν τις παρακαλῇ φείσεσθε· ὥς πρότερόν τε Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκείνους ἠϋξήσατε, νῦν δὲ ἂν Θηβαίοις εἰκῇ ἀκολουθῇτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεῖσθαι ἀξιώτε, ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους εὐρήσετε. οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀνεφυσῶντό τε καὶ ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Λυκομήδην καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο· ὥστε ἄρχοντας ἔταττον οὐστinas ἐκεῖνος κελεύοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργον ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες· [7.1.25] ἐμβαλόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν Ἀργείων, καὶ ἀποκλεισθέντων τῆς ἐξόδου ὑπὸ τε τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου ξένων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα πολιορκουμένους ἐξελεύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργεῖους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώνενοι· στρατευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Λακαίνης ἐνίκησάν τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ τὸν Γεράνορα τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον γεγεννημένον ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν Ἀσιναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ βουλευθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νύξ, οὐ χεῖμων, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυνεν αὐτούς· ὥστε ἐν γε ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολὺ ὥιοντο κράτιστοι εἶναι. [7.1.26] οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ οὐκέτι φιλικῶς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οἱ γε μὴν Ἥλειοι ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἃς ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφηιρέθησαν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ τούτων αὖ καὶ οἱ Ἥλειοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.

[7.1.27] Οὕτω δ' ἐκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνὸς παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους

χρήματα ἔχων πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς συνήγαγε περὶ εἰρήνης Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν ἀνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐβουλευοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσήνην ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολλὸν συνέλεγεν ὁ Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοίη μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.

[7.1.28] Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὥς χρεὼν εἶη αὐτοὺς ἰέναι εἰς Θετταλίαν τάναντία Θηβαίοις, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὥς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἐξαίρει κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν· ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς στρατευσάμενος εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μετ' αὐτῶν ἐδήμιον τὴν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὃς εἰρημένος ἦν παραμένειν. καὶ ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπῆι τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης. [7.1.29] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπέτέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι ἐπὶ στενὸν τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε· κάκεῖνος μέντοι ἐβοήθει. ὥς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν Λάκαιναν, καὶ οὗτοι ὥς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ. ὁ δέ, οὐπὲρ ἐστὶ χωρίον ἐπίπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς τε ἐπ' Εὐτρησίων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα ἐκβὰς παρετάξατο ὥς μαχούμενος. [7.1.30] ἔφασαν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόγων παριόντα τοιάδε παρακελεύσασθαι· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἷαν περ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρελάβομεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυρόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς πρόσθεν γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι ἦμεν. [7.1.31] τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπὰς τε καὶ βροντὰς λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους [οὗ δὴ καὶ ἀπόγονος λέγεται] εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων οὕτω πολλὸς μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν ἐμπεσεῖν ὥστ' ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν

ἀνείργειν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἡγεῖτο ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς δόρυ αὐτοὺς ἀπέθανον· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον, πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν. [7.1.32] ὥς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς μάχης τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν οἴκαδε ἀγγελοῦντα Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε νίκης τὸ μέγεθος <καὶ> ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἰς τεθναίῃ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπλήθεις. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν· οὕτω κοινόν τι ἄρα χαρᾶι καὶ λύπῃ δάκρυά ἐστιν. ἐπὶ μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τύχῃ οὐ πολὺ τι ἦττον Λακεδαιμονίων ἥσθησαν Θηβαῖοι τε καὶ Ἥλείοι· οὕτως ἤδη Ἀνχθοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.

[7.1.33] Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτῆσαι ἂν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου παρακαλέσαντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ προφάσει ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἶη παρὰ βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαίνουνσι Θηβαίων μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ παγκρατιαστής, Ἥλείων δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος· ἡκολούθει δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν Τιμαγόραν τε καὶ Λέοντα. [7.1.34] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι ὕστερον οὐδεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ ἐθελήσαιεν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θύσαι ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔνθα περ ὅτε Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς τὴν =φασίαν ἐξέπλει θύσας εἶλε Τροίαν. [7.1.35] μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ Πελοπίδῃ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ὅτι ἐνενικήκεσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι πεπορθηκότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφαίνοντο. ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες μάχῃ ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐ πατεγέγοντο. συνεμαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα ὥς ἀληθῆ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Τιμαγόρας, καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν. [7.1.36] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελοπίδας τί βούλοιο ἐαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς· εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πείθοντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἴ τις δὲ πόλις μὴ ἐθέλοι

ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἰέναι. [7.1.37] γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς πρέσβεισιν, εἶπεν ὁ Λέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως· Νῆ Δία, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥρα γε ὑμῖν, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἄλλον τινὰ φίλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα· εἰ δέ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γινώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἰόντας πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν. [7.1.38] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἵκαδε ἕκαστοι, τὸν μὲν Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ Λέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετὰ τε Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλευοίτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων ὁ μὲν Ἥλεϊος Ἀρχίδαμος, ὅτι προυτίμησε τὴν Ἥλιν πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπῆναι τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἡλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, οὔτε τὰ δῶρα ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλέ τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς βασιλεὺς ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὀψοποιούς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ θυρωροὺς πεμπλήθεις ἔχοι, ἄνδρας δὲ οἱ μάχονται ἂν Ἑλληνσι πάνυ ζητῶν οὐκ [ἂν] ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλήθος ἀλαζονείαν οἱ γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσὴν πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν.

[7.1.39] Ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπασῶν ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δεῖξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγίδα ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ὁμνῦναι ταῦτα ἐκέλευον βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ὁμούμενοι ἀλλ' ἀκουσόμενοι πεμφθεῖσαν· εἰ δέ τι ὄρκων δέοιντο, πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρκὰς Λυκομήδης καὶ τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Θήβαις δέοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἔνθα ἂν ᾗ ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαινόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἤθελε καθίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν ὤχετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις. [7.1.40] ὥς δ' ἐν Θήβαις οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ συνελθόντες ὁμόσαι, ἔπεμπον οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὁμνῦναι κελεύοντες ποιήσιν κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα, νομίζοντες ὀκνήσειν μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κόρινθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων ὑπέστησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοιντο πρὸς βασιλέα κοινῶν ὄρκων, ἐπηκολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀποκρινόμεναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου καὶ

τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβολή οὕτω διελύθη.

[7.1.41] Αὐθις δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουλευθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαΐαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον στρατηγοῦντα ἐν τῷ Ἀργεὶ πείθει προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ Ὀνειον. καὶ ὁ Πεισίας μέντοι καταμαθὼν ἀμελουμένην τὴν τοῦ Ὀνειοῦ φυλακὴν ὑπὸ τε Ναυκλέους, ὃς ἦρχε τοῦ ξενικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμομάχου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νύκτωρ μετὰ δισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρειῶν λόφον, ἔχων ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. [7.1.42] ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλθόντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβαίνουνσι τὸ Ὀνειον, καὶ στρατεύουσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπ' Ἀχαΐαν, ἡγουμένου ἐπαμεινώνδου. προσπεσόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὥστε μὴ φυγαδεῦσαι τοὺς κρατίστους μηδὲ πολιτείαν μεταστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἥ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκουλουθήσειν ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε. [7.1.43] κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατεσκευακὼς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις πέμψαι ἀρμοστὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀχαΐδας πόλεις. οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλήθει ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ κατιεστησαν. οἱ μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες ταχύ, ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὄντες οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατήλθον τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσσευον, ἀλλὰ προθύμως συνεμάχουν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἔνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν. [7.1.44] ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυῶνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος ὁ Εὐφρων, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν πρωτεύειν, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἰ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσονται τοῦ Σικυῶνος, σαφῶς ὅταν τύχη, πάλιν λακωνιεῖ ἡ πόλις· ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται, εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι διαμενεῖ ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις. ἐὰν οὖν μοι παραγέννησθε, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι ὁ συγκαλὼν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ δώσω καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, τὸ φρόνημα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν

τὴν δουλείαν ἀποφυγών. [7.1.45] οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡδέως ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρόντων τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον, ὡς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλέσθαι οὐστinas αὐτοῖς δοκοίη· οἱ δ' αἰροῦνται αὐτόν τε τὸν Εὐφρονα καὶ Ἰππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίσιον καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, Λυσιμένην τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα ἀποστήσας. [7.1.46] καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τούτων τῶν ξένων ὁ Εὐφρων πιστοὺς τινας εὖ ποιῶν ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἄλλους προσελάμβανεν, οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος. καὶ ὅσους δ' ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς τούτων χρήμασιν ἐχρήτο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν· ὥστε πάντα ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποίησατο καὶ σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μὲν τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καί, εἴ που στρατεύοιντο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.

[7.2.1] Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν *τε Ἀργείων ἐπιτετειχικότων [ἐν] τῇ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὅμως δὲ διεκαρτιερουν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν, ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὕσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. [7.2.2] Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτ' ἐκείνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν· σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ, καὶ ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἰλώτων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιστρατευόντων δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργεῖους ὅμως ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιὰς τῶν συμβοηθησάντων, ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι, Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονεῖς, Ἀλιεῖς, Σικυώνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς· [7.2.3] οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἀφέστασαν· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπεὶ ὁ ξεναγὸς τοὺς προδιαβεβῶτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν αὐτοὺς ὦχετο, οὐδ' ὥς ἀπεστράφησαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνα μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ

Πρασιῶν, ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων περὶ Ἀμύκλας, ὅπως ἐδύναντο διαδύντες εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄλλως τε ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπεμψαν. [7.2.4] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμίᾳ ἐνέβαλον πανδημεὶ εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδήιουν, οὐδ' ὥς ὕφιετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπεχώρουν φθείραντες ὅσα ἐδύναντο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἵππεῖς ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακούντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις τῶν ἱπέων ἀπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν μετ' αὐτοὺς τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἐξήκοντα ὄντες ἐτρέψαντο πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὀλίγους αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον μέντοι ἐστήσαντο ὀρώντων τῶν Ἀργείων οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ εἰ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτούς.

[7.2.5] Αὐθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρουν τὸ Ὀνειον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προσῆισαν ὥς ὑπερβησόμενοι. πορευομένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, ὅπως συμμείζαιεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδες ὥς εἰ ἐθελήσειαν ἐπιφανῆναι μόνον σφίσι, λάβοιεν ἂν Φλειοῦντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα συνωμολογήθη, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ' αὐτῷ τῷ τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἳ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ' αὐτῶν ὥς ἑξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σκοποὶ ἐσήμαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικάρανου ὥς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ἐν δὴ τούτῳ οἱ προδιδόντες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ὑποκαθημένοις ἀναβαίνειν. [7.2.6] οἱ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ ὄπλα ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὄντας δέκα· ἀφ' ἐκάστης δὲ τῆς πεμπάδος εἷς ἡμεροφύλαξ κατελείπετο· καὶ ἓνα μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ καταφυγόντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡραιον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλλομένων κατὰ τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὀρώντος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων, ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. [7.2.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβρόθήθουν οἱ πολῖται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν· ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν προσβοηθούντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· οἱ δὲ πολῖται συνεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέσον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐθὺς ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον τοὺς ἔνδον· οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἡμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος φερούσας κλίμακας

προσεμάχοντο. [7.2.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων οἱ πολῖται, ὁμόσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονενοημένως τοῖς ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ δὲ ὠθούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἑλάττον συνειλοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυττον· τῶν δ' ἔνδοθεν οἱ μὲν <ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας, ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πύργους ἐμάχοντο>, καὶ πῦρ εὐρόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑφήπτον αὐτοὺς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἃ ἔτυχεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τὴν φλόγα φοβούμενοι ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξέπιπτον. [7.2.9] ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἥρξαντο ὑπέικειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἔρημος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐξήλαινον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπεχώρουν, καταλιπόντες τὰς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ τε ἔνδον μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἔξω ἀλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔνθα δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε φερούσας καὶ ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρυούσας· πάντας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τότε γε τῷ ὄντι κλαυσίγελως εἶχεν.

[7.2.10] Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα οἱ τε Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅπαντες. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ ἐπικεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὠργίζοντο αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν αἰεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι αὐτοὺς. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπιλεκτοὶ τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῦσι· καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐποίησαν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους μὴ καταπατήσειαν.

[7.2.11] Αὐθις δὲ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα ὁ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὓς τε αὐτὸς εἶχε φρουροὺς καὶ Σικωνίους καὶ Πελληνέας· ἥδη γὰρ τότε ἠκολούθουν τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ Εὐφρων δὲ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔχων μισθοφόρους περὶ δισχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικάρανου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ Ἥραιον, ὥς τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες. κατὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς

Κόρινθον φερούσας πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπε Σικυωνίους τε καὶ Πελληγέας, ὅπως μὴ ταύτη περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι κατὰ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γένοιτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου. [7.2.12] ὥς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὸ πεδὶον ὠρμημένους, ἀντεξελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταν εἰς τὸ πεδὶον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἱππασίμου, οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου. [7.2.13] ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμοι κύκλῳ τοῦ Τρικάρανου· ὥστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς Πελληγέας ἀφικέσθαι ἢ πρὸ τοῦ τεύχους φάραγξ εἶργε. μικρὸν δ' αὐτούς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέμψαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἴεντο τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πελληγέας καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν. [7.2.14] καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν Φλειασίων ἡμιλλῶντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληγέεσσι βοηθήσαντες. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι τοῖς Πελληγέεσσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν οἱ πολέμοι, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι τῶν τε Σικυωνίων τινὲς καὶ τῶν Πελληγέων μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί. [7.2.15] τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἴσαντο λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες, ὥσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὐφρονα περιεώρων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ θέαν περιδεδραμηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Σικυῶνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.

[7.2.16] Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι· τὸν γὰρ Πελληγέα πρόξενον ζῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων σπανιζόμενοι, ἀφῆκαν ἄνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς τοιαῦτα διαπραττομένους;

[7.2.17] Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις διέσωζον περιφανές· οἱ ἐπεὶ εἶργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρπῶν, ἔζων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολέμιας λαμβάνοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὠνούμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰόντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες, χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς προϊζοντας διαπραττόμενοι, γλίσχρως δ' ἐγγυητὰς καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξόντων ὑποζυγίων. [7.2.18] ἤδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα διεπράξαντο σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειοῦντι ἐγένοντο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχείους συνεκπέμψαι εἰς τὴν Πελλήνην. κάκείνους μὲν ἐκεῖ

κατέλιπον, ἀγοράσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὅποσα ἐδύναντο ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς ἀπῆισαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐνεδρεῦσονται ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τοῦ μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τάπιτήδεα. [7.2.19] καὶ προῆισαν μὲν οἱ Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργου τε εἶχοντο καὶ παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἅμα Χάρητα ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐβόων. νίκης δὲ γενομένης καὶ ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἴκαδε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἃ ἦγον ἀπέσωσαν. ὥς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἠγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας. [7.2.20] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ χρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· ὦ Χάρης, ἔξεστί σοι τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς ἔχοντες, ὀπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλούς. ἡγησόμεθα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν οἱ ἔρρωμενέστατοι· σὺ δὲ τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἐὰν ἀκολουθήης, ἴσως μὲν διαπεπραγμένα σοι καταλήψηι, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανεῖς σὺ τροπὴν, ὥσπερ ἐν Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δέ τι δυσχερές σοί ἐστιν ὧν λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενος· οἴομεθα γὰρ ἔτι σε μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν. τοῦτο δὲ χρή, ὦ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξης, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικῶς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ πόλιν διασεσωκῶς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει, ὀνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις. [7.2.21] ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης πεισθεὶς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθὺς οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ ὀπλίται ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐπορεύοντο ἔνθα ἐθύετο, ἀπῆντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θείαι τινὶ προθυμίαι καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον. [7.2.22] ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῆισαν αὐτοῦ οἱ τῶν Πλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταχέως ἡγοῦντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον· τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος ἔθρον ὥς δυνατόν ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδῇ ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δ' ὀψοποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ φυρῶντας, τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποιουμένους. [7.2.23] ὥς δ' εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδοι, εὐθὺς ἐκπλαγέντες

ἔφυγον, καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι πάντα τὰπιτήδεια. κάκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὥς ἐπ' εὐτυχίαι σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς κατασκευασάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, μάλα φιλικῶς κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σίτου γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα παρήγαγον· καὶ ἕωςπερ ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπὰ ἐγίνοντο.

[7.3.1] Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὥς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐγένοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὥς πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἴρηται. σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος, στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένος, νομίσας οὐκ ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμπετο. [7.3.2] φοβηθεῖς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον ἐκ Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὐτῇ συμμαχίᾳ ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων ὥς Λακεδαιμονίοις διατελοῖη πιστὸς ὢν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοίη ἀφίστασθαι, μετ' ὀλίγων ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἔφη. [7.3.3] ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἑαυτὸν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι δῆμον καταστήσαι. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, φεύγουσιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέστην· νῦν δ' οὐ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παραδέδωκα ὑμῖν. ἡκροῶντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· ὁπόσοι δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πάνυ κατάδηλον.

[7.3.4] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπεὶπερ ἡρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ περὶ Εὐφρονος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὐφρων Ἀθήνηθεν ξενικὸν πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει σὺν τῷ δήμῳ· Θηβαίου δὲ ἀρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντες, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα ὤιχετο, ὥς τούτοις πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους, παραδοῦναι δ' αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν. [7.3.5] αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρασκευήν, ἀντεπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας. ὥς δ' ἑώρων αὐτὸν οἰκείως τοῖς

ἄρχουσι συνόντα, φοβηθέντες μὴ διαπράξαιτο ἅ βούλεται, παρεκινδύνευσάν τινες καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸν Εὐφρονα, τῶν τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθημένων. οἱ μέντοι ἄρχοντες τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλὴν, καὶ ἔλεγον τάδε.

[7.3.6] Ὡς ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας Εὐφρονα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν σώφρονες οὐδὲν δήπου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μὲν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειρῶνται, οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι τόλμηι τε καὶ μιαιρίαι ὥστε παρ' αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους οὕστινας δεῖ ἀποθνήσκειν καὶ οὕστινας μὴ, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι μὴ δώσουσι τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην, τίς ποτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν πορεύσεται; τί δὲ πείσεται ἢ πόλις, εἰ ἐξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀποκτείνειν πρὶν δηλῶσαι ὅτου ἔνεκα ἥκει ἕκαστος; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὡς ἀνοσιωτάτους καὶ ἀδικωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλείστον δὴ ὑπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὁποίας τινὸς ὑμῖν δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπίθετε.

[7.3.7] Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἡρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενῆσθαι· εἷς δὲ ὠμολογῇ, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὧδέ πως ἤρχετο. Ἄλλ' ὑπερορᾶν μὲν, ὃ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατόν ὑμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὃς εἰδείη κυρίους μὲν ὄντας ὃ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίني μὴν πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς γνῶσεσθαι. ἥιδειν γάρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς ἐλάβετε ὅμοια Εὐφροني πεποιηκότας, οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ τῶν φανερώς προδοτῶν καὶ τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον κατεγνῶσθαι. [7.3.8] οὐκοῦν καὶ Εὐφρων πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἦν. παραλαβὼν μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε μὴν τίς ἂν περιφανέστερος Εὐφρονος εἴη, ὃς φιλαίτατος μὲν ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμᾶς ἀντ' ἐκείνων εἵλετο· πιστὰ δὲ δούς καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ὑμῶν πάλιν προὔδωκεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δούλους μὲν οὐ μόνον

ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτίννυε δὲ καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφηρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὕς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει; οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι. [7.3.9] αὐθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρμοστῇ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκείνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα δεῦρο ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅπλα ἡθροικῶς ἐφάνη ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἄν μοι εἴχετε, εἰ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν· ὅς δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε παρασκευασάμενος, ὥς τούτοις ὑμᾶς διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς πόλεως, τούτῳ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεῖς πῶς ἂν δικαίως ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὅπλοις βιασθέντες βλάπτονται μὲν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοί γε ἀναφαίνονται· οἱ δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθαρέντες ἅμα μὲν βλάπτονται, ἅμα δὲ αἰσχύνῃ περιπίπτουσιν. [7.3.10] εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ φίλος, κάγῳ ὁμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἂν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν τοῦτον ἀποκτείνειν· ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς προδιδόνς τί ἐμοὶ πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἢ ὑμῖν; ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, εἴποι ἂν τις, ἐκὼν ἦλθε. καῖτα εἰ μὲν ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως ἀπέκτεινέ τις αὐτόν, ἐπαίνου ἂν ἐτύγχανε· νῦν δὲ ὅτι πάλιν ἦλθεν ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιήσων, οὐ δικαίως φησὶ τις αὐτὸν τεθνάναι; ποῦ ἔχων Ἑλλησι σπονδὰς ἀποδεῖξαι ἢ προδόταις ἢ παλιναυτομόλοις ἢ τυράννοις; [7.3.11] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δήπου τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωνίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίδων. ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος κατέρχεται φυγὰς, τοῦτον ἔχει τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν; ἐγὼ φημι, ὧ ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ τετιμωρηκότας ἔσσεσθαι ἀνδρὶ τῷ πάντων ὑμῖν πολεμιωτάτῳ, γνόντας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς τετιμωρηκότας φανεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων.

[7.3.12] Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔγνωσαν δίκαια τὸν Εὐφρονα πεπονθέναι· οἱ μὲντοι πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὥς ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμενοι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ὥς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. οὕτως, ὥς ἔοικεν, οἱ πλεῖστοι ὀρίζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι.

[7.4.1] Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὐφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἔτι παρόντος Ὁρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη. στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν

Χάρητα μεταπεμψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Θουαμίας, ὁ μὲν λιμὴν αὖ ὁ τῶν Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀλίσκεται· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδεὶς τῶν συμμαχῶν ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίους παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.

[7.4.2] Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς συμμαχοῖς, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδεὶς, πείθει τοὺς μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐδυσχέραινόν τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας φίλους γενίσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμαχοῦς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ἡῦρισκον οὐδὲν μείον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων, οὕτω δὴ προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν. [7.4.3] καὶ Λυκομήδης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνήσκει. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων, ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὁ ἐβούλετο, καὶ συνθέμενος τοῖνυν ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εἴλετο ἐνταῦθα ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγγανον ὄντες. κάκεῖνος μὲν οὕτως ἀποθνήσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.

[7.4.4] Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὥς ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάζαι ἔφη χρῆναι ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σώῃα ἦι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι, ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὥς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. ὥς δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖτο Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι, ὥς ληγομένους τὰ δίκαια.

[7.4.5] οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων Χάρης ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ πρὸς Κεγχρείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρείη. οἱ δ' ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ' ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον· καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν. [7.4.6] τοῖς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμπειν ἡναγκάζοντο τοὺς ἰππέας ἐπικούρους διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἴ τις στρατεύοιτο ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν· τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον ἐπὶ πολέμῳ.

Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὥς χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν,

προσγεγεννημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἔδοξεν ἀθροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας μισθοφόρους. ἡγούμενοι δὲ τούτων, ἅμα μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς πλησίον πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν· εἰς μέντοι Θήβας ἔπεμψαν ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἂν ἐλθόντες εἰρήνης. [7.4.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰέναι ἐκέλευον, ὡς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶσαι σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμαχοὺς, ὡς μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἰρουμένους ἐάσοντες πολεμεῖν. ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θηβαίων, ἐλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον· [7.4.8] Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάρεσμεν ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν, εἰ μὲν τινα ὁρᾶτε σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν διακαρτερῶμεν πολεμοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς· εἰ δὲ ἀπόρως γινώσκετε ἔχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν συμφέρει, ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην· ὡς οὐδὲ μετ' οὐδένων ἂν ἦδιον ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθείμεν· εἰ μέντοι ὑμεῖς λογιζέσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα ὑμῶν εἶσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. σωθέντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως ἂν αὐθις ἔτι ποτὲ ἐν καιρῷ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ νῦν ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδέποτε χρήσιμοι ἔτι ἐσόμεθα. [7.4.9] ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς τε Κορινθίοις συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχῶν ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς πολεμεῖν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἔφασαν πολεμοῦντες πράξειν ὃ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ φίλον ᾖ· ὑφίσεσθαι δὲ οὐδέποτε, ἦν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον Μεσσήνην, ταύτης στερηθῆναι. [7.4.10] οἱ οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἡξίουσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ συμμαχίαν ὁμνύειν· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν συμμαχία οὐκ εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ πολέμου μεταλλαγὴ εἴη· εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, παρεῖναι ἔφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην ποιησόμενοι. ἀγασθέντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ ἐν κινδύνῳ ὄντες οὐκ ᾔθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάστους, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὠμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. [7.4.11] οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ σύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθύς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὁμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις εἰρήνην ποιήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταπρᾶξαι ὥστε τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικάρανῳ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει ἔχοντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν, φάσκοντες

σφετέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγοι πρότερον ὥς πολεμίαν οὕσαν ἐδήιουν, καὶ δίκας τῶν Φλειασίων προκαλουμένων οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.

[7.4.12] Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῖον τὸν χρόνον τετελευτηκότος ἤδη τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπει βοήθειαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα τριῆρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Τιμοκράτην. οὗτος οὖν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαίρει αὐτοῖς Σελλασίαν· καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῶι ὕστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Ἥλειοι Λασιῶνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν. [7.4.13] οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες οὐ παρωλιώρησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς παραγγέιλαντες ἐβοήθουν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἥλειων οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπιπεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἥλειων τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἥλειων ὄρους κορυφὴν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἥλειους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἅμα μὲν ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου προσιόντας, ἅμα δὲ πολλαπλασίους, ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ἠσυχύνθησαν, ὁμόσε δ' ἦλθον καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας, πολλὰ δὲ ὄπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀποχωροῦντες.

[7.4.14] Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν Θραύστου ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὕτω δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἥλειοι αὖ παντάπασιν ἠθύμησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦλθον· ἐκεῖ μέντοι ὑποστάντες οἱ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινες καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο. [7.4.15] ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἥλιδι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπόν τε καὶ Θρασωνίδαν καὶ Ἀργεῖον εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἤγον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ <Στάλκαν τε καὶ Ἰππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐκ τούτου δὴ θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. [7.4.16] οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι

οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτούς· ὥστ' ἔφυγον σὺν τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ καὶ Χαρόπῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τριακοσίους. οὐ πολὺ δ' ὕστερον οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινὰς καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἅτε χωρίον τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἡλείων οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἀναπειθόμενοι ὥς ἡ πόλις προσχωρήσοιτο. [7.4.17] ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγενημένοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὥστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράξαντες ἢ δηιώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον. εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἡλείας ἐξιόντες, αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Πελληνέας ἐν Ἥλιδι ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐλθόντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὀλούρον· ἤδη γὰρ πάλιν προσεκεχώρηκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. [7.4.18] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦισθοντο τὰ περὶ Ὀλοῦρου, περιελθόντες αὐτὸ καὶ οὗτοι ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰσῆλθον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν τοῖς ἐν Ὀλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δήμῳ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὀλούρον.

[7.4.19] Οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν εἰς τὴν Ἥλιν. μετὰ δὲ Κυλλήνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδευομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἡλεῖοι, ὑποστάντες δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν ὁ Ἡλεῖος ἵππαρχος, ὅσπερ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν μάχην συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ παραγενόμενος καὶ Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ἤδη γὰρ τότε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἡλείοις ἦσαν. [7.4.20] πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν, ἠξίουσαν καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ἀπολαβεῖν τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῖντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ καταλαμβάνει Κρῶμμον. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρὰν τῶν δώδεκα λόχων τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν. [7.4.21] οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ ἔτυχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἥλιν στρατείας συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθήσαντες περιεσταύρωσαν τὸν Κρῶμμον διπλῶι σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ὄντες ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρῶμμῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν,

ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδήμιον καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο καὶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει ὅπως, εἰ δύναιτο, ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐκινεῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρεώρων. [7.4.22] κατιδὼν δὲ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἔξω σταύρωμα περιεβέβληντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἐνόμισεν ἐλεῖν αὐν τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατήσειεν, οὐκ αὖν δύνασθαι μένειν τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτῳ πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὥς εἶδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ σταυρώματος, ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ <οἱ> ἵππεῖς συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δ' αὖ πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπῆσαν, ἥδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς, ἐβοήθει δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμνος, ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμνον φέρουσιν ἀμαξιτόν, εἰς δύο ἄγων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγγανεν ἔχων. [7.4.23] ὥς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει, ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν διαμπάζ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνησκον, Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν τριάκοντα. [7.4.24] ὥς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι ἔστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως εἶχον, τετρωμένον μὲν ὀρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων. [7.4.25] ὥς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὧ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ σπείσμενους διαλυθῆναι; ἄσμενοι δὴ ἀμφοτέρω ἀκούσαντες ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον ἦρξαντο ἐπιέναι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.

[7.4.26] Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἡλεῖοι πρῶτον μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοις ἐκ τῶν Θαλαμῶν. καὶ

προσελαύνοντες οἱ ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἡλείων ὥς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτινύουσιν, οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ γήλοφον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί, ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων. καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ξένοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ φυγάδες, ἀπέσφαττον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς τε Πυλίους, ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἰροῦσι, καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας ἀναλαμβάνουσι. [7.4.27] καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕστερον αὖ ἐλθόντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Κρῶμμον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος <τοῦ> κατὰ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εὐθὺς ἐξεκάλουν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγύτατά τε ἐτύγγανον ὄντες καὶ ὠξυλάβησαν, ἐξῆλθον· ὁπόσους δὲ ἔφθασαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν ἔνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν· καὶ ἓν μὲν μέρος ἔλαβον Ἀργεῖοι, ἓν δὲ Θηβαῖοι, ἓν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἓν δὲ Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε καὶ περιοίκων πλείους τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐγένοντο.

[7.4.28] Ἐπεὶ γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρῶμμου, πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους εἶχον, καὶ τήν τε Ὀλυμπίαν ἐρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπὶ ὀντος Ὀλυμπιακοῦ ἔτους παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ τε μὴν ἦκεν ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὀλύμπια γίγνεται αἷ τε ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμπιακὴν ὁδόν. [7.4.29] οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὦιοντο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἵπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τὰ δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου· οἱ δ' εἰς πάλιν ἀφικόμενοι οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον. οἱ γὰρ Ἡλεῖοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις παρῆσαν ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, ὃς παρὰ τὴν Ἄλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει. καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ὅπλῃται μὲν Ἀργείων εἰς δισχιλίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς περὶ τετρακοσίου. [7.4.30] καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἡλεῖοι τὰπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο, σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων καὶ

Ἀργείων, καταφρονούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὅμως ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὡς ἀλκιμώτατοι ὄντες ἡγοῦντο, τοὺς δ' Ἀρκάδας, τούτοις γὰρ πρώτοις συνέβαλον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντες δὲ τοὺς Ἀργεῖους δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν. [7.4.31] ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἥττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἡλείων καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον. [7.4.32] οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβηντο τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὥστε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς νυκτός, ἐκκόπτοντες τὰ διαπεπονημένα σκηνώματα καὶ ἀποσταυροῦντες. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἡλεῖοι ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσιόντες εἶδον καρτερὸν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι γενόμενοι οἷους τὴν ἀρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἂν ἐμπνεύσας δύναιτο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδείξαι, ἄνθρωποι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκίμους πολήσειαν.

[7.4.33] Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπαρίτους τρεφόντων, πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι. καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ γινόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ἀνεκαλοῦντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔπεμπον ὡς ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μαντινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς εἴσω. [7.4.34] ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς μυρίοις ὡς οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενοι ἄνευ μισθοῦ τῶν ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο, οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι αὐτοῖς καθίσταντο εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν. γνόντες δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ δώσοιεν εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ

διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὥς εἰ μὴ στρατεύσειαν, κινδυνεύσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι. [7.4.35] καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὥς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς Θηβαίοις μὴ ἰέναι σὺν ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μὴ τι καλοῖεν. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους ἔλεγον, ἅμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι πολέμου οὐδὲν δέοιντο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προεστάναι οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἂν καὶ δικαιότερα καὶ ὀσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἶεσθαι μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτω χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἡλείων, ἔδοξεν ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.

[7.4.36] Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὄρκων, καὶ ὁμοσάντων τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, ὃς ἐτύγγανεν ἐν Τεγέαι ἔχων τριακοσίους ὀπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες ἐν τῇ Τεγέαι αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες ἐδειπνοποιοῦντό τε καὶ ἠθθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας ὥς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖος καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σὺν τε τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ τοὺς σκηνοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βέλτιστους. ἅτε δὲ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι· ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ δημοσία οἰκία. [7.4.37] ὥς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἱ καὶ διὰ τῶν πυλῶν ἀφεῖντο· οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ὠργίζετο, ὅστις μὴ ὤιετο ἀπολεῖσθαι· ἀπορῆσαι δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τὸν τε Θηβαῖον καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαντινέας, οὓς μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ὥιχοντο οἴκαδε. [7.4.38] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἰς τε τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικὰς πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν τὰς παρόδους. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποιοῦν, καὶ ἅμα πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν ἀπήτιουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἄνδρας Μαντινέων· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν ἔφασαν οὔτε δεδέσθαι οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ δὲ καὶ τινες ἐπαιτιῶντο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις ἐγγυῶιτο ἢ μὴν παρέξειν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσους τις

προσκαλοῖτο. [7.4.39] ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος ἠπόρει τε ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ συγκαλέσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὅποσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν ἠθέλησαν, ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθεῖη. ἀκοῦσαι γὰρ ἔφη ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκείνον μὲν, καίπερ γινώσκοντες ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ σφῶν, ἀφίεσαν· πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν. [7.4.40] τὸν δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἔφασαν, καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν τότε ἐτύγχανε, λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσειεν, ὅτε συνελάμβανε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφῆκε. τὸ γὰρ ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατηγοροίη; εὖ δ' ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονούσι πολεμήσομεν.

[7.5.1] Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἥλείοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι δῆλοι εἶεν βουλόμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾶιστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιντο. [7.5.2] τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς βούλονται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀμφοτέρωθεν δεώμεθα; ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἐξιόντες; οὐ δῆλον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευάζονται; [7.5.3] ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων, παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμόνιους, εἰ βούλοιντο κοινῇ διακωλύειν, ἂν τινες ἴωσι καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν Πελοπόννησον. περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἡγήσονται.

[7.5.4] Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξήκει, Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοᾶς καὶ Θετταλῶν πολλοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ. Φωκεῖς μὲντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθήκαι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν· ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις. [7.5.5] ὁ μὲντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργεῖους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ

Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο. [7.5.6] ἐξήλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέαι, ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους παριόντας λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐμπεσεῖν, ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι Θηβαίοις ὅτι ἐλαττοῖντο Ἀθηναῖοι. [7.5.7] ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆισαν πάντες οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὥς διὰ Λακεδαιμόνος βοηθήσοντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἀφορμήσας ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. [7.5.8] εὐτυχῇ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλλιπεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἔνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι πράττειτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ, εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν δ' ἐτέρων ἔξω στρατευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε τι ὁρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶναι, ὁπότε ὁρώῃ χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι. [7.5.9] ὁρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν τόν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους, μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἦισθετο ἐξεστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιησάμενος καὶ παραγγείλας ἡγεῖτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην. [7.5.10] καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρῆς θεῖαι τινὶ μοίραι προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε τῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ προσιὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προπυθόμενος ταῦτα Ἀγησίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθὼν, διαταξάμενοι οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· οἱ τε γὰρ ἵππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι ἀπῆσαν καὶ τὸ ξενικὸν καὶ

τῶν λόγων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς. [7.5.11] ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἐν τε ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῆιει ταύτῃ, οὐδ' ὅπου γε μηδὲν <πλέονες μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ ὄντες· ἐνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαιναν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. [7.5.12] τό [τε] γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γινόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον αἰτιάσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὥς τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑποσταίῃ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν ἔχων ἄνδρας, καὶ διαβάς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ τῷ παντὶ πλείους καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ' ἐγκλίνουσι. [7.5.13] καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν ἐπαμεινώνδα ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἐνδοθεν πορρωτέρῳ τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μέχρι ὅσου νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖόν τε ἵστατο ἐνθα ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου. [7.5.14] ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες εἰς τὴν Λακεδαιμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἡτύχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκόντων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς ὥς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίτας ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἰππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὥς πάντα μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὐσης. [7.5.15] καὶ οἱ μὲν ὦιχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἰππεῖς ὀρμηθέντες ἐξ Ἐλευσίνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἴσθμῳ, διελθόντες δὲ καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἰππέων βοηθήσαι, εἴ τι δύναιτο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν ἐλευθέρων· ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν, ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι. [7.5.16] ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖ; οἱ καὶ πολὺ πλείους ὀρῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ

δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐδὲν τούτου ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεύειν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' αἰσχυρόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς συμμάχους, ὥς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραζαν, ἐρῶντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρίαν δόξαν. [7.5.17] καὶ μαχόμενοι αἵτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιοῦτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω βραχὺ ὄπλον ἐκάτεροι εἶχον ὧν οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο, τῶν δὲ πολεμιῶν ἦν οὗς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν. [7.5.18] ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσονται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἡττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι σὺν πολλῷ ὀπλιτικῷ ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αἴτιος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἡλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατόν εἶναι ἀμαχεῖ παρελθεῖν, λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῶν, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι πειρωμένῳ τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν. [7.5.19] τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι· φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι <τὸ> στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὥς πόνον τε μηδὲν ἀποκάνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας, κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τάπιτήδεια ἔχοντας ὁμῶς πειθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστότερα εἶναι. [7.5.20] καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου, ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ <οἱ> τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀπλίται ρόπαλα, ὥς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἡκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας. [7.5.21] ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς

ἐσπέραν ὄρη καὶ ἀντιπέραν τῆς Τεγέας ἡγεῖτο· ὥστε δόξαν παρεῖχε τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ. [7.5.22] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὄπλα, ὥστε εἰκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεὶ γε μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε δὴ ἀναλαβεῖν παραγγείλας τὰ ὄπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἐώικεσαν. [7.5.23] ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρωρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε, νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβάλων διακόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον πόρρῳ ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι τοῖς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς ἱππείας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάζαντο ὥσπερ ὀπλιτῶν φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων· [7.5.24] ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς, νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον νενικηκὼς ἔσσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τοὺς ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινες φεύγοντας τῶν ἑαυτῶν ὀρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρατος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππείας καὶ ὀπλίτας, φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὥς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν, ὅπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσονται αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν οὕτως ἐποίησατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας γὰρ ἦ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων. [7.5.25] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὀπλίται οὐδὲ προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππείας οὔθ' ὀπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ

συννενικηκότες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὥς κρατοῦντες, ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.

[7.5.26] Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τὸναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ ἑνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθείας γὰρ σχεδὸν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ὤιετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξιν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφοτέρω μὲν τροπαῖον ὥς νενικηκότες ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυνον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρω μὲν ὥς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδωκαν, ἀμφοτέρω δὲ ὥς ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον, [7.5.27] νενικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώραι οὔτε πόλει οὔτ' ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλωι μελήσει.

AGESILAUS - Ἀγησίλαος

Κεφάλαιον α΄

[1] Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ ράϊδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων ἂν τυγχάνοι ἐπαινῶν. [2] περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἂν τις μεῖζον καὶ κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς προγόνοις ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομνημονεύεται ὀπόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἰδιώταις ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων βασιλεῦσιν; [3] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτηι γ' ἂν τις ἔχοι καταμέμψασθαι αὐτοὺς ὡς βασιλεύουσι μὲν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμώτατον, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ δευτέρων πρωτεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσιν. [4] τῇιδέ γε μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ· ἢ τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα τοῦ προτετιμῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρησε καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν, οἳ τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν ἢ ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερά ἐστι διαγεγεννημένη ἀδιάσπαστος οὔτε δημοκρατία οὔτε ὀλιγαρχία οὔτε τυραννὶς οὔτε βασιλεία· αὕτη δὲ μόνη διαμένει συνεχῆς βασιλεία. [5] ὥς γε μὴν καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἅγις βασιλεὺς ὢν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρισάντων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Λεωτυχίδα μὲν ὡς Ἅγιδος ὄντος υἱοῦ, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ ὡς Ἀρχιδάμου, κρίνασα ἡ πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦτον ἐστήσατο βασιλέα. καίτοι τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων κριθέντα τοῦ καλλίστου γέρωσ ἀζιωθῆναι ποίων ἔτι τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὶν ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς;

[6] Ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο νῦν ἤδη διηγήσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτοῦ κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι. Ἀγησίλαος τοίνυν ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλείας· ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων καὶ ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας· [7] βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος ὑπέστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν

Σπαρτιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμῶδεις, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβήσεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἂν πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας. [8] εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάννυ ἡγάσθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο <τὸ> ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντιδιαβῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν, τότε αἰρεῖσθαι ἐπιόντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ τάκεινον δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο <τὸ> μὴ περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι. [9] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε, πῶς ἂν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδεικνύειν ὥς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ αὐτὰ διηγῆσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν; [10] ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἦδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὥμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπεύσαιο ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς ἐμπυεῖ πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ ἀφελθῆναι αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντῴμοσε σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὀρισάμενος τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας. [11] ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὥμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὁμῶς ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπονδαῖς. [12] ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπιόρκον ἄπιστον πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν ὅρκους ἐμπεδοῦντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον, πάντα ἐποίησε καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας συντίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ καταβάντι στρατεύματι προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς εἶναι· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῶι τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὥς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχει ὅτι ἐπιόρκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἑλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν. [14] ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὥς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ

Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους. [15] ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν ὀπηύσειν αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδῖον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὶν εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. [16] ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τάς τε ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντῶσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβάλων ἀπροσδοκῆτως παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἔλαβε. [17] στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ὁσίον τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ, φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλουτίσαι· [18] ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰληφθαι ἀντίπροικα τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προεῖπεν ὠνεῖσθαι, εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ στράτευμα κατὰγων· τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε γραφομένους ὅποσον τι πρίαιντο προίεσθαι τὰ χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸ δημόσιον βλάψαντες πάντες παμπληθῇ χρήματα ἔλαβον. [19] ἔτι δὲ ὁπότε αὐτόμολοι ὡς εἰκὸς πρὸς βασιλέα ἰόντα χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν ὑψηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς διὰ τῶν φίλων ἀλίσκοιτο, ὅπως ἅμα μὲν χρηματίζοντο, ἅμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίγνοιτο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλίας ἐποίησατο. [20] γινώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθομένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βίαι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πραιότητι προσάγεσθαι. [21] καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἰσθοίτο καταλελειμμένα παιδάρια μικρὰ ἐμπόρων, ἃ πολλοὶ ἐπώλουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ τούτων ὅπως συγκομίζοντό ποι. [22] τοῖς δ' αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλειπομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις προσέταττεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν μῆθ' ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ

αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀλίσκομενοι εὐμενεῖς αὐτῷ ἐγίνοντο. ὅποσας δὲ πόλεις
προσαγάγοιτο, ἀφαιρῶν αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι
προσέταπτεν ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται· καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος
ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο. [23] ἐπεὶ
μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο στρατεῦσθαι διὰ
τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον
εἶναι, ὥς μὴ δραπετεύοντα πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν
πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἵπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε. [24]
προεῖπε δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὄπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὥς
ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεῦσθαι· καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἕκαστον
προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν ὥσπερ ἂν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως μαστεύοι. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν δέοι
τοὺς ἱππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἵπποτρόφων πόλεων
εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱππικῇ γενέσθαι. καὶ
τοῦτ' οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι, ὅτι κατεσκευάστο τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῷ
καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν. [25] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε,
συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἑφeson· ἀσκήσαι δὲ [καὶ] αὐτὸ
βουλόμενος ἄθλα προὔθηκε καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις κράτιστα
[ἂν] ἱππεῖοι, καὶ ταῖς ὀπλιτικαῖς, ἥτις [ἂν] ἄριστα σωματίων ἔχοι· καὶ
πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἄθλα προύθηκεν, οἵτινες κράτιστοι τὰ
προσέηκοντα ἔργα φαίνοντο. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὅπᾳ τὰ μὲν
γυμνάσια μεστὰ [τῶν] ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δὲ ἱππόδρομον
ἱππέων ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ
στόχον ἰέντας. [26] ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ἣ ἦν θεάς
ἐποίησεν. ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ μεστή ἦν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὄπλων καὶ
ἵππων ὠνίων, οἳ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς καὶ
σκυτεῖς καὶ γραφεῖς πάντες πολεμικὰ ὄπλα κατεσκευάζον· ὥστε τὴν
πόλιν ὄντως ἂν ἡγήσω πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι. [27] ἐπερρώσθη δ'
ἂν τις κάκεῖνο ἰδὼν, Ἀγησίλαον μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἐστεφανωμένους τε ὅπου ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων
ῖοιεν, καὶ ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ
ἄνδρες θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιεν, πολεμικὰ δὲ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχίαν δὲ
μελετῶιεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν
εἶναι; [28] ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ρώμην
τινὰ ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν
ληιστῶν ἀλίσκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν. ὁπῶντες οὖν οἱ
στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, πῖονας δὲ καὶ

ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν μηδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὥς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν αὐτῶι τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοντο ὥς ἀγωνιούμενοι. [29] ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῶι ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν. τό τε οὖν πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς <εἰς> τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρεῖχε· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς. [30] καὶ τῶι μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι· αὐτοῖ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους καθ' ἀρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππείας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὥς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν. [31] ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις οὐπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῶι δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ δύναίτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτεταγμένους ἱππείας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμωι ὑψηγεῖσθαι· παρηγγεῖλε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὥς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐπομένου. [32] τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππείας ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῶι ποταμῶι ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἐπόμενοι αἰροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐτρέποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἔχων κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. [33] ὥς δ' ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι διὰ τὸ αἰτιάσθαι ἀλλήλους τοῦ γεγεννημένου, εὐθὺς ἤγεν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις. κάκεῖ ἅμα μὲν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι ἐδήλου τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθερίας δεομένους ὥς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι· εἰ δέ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας διακρινουμένους ἐν ὅπλοις παρεῖναι. [34] ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῆι, ἀδεῶς δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐστρατεύετο,

τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἑλληνας ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρᾶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀξιοῦντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι, τούτους ποιήσας μὴδ' ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δύνασθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδήϊωτον παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτω καρπούμενος ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν πλέον τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῆσαι. [35] ὁ μέντοι Περσῶν βασιλεύς, νομίσας Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ Ἀγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. [36] ἄξιόν γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ, ὅστις ἄρχων μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ πόλεων, ἄρχων δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσήψεν αὐτῷ ἢ πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλείαι καὶ δυνάμει, παρὸν δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύσειν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατευσάσαν πρότερον ἀρχήν, ὅμως ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπέιθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἐστηκῶς μόνος παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἔνδηλον ποιῶν ὡς οὔτε ἂν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δέξαιτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φίλων οὔτε αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα κέρδη μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια. [37] ὅσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμεινε πῶς οὐκ ἀξιεπαίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ' ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, ὅστις παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις ἐφ' ἃς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσε στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὥστ' ἄνευ φυγῆς καὶ θανάτων ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὁμονόως πολιτευομένας καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι; [38] τοιγαροῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνες οὐχ ὡς ἄρχοντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἐταίρου ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ ἐλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐ πλαστήν τὴν φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐθελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν ἑαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο.

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ὥνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ στόλῳ· καὶ ἦν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο, ταύτην μείον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ καθήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ γὰρ ὥς ὑστερήσειε τῆς πατρίδας προεθυμείτο. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο, Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κρανώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἤγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ' οὐραῖ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλουν τῆς πορείας αὐτὸν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς ὀπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ προηγουμένου στρατεύματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ ἑαυτόν. [3] ὥς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπίτας ἵππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐφείποντο. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἃ ἑκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάλ' εὐρώστους ἱππείας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφὴν. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὥς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναστρέφειν πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡλίσκοντο. [4] Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱπαρχὼν ἀνέστρεψέ τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει. ὥς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, φυγὴ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν πρὶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο. [5] καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο μεταξύ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε, μάλα ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονούντας ἐφ' ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἱππικῶι. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν [ἤδη] πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὄρια. [6] ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιτεταγμένους εὐρῶν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους, <Ἀργεῖους>, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιᾶνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ Λοκροὺς ἀμφοτέρους, οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἔχων μόραν καὶ ἥμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμάχων Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους μόνους, τό τ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ὅπερ ἡγάγετο αὐτός. [7] καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λέξων ἔρχομαι, ὥς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττους πολὺ δὲ χείρονας

ἔχων ὅμως συνέβαλεν· εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοιμι, Ἀγησίλαόν τ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μωρόν, εἰ ἐπαινοίην τὸν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων εἰκῇ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τάδ' αὐτοῦ ἄγμαι, ὅτι πληθὸς τε οὐδὲν μείον ἢ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσατο, ὥπλισέν τε οὕτως ὥς ἅπαντα μὲν χαλκόν, ἅπαντα δὲ φοινικᾶ φαίνεσθαι· [8] ἐπεμελήθη δ' ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς πόνους δυνήσονται ὑποφέρειν· ἐνέπλησε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, ὥς ἱκανοὶ εἶεν πρὸς οὐστinas δέοι μάχεσθαι· ἔτι δὲ φιλονικίαν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄριστοι φαίνονται. ἐλπίδων γε μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν ὥς πᾶσι πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἔσοιτο, εἰ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοιτο, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπους προθυμότατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. [9] καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐνψεύσθη. διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην· καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο οἷαπερ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆισαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. ἑώρων δὲ τὰς τε φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσοπάλους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἐκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε δὲ [ὁ] Ἀγησίλαος μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον. [10] συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγῇ πολλῇ ἦν ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων· ἡνίκα δὲ ἀπείχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον, ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὥς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει [11] [ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές], καὶ Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι. καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ' ἑαυτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς ἀμφ' Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα. κἀνταῦθα οἱ μὲν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δὲ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσί. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὥς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως. [12] ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἴλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα· ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἐπομένῳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὀπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο,

ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον. καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγὴ, φωνὴ δὲ τις ἦν τοιαύτη οἷαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ' ἄν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαίππτουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον. [13] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος δ' αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντες τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἡρώτων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἔαν τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἶα, καὶ προπέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ἔστε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο. [14] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι ἔνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις τὴν μὲν γῆν αἵματι πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους καὶ πολεμίους μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώματι, τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χειρᾶς. [15] τότε μὲν οὖν [καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ] συνελκύσαντες τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποίησαντο καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρῶι δὲ Γυλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. [16] καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποιοῦν· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτως δὴ αἱ τε σπονδαὶ γίνονται καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρει, ἐλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ οἶκοι τὰ νόμιμα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.

[17] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς Ἀργεῖους τὰ μὲν οἶκοι καρπουμένους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσειληφότας, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύει ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον αἰρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα τεῖχῃ· καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει. [18] ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραιῶι σωιζομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον σπεῖροντας καὶ καρπουμένους, μέγιστον δὲ ἡγησάμενος ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς Κορινθίοις παρεγίνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πείραιον.

ιδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὡς ἐνδιδομένης τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ· [19] αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραίου εἰς τὴν πόλιν πασσυδαί, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἶρεῖ τὸ Πείραιον, ἔρημον εὐρὼν φυλακῆς, καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τεῖχη ἃ ἐνετετείχιστο. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε. [20] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ δεομένων συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν ... καὶ ἐπιθεμένων ἐν στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καταλαβὼν [τοῖς ψιλοῖς] τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε πρὶν Ἀχαιοὺς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργεῖους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους. [21] ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Ἀγησίλαος ἀντείπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἕως τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἠνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέξασθαι. ὕστερον δ' αὖ καὶ Φλεισίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα. εἰ δέ τις ἄλλῃ πῃ ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ φιλειταιρίαι γε πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι. [22] καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας. εὐρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα, ὑπερβάς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδήϊου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλονται. ἐστράτευσεν δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι ἔπει πάλιν ἐπὶ Θήβας· καὶ ὑπερβάς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδήϊωσεν τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας. [23] τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ πόλις ἠτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ὡς Ἀγησιλάου ἡγουμένου ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορᾶς γεγεννημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέαι φίλους καὶ ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἡλείων, στρατεύει σὺν μόνῃ <τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει>, πολλῶν νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν. δηιώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὖ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν. [24] ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἡλείων καὶ Βοιωτῶν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ

Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνιάνων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εὐβοέων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων, ὅμως διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν, ὅπου μὲν <τῷ> παντὶ πλέον ἂν εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, οὐκ ἐξάγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολῖται πλέον ἔξειν ἔμελλον, εὐρώστως παρατεταγμένος, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ πλατὺ ἐξίων πάντοθεν ἂν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένων τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἄν. [25] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οὐκ ἂν φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ; ὥς γὰρ τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ἀπεῖργεν ἤδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην, εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἔξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα ἑαυτὸν ἔταξε. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἴκοι μένων ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἃ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὤκνει μετιέναι, οὐδ' ἡισυχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσειν, πρεσβευτὴς ἐκπορευόμενος ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ. [26] ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσοῖ Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων ὤχετο· Κότυς δ' αὖ Σηστὸν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι οὖσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων εἰστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφοτέρω τὰ χωρία ταῦτα οὐκέτι δείσας ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. [27] ... [[κάνταῦθα οὖν]] ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατος· οἳ τε γὰρ εὖ πεπονθέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα ἀμφοτέροι ἐδοσαν. Ταχῶς γε μὴν καὶ Μαύσωλος, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησίλαου ξενίαν συμβαλλόμενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῇ. [28] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα· κατανενοηκῶς δὲ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα, ἄσμενος ἤκουσεν ὅτι μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος. [29] ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὀρμῇ τῷ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῳ χάριν ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας πάλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐπιθήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν καὶ ὅτι νῦν σύμμαχος εἶναι φάσκων ἐπέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιέναι. [30] ἐπεὶ

μέντοι ὁ μεταπεμψάμενος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ὡς τὸ μέγιστον ἐξηπατημένος ἐφρόντιζε τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δείσας ἀπεχώρησε φυγῇ εἰς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης, οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι στασιάζοντες διττοὺς βασιλέας αἰροῦνται. [31] ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνοὺς ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μηδετέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερός τ' ἂν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος ἐχθρὸς ἔσται, εἰ δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτός γε εὖ παθὼν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας ὁπότερος φιλέλλῃν μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος μετὰ τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας χειροῦται, τὸν δ' ἕτερον συγκαθίστησι· καὶ φίλον ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ προσλαβὼν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε καίπερ μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος, σπεύδων ὡς μὴ ἄργος ἢ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ θέρους πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.

Κεφάλαιον γ'

[1] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀναμνησάμενος μόνον ἄρκει καὶ εὐθὺς πιστεύεται. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων τῶν καλῶν ἥρα καὶ πάντα <τὰ> αἰσχροῦ ἐξεδίδωκεν. [2] Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνου ὅρκους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου σπονδὰς πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φιλίαν· ... μὲν ὥκνουν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἰέναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον. ὅπως δὲ μὴ τις ἀπιστῇ, καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν. [3] Σπιθριδάτης μὲν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδὼς ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε. [4] Κότυς δὲ ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος μὴ ληφθεὶς ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτείσσειεν ἢ καὶ ἀποθάνοι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς πιστεύσας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἦλθε καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος εἶλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἱππείας, δισχιλίους δὲ πελτοφόρους ἔχων. [5] ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ

Φαρνάβαζος Ἀγησιλάωι εἰς λόγους καὶ διωμολόγησεν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς στρατηγὸς κατασταθεῖη, ἀποστήσεσθαι βασιλέως· ἦν μέντοι ἐγὼ γένωμαι στρατηγός, ἔφη, πολεμήσω σοι, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι κράτιστα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐπίστευε μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον παθεῖν. οὕτω μέγα καὶ καλὸν κτῆμα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῶι τὸ ὄσιόν τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναι τε καὶ ὄντα ἐγνώσθαι. καὶ περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.

Κεφάλαιον δ'

[1] Περί γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης ποῖα ἂν τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι τῶνδε; ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ πεπονθέναι πολλοὶ πολλὰ ὁμολογοῦν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἡδὺ τὰ αὐτοῦ διδόναι ἐπ' ὠφελείαι ἀνθρώπων, πῶς <ἂν> οὗτος ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ' ᾧ κακόδοξος εἶναι; εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοίη, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβάνειν. [2] ὅς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι, ὧν οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς ἂ γε καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; Ἀγησίλαος δὲ οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν μείζω δυνάμενον. [3] τὰ γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν πῃ ἂν τις αὐτὸν εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, ὅς καὶ τὰς αὐτῶι χάριτας ὀφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι παρεδίδου; τὸ δ', ὅποτε βούλοιτο εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι, δύνασθαι παρ' ἐτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὠφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο μέγα τεκμήριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων; [4] εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτη, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν ὀφείλειν αὐτῶι ἐνόμισεν· ἀλλ' οἱ προῖκα εὖ πεπονθότες, οὗτοι ἀεὶ ἡδέως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῶι εὐεργέτη, καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προεπιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος φυλάττειν. [5] ὅστις δ' ἠρῆϊτο καὶ σὺν τῶι γενναίῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἢ σὺν τῶι ἀδίκῳ πλέον ἔχειν, πῶς οὗτος οὐκ ἂν πολὺ τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν κριθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντα ἔχειν τὰ Ἄγιδος τὰ ἡμίσεα τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῶι ὁμογόνοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι πενομένους αὐτοὺς ἑώρα. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ πᾶσα μάρτυς ἢ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις. [6] διδόντος δ' αὐτῶι πάμπολλα δῶρα Τιθραύστου, εἰ ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ὡ Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ' ἡμῖν τῶι ἄρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων λάφυρα

μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.

Κεφάλαιον ε΄

[1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅσαι γε ἡδοναὶ πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων, ποίας οἶδέ τις Ἀγησίλαον ἡττηθέντα; ὅς μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ὤιετο χρῆναι καὶ λαιμαργίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν ὁμοίως [ὥς] καὶ ἀμαρτίας. διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς θοίναις οὐχ ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλὰ διαπέμπων οὐδετέραν αὐτῷ κατέλειπε, νομίζων βασιλεῖ τοῦτο διπλασιασθῆναι οὐχὶ πλησμονῆς ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτῳ τιμᾶν εἴ τινα βούλοιο. [2] οὐ μὴν ὕπνῳ γε δεσπότῃ ἀλλ' ἀρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐχρῆτο, καὶ εὐνὴν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων φαυλοτάτην ἔχοι, αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἄρχοντι προσήκειν οὐ μαλακίαι ἀλλὰ καρτερίαι τῶν ιδιωτῶν περιεῖναι. [3] τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἡισχύνετο, ἐν μὲν τῷ θέρει τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους· καὶ μὴν εἴ ποτε μοχθῆσαι στρατιᾷ συμβαίῃ, ἐκὼν ἐπόνει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι τοῖς στρατιώταις. ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, Ἀγησίλαος πονῶν μὲν ἡγάλλετο, ραιστώνῃν δὲ ἀάμπαν οὐ προσίετο. [4] περὶ γε μὴν ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατείας αὐτοῦ ἄρ' οὐχὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦ ἄλλου ἀλλὰ θαύματος ἔνεκα ἄξιον μνησθῆναι; τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὧν μὴ ἐπεθύμησεν ἀπέχεσθαι ἀνθρώπινον ἂν τις φαίῃ εἶναι· τὸ δὲ Μεγαβάτου τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου παιδὸς ἐρασθέντα ὥσπερ ἂν τοῦ καλλίστου ἢ σφοδροτάτη φύσις ἐρασθεῖη, ἔπειτα, ἡνίκα ἐπιχωρίου ὄντος τοῖς Πέρσαις φιλεῖν οὕς ἂν τιμῶσιν ἐπεχείρησε καὶ ὁ Μεγαβάτης φιλεῖναι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, διαμάχεσθαι ἀνὰ κράτος τὸ μὴ φιληθῆναι, ἅπ' οὐ τοῦτό γε ἤδη τὸ σωφρόνημα καὶ δαιμόνιον; [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἀτιμασθῆναι νομίσας ὁ Μεγαβάτης τοῦ λοιποῦ οὐκέτι φιλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, προσφέρει τινὶ λόγον τῶν ἐταίρων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος πείθειν τὸν Μεγαβάτην πάλιν τιμᾶν αὐτόν. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου, ἦν πεισθῆναι ὁ Μεγαβάτης, εἰ φιλήσει, ἐνταῦθα διασιωπήσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν· Οὐ τὼ σιῶ, οὐδ' εἰ μέλλοιμί γε αὐτίκα μάλα κάλλιστός τε καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ τάχιστος ἀνθρώπων ἔσεσθαι· μάχεσθαι γε μέντοι πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν μάχην ὁμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς ἢ μὴν μᾶλλον βούλεσθαι ἢ πάντα μοι ὅσα ὁρῶ χρυσᾷ γενέσθαι. [6] καὶ ὁ τι μὲν δὴ ὑπολαμβάνουσί τινες ταῦτα οὐκ ἄγνοῶ· ἐγὼ μέντοι δοκῶ εἰδέναι ὅτι πολὺ πλέονες τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων δύνανται κρατεῖν. ἀλλὰ

ταῦτα μὲν ὀλίγων εἰδότεων πολλοῖς ἔξεστιν ἀπιστεῖν· τὰ δὲ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ἥκιστα μὲν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λανθάνουσιν ὃ τι ἂν ποιῶσιν· Ἀγησίλαον δὲ τι πράξαντα [μὲν] τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἰδὼν πώποτε οὐδεὶς ἀνήγγειλεν οὔτε εἰκάζων πιστὰ ἂν ἔδοξε λέγειν. [7] καὶ γὰρ εἰς οἰκίαν μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἰδίαι ἐν ἀποδημίαι κατήγετο, αἰεὶ δὲ <ἦν> ἢ ἐν ἱερῶι, ἔνθα δὴ ἀδύνατον τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν, ἢ ἐν φανερωῖ, μάρτυρας τοὺς πάντων ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς σωφροσύνης ποιούμενος. εἰ δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα ψεύδομαι ἀντία τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπισταμένης ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπαινῶ, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ ψέγω.

Κεφάλαιον ς'

[1] Ἀνδρείας γε μὴν οὐκ ἀφανῆ τεκμήριά μοι δοκεῖ παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος μὲν αἰεὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀγῶσι πρῶτον [μὲν] ἑαυτὸν τάττων. [2] ἔνθα γε μὴν ἠθέλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, οὐ φόβῳ τρεψάμενος νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπών, σαφῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σημεῖα ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας ἀλλ' ὀρῶντας ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν. [3] τρόπαια μὴν Ἀγησιλάου οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο ἀλλ' ὅσα ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν. μεῖον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐκράτει ὅτε οὐκ ἠθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι, ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ καὶ συμφωρότερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥττον τοὺς ἀκονιτὶ ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας στεφανοῦσι.

[4] Τὴν γε μὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ ποῖαι τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν; ὅς τῃ μὲν πατρίδι οὕτως ἐχρήτο ὥστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος ... <τοῖς δ'> ἐταίροις πρόθυμος ὢν ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο· τοὺς δὲ γε στρατιώτας ἅμα πειθομένους καὶ φιλοῦντας αὐτὸν παρεῖχε. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἰσχυροτέρα γένοιτο φάλαγξ ἢ διὰ τὸ μὲν πείθεσθαι εὐτακτος οὔσα, διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλεῖν τὸν ἄρχοντα πιστῶς παροῦσα; [5] τοὺς γε μὴν πολεμίους εἶχε ψέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένους, μισεῖν δὲ ἀναγκαζομένους. τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους αἰεὶ πλεον ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἐξαπατῶν μὲν ὅπου καιρὸς εἴη, φθάνων δὲ ὅπου τάχους δέοι, λήθων δὲ ὅπου τοῦτο συμφέροι, πάντα δὲ τάναντία πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτηδεύων. [6] καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέραι ἐχρήτο, ἡμέραι δὲ ὅσαπερ νυκτί,

πολλάκις ἄδηλος γιγνόμενος ὅπου τε εἷη καὶ ὅποι ἴοι καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσοι. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἐχυρὰ ἀνώχυρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μὲν παριών, τὰ δὲ ὑπερβαίνων, τὰ δὲ κλέπτων. [7] ὁπότε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξείη τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, συντεταγμένον μὲν οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα ὥς ἂν ἐπικουρεῖν μάλιστα ἑαυτῷ δύναιτο, ἡσύχως δ' ὥσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἢ σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνει, νομίζων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸ [τε] ἀτρεμὲς καὶ ἀνεκπληκτότατον καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον καὶ ἀναμαρτητότατον καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτότατον εἶναι. [8] τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινὸς ἦν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις θάρρος καὶ ῥώμην ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀζήμιος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄμεμπτος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος δὲ καὶ πολυεπαινετότατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Ὡς γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν καθ' ἐν μὲν ἕκαστον μακρὸν ἂν εἷη γράφειν· οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ ὅ τι οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο συντείνει. ὥς δ' ἐν βραχεὶ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπου ὤιετο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὠφελήσκειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο, οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα, οὐ γῆρας προὔφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο ἔργον ἐνόμιζε, τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὥς πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν. [2] ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τότε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτοῦ, ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερός ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον; τίς δ' ἂν ἡγούμενος μειονεκτεῖν νεώτερόν τι ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν βασιλέα νομίμως καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα; [3] ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ πατὴρ πρὸς παῖδας προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδореῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἴ τι καλὸν πράττοιεν, παρίστατο δ' εἴ τις συμφορὰ συμβαίνει, ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδένα ἡγούμενος πολίτην, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ πάντας ἐθέλων, σώζεσθαι δὲ πάντας κέρδος νομίζων, ζημίαν δὲ τιθεῖς εἰ καὶ ὁ μικροῦ ἄξιος ἀπόλοιτο· εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἡρεμοῦντες διαμένοιεν, δῆλος ἦν εὐδαίμονα μὲν αἰεὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα λογιζόμενος, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τότε ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες σωφρονῶσιν. [4] εἴ γε μὴν αὖ καλὸν Ἕλληνα ὄντα φιλέλληνα εἶναι, τίνα τις οἶδεν ἄλλον στρατηγὸν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα αἰρεῖν, ὅταν οἴηται πορθήσκειν, ἢ συμφορὰν νομίζοντα τὸ

νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἑλληνας πολέμῳ; [5] ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν τῇ <ἐν> Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὅκτῳ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι τεθναῖεν <τῶν πολεμίων>, οὐκ ἐφησθεῖς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' εἶπεν ἅπα· Φεῦ <σου>, ὦ Ἑλλάς, ὁπότε οἱ νῦν τεθηκότες ἱκανοὶ ἦσαν ζῶντες νικᾶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους. [6] Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν φευγόντων λεγόντων ὅτι ἐνδιδόιτο αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων αἷς πάντως ἥλιπον <ἂν> ἐλεῖν τὰ τείχη, οὐκ ἤθελε προσβάλλειν, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας, ἔφη, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφανιοῦμεν, ὁρᾶν χρὴ μζή οὐδ' ἔξομεν μεθ' ὅτου τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσομεν. [7] εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσην εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάλαι ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς δουλωσόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μὲν τούτοις μεθ' ὁποτέρων ἂν οἴηται μείζω βλάψειν, δωρεῖται δ' ἐκείνοις οὓς ἂν νομίζῃ λαβόντας πλεῖστα κακὰ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ποιήσῃν, εἰρήνην δὲ συμπράττει ἐξ ἧς ἂν ἡγήται μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις πολεμήσειν, ὁπῶσι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ταῦτα· ἐπεμελήθη δὲ τίς ἄλλος πώποτε πλὴν Ἀγησίλαος ἢ ὅπως φύλόν τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστὰν μὴ ἀπόληται ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πράγματα παρέχειν; ὃς καὶ πολεμούσης τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς Ἑλληνας ὅμως τοῦ κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐκ ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὅ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιήσων τὸν βάρβαρον.

Κεφάλαιον η'

[1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὐχαρί μὴ σιωπᾶσθαι· ὧι γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς, παρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βασιλείας, καὶ ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπωμένης, τὸ μὲν μέγαλαυχον οὐκ εἶδε τις, τὸ δὲ φιλόστοργον καὶ θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μὴ ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν. [2] καὶ μὴν μετεῖχε μὲν ἥδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεσπούδαζε δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὐελπὶς καὶ εὐθυμὸς καὶ ἀεὶ ἰλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μὴ τοῦ διαπράξασθαι τι μόνον ἔνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἥδιον διημερεῦειν. ἥκιστα δ' ὦν οἷος μεγαληγορεῖν ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὐτοὺς οὐ βαρέως ἤκουεν, ἡγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [3] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογνωμοσύνῃ γε ὡς εὐκαίρως ἐχρήτο οὐ παραλείπτειν. ἐκεῖνος

γὰρ ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ βασιλέως, ἣν ὁ μετὰ Καλλία τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης ἤνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας [αὐτῷ], ταύτην μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέροντι εἶπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ ὡς ἰδία μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν, ἣν δὲ φίλος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὐνους ὦν φαίνεται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔσοιτο· ἦν μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύων ἀλίσκηται, μὴδ' ἂν πάνυ πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον ἔξειν με οἰέσθω. [4] ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι δὲ κάκεῖνο, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα ἔχει καὶ πλεόνων ἄρχοι, τούτῳ ἡγήσατο μείζον φρονητέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὁπότερος αὐτὸς τε ἀμείνων εἶη καὶ ἀμεινόνων ἡγοῖτο. [5] ἐπαινῶ δὲ κάκεῖνο τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ, ὅτι νομίζων ἀγαθὸν [τοῦς] τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς πλείστους σατράπας, οὐκ ἐκρατήθη οὐθ' ὑπὸ δώρων οὐθ' ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλέως ῥώμης ἐθελήσας ξενωθῆναι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἐφυλάξατο μὴ ἄπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις. [6] ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσης, νομίζων, ἦν χρήματα πλεῖστα ἔχει, πάνθ' ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν μὲν τὸ ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον, πάντα δὲ τὰ πολυτελέστατα ἐπειράτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀθροίζειν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἀντεσκευάσατο τὸν οἶκον ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι. [7] εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ιδέτω μὲν οἷα οἰκία ἦρκει αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἂν τις ἔτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι ὥσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Ἡρακλέους ὅτε κατῆλθε λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἔνδον κατασκευὴν, ἐννοησάτω δὲ ὡς ἐθοίναζεν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ καννάθρου κατήκει εἰς Ἀμύκλας <ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ>. [8] τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταῖς προσόδοις οὐδὲν ἠναγκάζετο χρημάτων ἔνεκα ἄδικον πράττειν. καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολὺ μέντοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.

Κεφάλαιον θ'

[1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο τῇ τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ. πρῶτον <μὲν> γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως ὀραῖσθαι ἐσεμνύετο, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανὲς εἶναι ἡγάλλετο, νομίζων αἰσχρουρίαι μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν, τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ

φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον παρέχειν. [2] ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι ἔχαιρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡβρύνετο τῷ βραδέως διαπράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαιρεν ὅποτε τάχιστα τυχόντας ὧν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι. [3] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσῳ ράιονα καὶ εὐπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν ἄξιον κατανοῆσαι. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται τί ἂν ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὲν καταδάρθῃ οὐδ' ἂν εἴποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλόπονός εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε, πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἥσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ. [4] καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος ἠγάλλετο ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις ταῖς εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἑώρα, εἰ μέλλοι ἀλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον αὐτῷ [ταῖς] ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρποντα. [5] ἡὔφραινε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τάδε, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἡἰδεῖ τῇ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῇ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως χρῆσθαι, τὸν δὲ ἑώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλπη, φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχη, δι' ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν ἀσθνεστάτων βίον μιμούμενον. [6] ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλογνώμον, τὸ αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ ἵππους πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὕσαν πεῖσαι ἄρματοτροφεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ θρέμμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι; [7] τόδε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον ἔγνω, ὅτι ἄρματι μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ιδιώτας οὐδὲν ὀνομαστότερος ἂν [εἴη] γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλείστους δὲ φίλους καὶ ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτῆιτο, νικῶν δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐταίρους εὐεργετῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ὅτι οὕτως ἂν εἴη νικηφόρος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ ὀνομαστότατος καὶ ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας γένοιτ' ἂν;

Κεφάλαιον ι'

[1] Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησίλαον. ταῦτα γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησαυρῷ τις ἐντύχοι, πλουσιώτερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, οικονομικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν, καὶ εἰ νόσου δὲ πολέμοις ἐμπεσοῦσης κρατήσειεν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν εἴη, στρατηγικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν· ὁ δὲ

καρτερίαι μὲν πρωτεύων ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῇ δὲ ὅπου ἀνδρείας ἀγών, γνώμη δὲ ὅπου βουλῆς ἔργον, οὗτος ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς παντελῶς ἂν νομίζεσθαι. [2] εἰ δὲ καλὸν εὖρημα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ κανὼν πρὸς τὸ ὀρθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καλὸν ἂν μοι δοκεῖ [εἶναι] ἡ Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ θεοσεβῇ μιμούμενος ἀνόσιος γένοιτο ἢ δίκαιον ἄδικος ἢ σώφρονα ὕβριστής ἢ ἐγκρατὴ ἀκρατής; καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ ἄλλων βασιλεύειν ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς πολίταις. [3] ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκῶς ἐπαινεῖται τούτου ἔνεκα θρήνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἅπερ ζῶν ἤκουε ταῦτά καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ πλέον θρήνου ἅπεστιν ἢ βίος τε εὐκλεῆς καὶ θάνατος ὠραῖος; ἐγκωμίων δὲ τί ἀξιώτερον ἢ νῆκαί τε αἱ κάλλιστα καὶ ἔργα τὰ πλείστου ἄζια; [4] δικαίως δ' ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο ὅς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ παιδὸς ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ εὐκλεῆς γενέσθαι ἔτυχε τούτου μάλιστα τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· φιλοτιμώτατος δὲ πεθυκῶς ἀήττητος διετέλεσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μήκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ περὶ τούτους ὧν ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους οἷς ἐπολέμει.

Κεφάλαιον ια'

[1] Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ἂν ὁ ἔπαινος εὐμνημονεστέρως ἔχη. Ἀγησιλαὸς ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσέβετο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἦττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ χρῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι· ἱκέτας δὲ θεῶν οὐδὲ ἐχθρὸς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζων ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἐξ ἱερῶν κλέπτοντας ἱεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ βωμῶν ἱκέτας ἀποσπῶντας εὐσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι. [2] ἐκεῖνός γε μὴν ὑμῶν οὐποτ' ἔληγεν ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς οἶοιτο οὐδὲν ἦττον ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἀγνοῖς ἱεροῖς ἥδεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁπότε εὐτυχοίῃ, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ὑπερεφρόνει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς χάριν ἡίδει. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα ἔθυεν ἢ ὀκνῶν ἠῤῃχετο. εἵθιστο δὲ φοβοῦμενος μὲν ἰλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πρᾶσιος εἶναι. [3] τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ἡσπάζετο. ἐμίσει οὐκ εἴ τις κακῶς πάσχων ἡμύνετο, ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο. ἔχαιρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν

αἰσχροκερδεῖς πένητας ὀρώων, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν, βουλόμενος τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας κερδαλεωτέραν καθιστάναι. [4] ἥσκει δὲ ἐξομιλεῖν μὲν παντοδαποῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἐπαινούντων τινὰς ἀκούοι, οὐχ ἥττον ὤιετο καταμανθάνειν <τοὺς> τῶν λεγόντων τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιεν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων ἐξαπατωμένους οὐκ ἔψεγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάμπαν κατεμέμφετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶν σοφὸν ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ πιστεύοντας ἀνόσιον. [5] ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἔχαιρεν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψέγειν ἐθελόντων τὰ μὴ ἀρεστά, καὶ τῶν παρρησιαζομένων οὐδένα ἤχθραινε, τοὺς δὲ κρυψίνους ὥσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο. τοὺς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει, μείζω ζημίαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ἢ χρημάτων στερίσκεσθαι. [6] καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀμαρτίας πράϊως ἔφερε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἤγε, κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα, τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι. τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ ραιδιουργίαν ἀλλὰ καλοκάγαθίαν. [7] καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο, πολλῶν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελόντων, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς οὐδέποτε ἐπαύετο μνημεῖα διαπονούμενος, ἡγούμενος, τὸ μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλουσίων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. [8] χρήμασί γε μὴν οὐ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθερίως ἐχρῆτο, τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ ἀρκεῖν ἡγούμενος τὸ εἶναι τὰ ἀλλότρια, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ προσωφελητέον εἶναι. αἰεὶ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὐπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους. [9] μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γινώσκοντα ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἦρα ἤς οὐκ ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια. μετ' ὀλίγων δέ μοι ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ καρτερίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀλλ' εὐπάθειαν νομίζειν· ἐπαινούμενος γοῦν ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα κτώμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλεον μετ' εὐβουλίας ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ σοφίαν ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἥσκει. [10] πραιότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὧν ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος ἦν· καὶ πόνοις μάλιστα ἀντέχων ἐταίροις ἡδιστα ὑπεῖκε, καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν. ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσῆς ἐδύνατο εἶναι. [11] καὶ τὸ εὐχαρὶ οὐ σκώμμασιν ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐπετήδευε, καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὕβρει ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ ἐχρῆτο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων καταφρονῶν τῶν μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ

σῶμα φαυλότητι, τῷ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα κόσμῳ <καὶ> τῷ μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς ἐλαχίστων δεῖσθαι, τῷ δὲ τοὺς φίλους ὡς πλεῖστα ὠφελεῖν. [12] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύτατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστῆς ἦν, κουφότατος δὲ κρατήσας· ἐχθροῖς μὲν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις δὲ εὐπαραπειστώτατος. αἰεὶ δὲ τιθεὶς τὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς αἰεὶ ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν. [13] ἐκείνον οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δ' ὑπουργήσαντές τι μνήμονα, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουρον, οἱ γε μὴν συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοὺς σωτῆρα.

[14] Δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τότε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδείξαι, ὅτι ἢ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς γηράσκει, ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν οὐκ ἀπεῖπε μεγάλην καὶ καλὴν ἐφιέμενος <δόξαν, ἔστε> τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἐδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμην. [15] τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος κρεῖττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερὸς ἦν ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἵωνος ἔχων; τίνας δ' ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἥσθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἢ Ἀγησιλάου καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρσος παρέσχευ ὅσον Ἀγεσίλαος, καίπερ ἤδη πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὢν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα; [16] οὕτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὢν διεγένετο ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἤδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὠφελῶν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αἰδίον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο, μνημεῖα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος, τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχών.

MEMORABILIA - Άπομνημονεύματα Σωκράτους

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Βιβλίου α΄

Βιβλίου β΄

Βιβλίου γ΄

Βιβλίου δ΄

Βιβλίον α'

[1.1.1] Πολλάκις ἐθαύμασα τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην ὡς ἄξιος εἶη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γραφή κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν· ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης οὓς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εισφέρων· ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

[1.1.2] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν οὓς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, ποίωι ποτ' ἐχρήσαντο τεκμηρίωι; θύων τε γὰρ φανερὸς ἦν πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν, καὶ μαντικῇ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἦν. διετεθρύλητο γὰρ ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ σημαίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μάλιστα μοι δοκοῦσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καινὰ δαιμόνια εισφέρειν. [1.1.3] ὁ δ' οὐδὲν καινότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσοι μαντικὴν νομίζοντες οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις. οὗτοί τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐ τοὺς ὄρνιθας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ σημαίνειν, κάκεῖνος δὲ οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν. [1.1.4] ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοί φασιν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι· Σωκράτης δ' ὥσπερ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὕτως ἔλεγε· τὸ δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἔφη σημαίνειν. καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συνόντων προηγόρευε τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος· καὶ τοῖς μὲν πειθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις μετέμελε. [1.1.5] καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειεν αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι μῆτ' ἡλίθιον μῆτ' ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοῦσιν; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν ἀμφοτέρω ταῦτα, εἰ προαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα καὶ ψευδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἀληθεύσειν. ταῦτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλωι πιστεύσειεν ἢ θεῷ; πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς πῶς οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν; [1.1.6] ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίει καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν ὡς ἐνόμιζεν ἄριστ' ἂνπραχθῆναι· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδύλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο μαντευσομένους ἔπεμπε, εἰ ποιητέα. [1.1.7] καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἴκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκῆσειν μαντικῆς ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι· τεκτονικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἢ χαλκευτικὸν ἢ γεωργικὸν ἢ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχικὸν ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐξεταστικὸν ἢ λογιστικὸν ἢ οἰκονομικὸν ἢ

στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ αἰρετὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι [1.1.8] τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὧν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ τῷ καλῶς ἀγρὸν φυτευσασμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις καρπώσεται, οὔτε τῷ καλῶς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησασμένῳ δῆλον ὅστις ἐνοικήσει, οὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον εἰ συμφέρει τῆς πόλεως προστατεῖν, οὔτε τῷ καλὴν γῆμαντι, ἴν' εὐφραίνεται, δῆλον εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται, οὔτε τῷ δυνατοῦς ἐν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον εἰ διὰ τούτους στερήσεται τῆς πόλεως. [1.1.9] τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης, δαιμονᾶν ἔφη· δαιμονᾶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἃ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθοῦσι διακρίνειν [οἷον εἰ τις ἐπερωτώη πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἡνιοχεῖν ἐπὶ ζευγος λαβεῖν κρεῖττον ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον, ἢ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον], ἢ ἃ ἔξεστιν ἀριθμήσαντος ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναι· τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἀθέμιτα ποιεῖν ἡγεῖτο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν, ἃ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοί, μανθάνειν, ἃ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστί, πειρᾶσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ οἷς ἂν ὧσιν ἴλεωι σημαίνειν.

[1.1.10] Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός γε αἰεὶ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερωῖν· πρῶτι γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἦιε καὶ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερὸς ἦν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσεσθαι· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν ὥς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις ἐξῆν ἀκοῦειν. [1.1.11] οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως, ἥπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι, διελέγετο σκοπῶν ὅπως ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἔχει καὶ τίσιν ἀνάγκαις ἕκαστα γίνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε. [1.1.12] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἤδη τὰνθρώπινα εἰδέναι ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φροντίζειν, ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα παρέντες, τὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες ἡγοῦνται τὰ προσήκοντα πράττειν. [1.1.13] ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις εὐρεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταῦτ' ἀδοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις,

ἀλλὰ τοῖς μαινομένοις ὁμοίως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. [1.1.14] τῶν τε γὰρ μαινομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ τὰ δεινὰ δεδιέναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ δοκεῖν αἰσχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτιοῦν, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οὐθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων οὐδὲν τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ τυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι· τῶν τε περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνώντων τοῖς μὲν δοκεῖν ἐν μόνον τὸ ὄν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἄπειρα τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἂν ποτε κινήσθαι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίνεσθαι τε καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὔτ' ἂν γενέσθαι ποτὲ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολεῖσθαι. [1.1.15] ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τάδε, ἄρ' ὥσπερ οἱ τ' ἀνθρώπεια μανθάνοντες ἡγοῦνται τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἂν μάθωσιν ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται ποιήσιν, οὕτω καὶ οἱ τὰ θεῖα ζητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπειδὰν γνῶσιν αἷς ἀναάγκαις ἕκαστα γίγνεται, ποιήσιν, ὅταν βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὥρας καὶ ὅτου ἂν ἄλλου δέωνται τῶν τοιούτων, ἢ τοιούτον μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ' αὐτοῖς γνῶναι μόνον ἢ τῶν τοιούτων ἕκαστα γίγνεται. [1.1.16] περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταῦτα πραγματευομένων τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἀεὶ διελέγετο σκοπῶν τί εὐσεβές, τί ἀσεβές, τί καλόν, τί αἰσχρὸν, τί δίκαιον, τί ἄδικον, τί σωφροσύνη, τί μανία, τί ἀνδρεία, τί δειλία, τί πόλις, τί πολιτικός, τί ἀρχὴ ἀνθρώπων, τί ἀρχικὸς ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας ἡγεῖτο καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποδῶδεις ἂν δικαίως κεκληῖσθαι.

[1.1.17] Ὅσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὅπως ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ παραγνῶναι τοὺς δικαστάς· ὅσα δὲ πάντες ἠίδεσαν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν; [1.1.18] βουλευσας γὰρ ποτε καὶ τὸν βουλευτικὸν ὅρκον ὁμόσας, ἐν ᾧ ἦν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν, ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ δήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ τοὺς νόμους [ἐννέα στρατηγούς] μιᾷ ψήφῳ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Θράσυλλον καὶ Ἑρασινίδην ἀποκτείνειν πάντας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσειν, ὀργιζομένου μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν ἀπειλούντων· ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείονος ἐποίησατο εὖορκεῖν ἢ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. [1.1.19] καὶ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἀνθρώπων οὐχ ὄν τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν· οὔτοι μὲν γὰρ οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' οὐκ εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης

δὲ πάντα μὲν ἡγεῖτο θεοὺς εἰδέναι, τὰ τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ σιγῇ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ σημαίνειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πάντων.

[1.1.20] Θαυμάζω οὖν ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπέισθησαν Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην περὶ θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν ἀσεβὲς μὲν οὐδὲν ποτε περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτ' εἰπόντα οὔτε πράζαντα, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ πράττοντα περὶ θεῶν οἷά τις ἂν καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων εἴη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὐσεβέστατος.

[1.2.1] Θαυμαστὸν δὲ φαίνεται μοι καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναί τινας ὡς Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν, ὃς πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις πρῶτον μὲν ἀφροδισίων καὶ γαστρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐγκρατέστατος ἦν, εἴτα πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος καὶ πάντας πόνους καρτερικώτατος, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δεῖσθαι πεπαιδευμένος οὕτως, ὥστε πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος πάνυ ραιδίως ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα. [1.2.2] πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς ὢν τοιοῦτος ἄλλους ἂν ἢ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ παρανόμους ἢ λίχνους ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἀκρατεῖς ἢ πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν μαλακοὺς ἐποίησεν; ἀλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν τούτων πολλοὺς ἀρετῆς ποιήσας ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ἐλπίδας παρασχών, ἂν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελῶνται, καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι. [1.2.3] καίτοι γε οὐδεπώποτε ὑπέσχετο διδάσκαλος εἶναι τούτου, ἀλλὰ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐλπίζειν ἐποίει τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἑαυτῷ μιμουμένους ἐκείνον τοιούτους γενήσεσθαι. [1.2.4] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτός τε οὐκ ἡμέλει τοὺς τ' ἀμελοῦντας οὐκ ἐπῆνει· τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑπερεσθίοντα ὑπερπονεῖν ἀπεδοκίμαζε, τὸ δὲ ὅσα ἡδέως ἢ ψυχὴ δέχεται, ταῦτα ἱκανῶς ἐκπονεῖν ἐδοκίμαζε· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ἕξιν ὑγιεινὴν τε ἱκανῶς εἶναι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν οὐκ ἐμποδίζειν ἔφη. [1.2.5] ἀλλ' οὐ μὴν θρυπτικός γε οὐδὲ ἀλαζονικός ἦν οὔτ' ἀμπεχόνῃ οὔθ' ὑποδέσει οὔτε τῇ ἄλλῃ διαίτῃ. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐρασιχρημάτους γε τοὺς συνόντας ἐποίει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἔπαυε, τοὺς δ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐκ ἐπράττετο χρήματα. [1.2.6] τούτου δ' ἀπεχόμενος ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὀμιλίας μισθὸν ἀνδραποδιστὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ' ὧν [ἂν] λάβοιεν τὸν μισθόν. [1.2.7] ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἴ τις ἀρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πράττειτο καὶ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος ἕξιν φίλον ἀγαθὸν κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβοῖτο μὴ ὁ γενόμενος καλὸς κἀγαθὸς τῷ τὰ μέγιστα εὐεργετήσαντι μὴ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν ἔξοι. [1.2.8] Σωκράτης δὲ ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν οὐδενὶ

πώποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἐπίστευε δὲ τῶν συνόντων ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἀποδεξαμένους ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἰς τὸν πάντα βίον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις φίλους ἀγαθοὺς ἔσσεσθαι. πῶς ἂν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ διαφθείροι τοὺς νέους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστιν.

[1.2.9] Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, ὁ κατήγορος ἔφη, ὑπερορᾶν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας, λέγων ὡς μῶρον εἶη τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἄρχοντας ἀπὸ κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτῃ δὲ μηδένα θέλιν χρῆσθαι κυαμευτῷ μηδὲ τέκτονι μηδ' αὐλητῇ μηδ' ἐπ' ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, ἃ πολλῶι ἐλάττονας βλάβας ἀμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτανομένων· τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λόγους ἐπαίρειν ἔφη τοὺς νέους καταφρονεῖν τῆς καθεστώσης πολιτείας καὶ ποιεῖν βιαίους. [1.2.10] ἐγὼ δ' οἶμαι τοὺς φρόνησιν ἀσκοῦντας καὶ νομίζοντας ἱκανοὺς ἔσσεσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα διδάσκειν τοὺς πολίτας ἥκιστα γίνεσθαι βιαίους, εἰδότας ὅτι τῇ μὲν βίαι πρόσεισιν ἔχθραι καὶ κίνδυνοι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πείθειν ἀκινδύνως τε καὶ μετὰ φιλίας ταῦτα γίγνεται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιασθέντες ὡς ἀφαιρεθέντες μισοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ὡς κεχαρισμένοι φιλοῦσιν. οὐκ οὖν τῶν φρόνησιν ἀσκοῦντων τὸ βιάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰσχὺν ἄνευ γνώμης ἐχόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα πράττειν ἐστιν. [1.2.11] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ συμμάχων ὁ μὲν βιάζεσθαι τολμῶν δέοιτ' ἂν οὐκ ὀλίγων, ὁ δὲ πείθειν δυνάμενος οὐδενός· καὶ γὰρ μόνος ἡγοῖτ' ἂν δύνασθαι πείθειν. καὶ φονεύειν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἥκιστα συμβαίνει· τίς γὰρ ἀποκτεῖναί τινα βούλοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντι πειθομένῳ χρῆσθαι;

[1.2.12] Ἀλλ' ἔφη γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὁμιλητὰ γενομένῳ Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλεῖστα κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησάτην. Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων πλεονεκτίστατός τε καὶ βιαιότατος ἐγένετο, Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρατέστατός τε καὶ ὑβριστότατος. [1.2.13] ἐγὼ δ', εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἐκείνῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐποίησάτην, οὐκ ἀπολογήσομαι· τὴν δὲ πρὸς Σωκράτην συνουσίαν αὐτοῖν ὡς ἐγένετο διηγῆσομαι. [1.2.14] ἐγενέσθην μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἄνδρῳ τούτῳ φύσει φιλοτιμοτάτῳ πάντων Ἀθηναίων, βουλομένῳ τε πάντα δι' ἑαυτῶν πράττεσθαι καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστοτάτῳ γενέσθαι. ἥιδεσαν δὲ Σωκράτην ἀπ' ἐλαχίστων μὲν χρημάτων αὐταρκέστατα ζῶντα, τῶν ἡδονῶν δὲ πασῶν ἐγκρατέστατον ὄντα, τοῖς δὲ διαλεγόμενοις αὐτῷ πᾶσι χρώμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὅπως βούλοιτο. [1.2.15] ταῦτα δὲ ὁρῶντε καὶ ὄντε οἷω

προείρησθον, πότερόν τις αὐτῷ φηι τοῦ βίου τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐπιθυμήσαντε καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ἣν ἐκεῖνος εἶχεν, ὀρέξασθαι τῆς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ, ἢ νομίσαντε, εἰ ὁμιλησαίτην ἐκείνῳ, γενέσθαι ἂν ἱκανωτάτῳ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν; [1.2.16] ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι, θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖν ἢ ζῆν ὅλον τὸν βίον ὥσπερ ζῶντα Σωκράτην ἐώρων ἢ τεθνάναι, ἐλέσθαι ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ τεθνάναι. δῆλῳ δ' ἐγενέσθην ἐξ ὧν ἐπραξάτην· ὥς γὰρ τάχιστα κρείττονε τῶν συγγιγνομένων ἡγησάσθην εἶναι, εὐθὺς ἀποπηδήσαντε Σωκράτους ἐπραττέτην τὰ πολιτικά, ὥνπερ ἔνεκα Σωκράτους ὠρεχθήτην.

[1.2.17] Ἰσως οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα ὅτι ἐχρῆν τὸν Σωκράτην μὴ πρότερον τὰ πολιτικά διδάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας ἢ σωφρονεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω· πάντας δὲ τοὺς διδάσκοντας ὁρῶ αὐτοὺς δεικνύντας τε τοῖς μανθάνουσιν ἥπερ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἃ διδάσκουσι καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσβιβάζοντας. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δεικνύντα τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἑαυτὸν καλὸν κάγαθόν ὄντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον κάλλιστα περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων. [1.2.18] οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνον σωφρονοῦντε, ἔστε Σωκράτει συνήστην, οὐ φοβούμενον μὴ ζημιοῖντο ἢ παίοιντο ὑπὸ Σωκράτους, ἀλλ' οἰομένῳ τότε κράτιστον εἶναι τοῦτο πράττειν.

[1.2.19] Ἰσως οὖν εἴποιεν ἂν πολλοὶ τῶν φασκόντων φιλοσοφεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὁ δίκαιος ἄδικος γένοιτο, οὐδὲ ὁ σώφρων ὑβριστής, οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὧν μάθησίς ἐστιν ὁ μαθὼν ἀνεπιστήμων ἂν ποτε γένοιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τούτων οὐχ οὕτω γινώσκω· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τὰ σώματα ἀσκοῦντας οὐ δυναμένους ποιεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσκοῦντας οὐ δυναμένους· οὔτε γὰρ ἃ δεῖ πράττειν οὔτε ὧν δεῖ ἀπέχεσθαι δύνανται. [1.2.20] δι' ὃ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς οἱ πατέρες, κἂν ᾧσι σώφρονες, ὅμως ἀπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἴργουσιν, ὥς τὴν μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ὁμιλίαν ἄσκησιν οὔσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν κατάλυσιν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ὅ τε λέγων·

Ἑσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξαι· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι
συμμίσηγίς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον,
καὶ ὁ λέγων·

Αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός.

[1.2.21] καὶ γὰρ μαρτυρῶ τούτοις· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὥσπερ τῶν ἐν μέτρῳ πεποιημένων ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ μελετῶντας ἐπιλανθανομένους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν διδασκαλικῶν λόγων τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι λήθην ἐγγιγνομένην. ὅταν

δὲ τῶν νουθετικῶν λόγων ἐπιλάθηται τις, ἐπιλέλῃσται καὶ ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ
πάσχουσα τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπεθύμει· τούτων δ' ἐπιλαθόμενον οὐδὲν
θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιλαθέσθαι. [1.2.22] ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς
εἰς φιλοποσίαν προαχθέντας καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἔρωτας ἐγκυλισθέντας
ἦττον δυναμένους τῶν τε δεόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντων
ἀπέχεσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμενοι φεῖδεσθαι, πρὶν
ἐρᾶν, ἐρασθέντες οὐκέτι δύνανται· καὶ τὰ χρήματα καταναλώσαντες,
ὧν πρόσθεν ἀπείχοντο κερδῶν, αἰσχροὶ νομίζοντες εἶναι, τούτων οὐκ
ἀπέχονται. [1.2.23] πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται σωφρονήσαντα πρόσθεν
αὐθις μὴ σωφρονεῖν καὶ δίκαια δυνηθέντα πράττειν αὐθις ἀδυνατεῖν;
πάντα μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰγαθὰ ἀσκητὰ εἶναι, οὐχ
ἥκιστα δὲ σωφροσύνη. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι συμπεφυτευμένοι
τῇ ψυχῇ αἱ ἡδοναὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὴν μὴ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν
ταχίστην ἑαυταῖς τε καὶ τῷ σώματι χαρίζεσθαι.

[1.2.24] Καὶ Κριτίας δὴ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἕως μὲν Σωκράτει
συνήστην, ἐδυνάσθην ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῳ συμμάχῳ τῶν μὴ καλῶν
ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν· ἐκείνου δ' ἀπαλλαγέντε, Κριτίας μὲν φυγὼν εἰς
Θετταλίαν ἐκεῖ συνῆν ἀνθρώποις ἀνομίαι μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνη
χρωμένοις, Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' αὖ διὰ μὲν κάλλος ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρώμενος, διὰ δύναμιν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ
τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δυνατῶν [κολακεύειν] ἀνθρώπων
διαθρυπτόμενος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος καὶ ραιδίως
πρωτεύων, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἀθληταὶ ραιδίως
πρωτεύοντες ἀμελοῦσι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, οὕτω καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἡμέλησεν
αὐτοῦ. [1.2.25] τοιούτων δὲ συμβάντων αὐτοῖν, καὶ ὠγκωμένῳ μὲν ἐπὶ
γένει, ἐπηρμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, πεφυσημένῳ δ' ἐπὶ δυνάμει,
διατεθρυμμένῳ δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις
διεφθαρμένῳ καὶ πολλὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ Σωκράτους γεγονότε, τί
θαυμαστὸν εἰ ὑπερηφάνῳ ἐγενέσθην; [1.2.26] εἴτα, εἰ μὲν τι
ἐπλημμελησάτην, τούτου Σωκράτην ὁ κατήγορος αἰτιᾶται; ὅτι δὲ
νέω ὄντε αὐτῷ, ἥνικα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστάτω καὶ ἀκρατεστάτῳ εἰκὸς
εἶναι, Σωκράτης παρέσχε σώφρονε, οὐδενὸς ἐπαίνου δοκεῖ τῷ
κατηγόρῳ ἄξιος εἶναι; [1.2.27] οὐ μὴν τά γε ἄλλα οὕτω κρίνεται. τίς
μὲν γὰρ αὐλητῆς, τίς δὲ κιθαριστής, τίς δὲ ἄλλο ἄλλος διδάσκαλος
ικανοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς μαθητάς, ἐὰν πρὸς ἄλλους ἐλθόντες χεῖρους
φανῶσιν, αἰτίαν ἔχει τούτου; τίς δὲ πατήρ, ἐὰν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ
συνδιατρίβων τῷ σωφρονῇ, ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλῳ τῷ συγγενόμενος

πονηρὸς γένηται, τὸν πρόσθεν αἰτιᾶται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσῳ ἂν παρὰ τῷ ὑστέρῳ χείρων φαίνεται, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν πρότερον; ἀλλ' οἱ γε πατέρες αὐτοὶ συνόντες τοῖς υἱέσι, τῶν παίδων πλημμελοῦντων, οὐκ αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σωφρονῶσιν. [1.2.28] οὕτω δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δίκαιον ἦν κρίνειν· εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίει τι φαῦλον, εἰκότως ἂν ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι· εἰ δ' αὐτὸς σωφρονῶν διετέλει, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τῆς οὐκ ἐνούσης αὐτῷ κακίας αἰτίαν ἔχοι;

[1.2.29] Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτὸς πονηρὸν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαῦλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπίνει, δικαίως ἂν ἐπιτιμῶιτο. Κριτίαν μὲν τοίνυν αἰσθανόμενος ἐρῶντα Εὐθυδήμου καὶ πειρῶντα χρῆσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸς τὰ φροδίσια τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολαύοντες, ἀπέτρεπε φάσκων ἀνελεύθερόν τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρόπον ἀνδρὶ καλῷ κάγαθῷ τὸν ἐρώμενον, ὅι βούλεται πολλοῦ ἄξιος φαίνεσθαι, προσαιτεῖν ὥσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἰκετεύοντα καὶ δεόμενον προσδοῦναι, καὶ ταῦτα μηδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ. [1.2.30] τοῦ δὲ Κριτίου τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχ ὑπακούοντος οὐδὲ ἀποτρεπομένου, λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην ἄλλων τε πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου εἰπεῖν ὅτι ὑκὸν αὐτῷ δοκοίη πᾶσχειν ὁ Κριτίας, ἐπιθυμῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνῆσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς λίθοις. [1.2.31] ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ ἐμίσει τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ Κριτίας, ὥστε καὶ ὅτε τῶν τριάκοντα ὧν νομοθέτης μετὰ Χαρικλέους ἐγένετο, ἀπεμνημόνευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔγραψε λόγων τέχνην μὴ διδάσκειν, ἐπηρεάζων ἐκείνῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅπῃ ἐπιλάβοιτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινῇ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον ἐπιφέρων αὐτῷ καὶ διαβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγῶγε οὐτ' αὐτὸς τοῦτο πῶποτε Σωκράτους ἤκουσα οὐτ' ἄλλου του φάσκοντος ἀκηκοέναι ἡσιθόμην. [1.2.32] ἐδήλωσε δέ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τριάκοντα πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οὐ τοὺς χειρίστους ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ προετρέποντο ἀδικεῖν, εἶπέ που ὁ Σωκράτης ὅτι θαυμαστόν οἱ δοκοίη εἶναι, εἴ τις γενόμενος βοῶν ἀγέλης νομεὺς καὶ τὰς βοῦς ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους ποιῶν μὴ ὁμολογοίη κακὸς βουκόλος εἶναι, ἔτι δὲ θαυμαστότερον, εἴ τις προστάτης γενόμενος πόλεως καὶ ποιῶν τοὺς πολίτας ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους μὴ αἰσχύνεται μηδ' οἶεται κακὸς εἶναι προστάτης τῆς πόλεως. [1.2.33] ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτου, καλέσαντες ὁ τε Κριτίας καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς τὸν Σωκράτην τὸν τε νόμον ἐδεικνύτην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἀπειπέτην μὴ διαλέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐπήρετο αὐτῷ εἰ ἐξεῖη πυνθάνεσθαι, εἴ τι ἀγνοοῖτο τῶν προαγορευομένων. τῷ δ'

ἐφάτην. [1.2.34] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, παρεσκεύασμαι μὲν πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις· ὅπως δὲ μὴ δι' ἄγνοιαν λάθω τι παρανομήσας, τοῦτο βούλομαι σαφῶς μαθεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν, πότερον τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύετε αὐτῆς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς, δηλονότι ἀφεκτέον <ἂν> εἶη τοῦ ὀρθῶς λέγειν· εἰ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς, δηλονότι πειρατέον ὀρθῶς λέγειν. [1.2.35] καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς ὀργισθεὶς αὐτῷ, Ἐπειδὴ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀγνοεῖς, τάδε σοι εὐμαθέστερα ὄντα προαγορεύομεν, τοῖς νέοις ὅλως μὴ διαλέγεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἵνα τοίνυν, ἔφη, μὴ ἀμφίβολον ᾗ [ὥς ἄλλο τι ποιῶ ἢ τὰ προηγορευμένα], ὀρίσατέ μοι μέχρι πόσων ἐτῶν δεῖ νομίζειν νέους εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς, Ὅσουπερ, εἶπε, χρόνου βουλευεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν, ὥς οὐπω φρονίμοις οὔσι· μηδὲ σὺ διαλέγου νεωτέροις τριάκοντα ἐτῶν. [1.2.36] Μηδ' ἐάν τι ὦνῶμαι, ἔφη, ἢν πωλῇ νεώτερος τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, ἔρωμαι ὀπόσου πωλεῖ; Ναὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα, ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς· ἀλλὰ τοι σύγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴωθας εἰδὼς πῶς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστα ἐρωτᾶν· ταῦτα οὖν μὴ ἐρώτα. Μηδ' ἀποκρίνωμαι οὖν, ἔφη, ἂν τίς με ἐρωτᾷ νέος, ἐὰν εἰδῶ, οἷον ποῦ οἰκεῖ Χαρικλῆς ἢ ποῦ ἐστὶ Κριτίας; Ναὶ τά γε τοιαῦτα, ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς. [1.2.37] ὁ δὲ Κριτίας, Ἀλλὰ τῶνδ' ἐγὼ σε ἀπέχεσθαι, ἔφη, δεήσει, ὦ Σώκρατες, τῶν σκυτέων καὶ τῶν τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν χαλκέων· καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι αὐτοὺς ἤδη κατατετριφθαι διαθρυλουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων τούτοις, τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς· καὶ τῶν βουκόλων γε· εἰ δὲ μή, φυλάττου ὅπως μὴ καὶ σὺ ἐλάττους τὰς βοῦς ποιήσης. [1.2.38] ἔνθα καὶ δηλονότι ἐγένετο ὅτι ἀπαγγεληθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ περὶ τῶν βοῶν λόγου ὠργίζοντο τῷ Σωκράτει.

Οἷα μὲν οὖν ἡ συνουσία ἐγεγόνει Κριτίαί πρὸς Σωκράτην καὶ ὥς εἶχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴρηται. [1.2.39] φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε μηδενὶ μηδεμίαν εἶναι παιδευσιν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀπέσκοντος. Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐκ ἀρέσκοντος αὐτοῖς Σωκράτους ὠμίλησάντην ὃν χρόνον ὠμιλείτην αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὠρμηκότε προεστάναι τῆς πόλεως. ἔτι γὰρ Σωκράτει συνόντες οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶ μᾶλλον ἐπεχείρουν διαλέγεσθαι ἢ τοῖς μάλιστα πράττουσι τὰ πολιτικά. [1.2.40] λέγεται γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδην, πρὶν εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶναι, Περικλεῖ ἐπιτρόπῳ μὲν ὄντι αὐτοῦ, προστάτῃ δὲ τῆς πόλεως, τοιάδε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ νόμων· [1.2.41] Εἰπέ μοι, φάναι, ὦ Περικλείς, ἔχοις ἂν με διδάξαι τί

ἐστι νόμος; Πάντως δήπου, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα. Δίδαξον δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, φάναι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην· ὥς ἐγὼ ἀκούων τινῶν ἐπαινουμένων, ὅτι νόμιμοι ἄνδρες εἰσίν, οἷμαι μὴ ἂν δικαίως τούτου τυχεῖν τοῦ ἐπαίνου τὸν μὴ εἰδότα τί ἐστι νόμος. [1.2.42] Ἄλλ' οὐδέν τι χαλεποῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, βουλόμενος γινῶναι τί ἐστι νόμος· πάντες γὰρ οὗτοι νόμοι εἰσίν, οὓς τὸ πλῆθος συνελθὼν καὶ δοκιμάσαν ἔγραψε, φράζον ἅ τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἅ μὴ. Πότερον δὲ τὰγαθὰ νομίσαν δεῖν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰ κακά; Τὰγαθὰ νῆ Δία, φάναι, ὦ μεράκιον, τὰ δὲ κακὰ οὐ. [1.2.43] Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ ὅπου ὀλιγαρχία ἐστίν, ὀλίγοι συνελθόντες γράψωσιν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, ταῦτα τί ἐστι; Πάντα, φάναι, ὅσα ἂν τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως βουλευσάμενον, ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν, γράψῃ, νόμος καλεῖται. Κἂν τύραννος οὖν κρατῶν τῆς πόλεως γράψῃ τοῖς πολίταις ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος ἐστί; Καὶ ὅσα τύραννος ἄρχων, φάναι, γράφει, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος καλεῖται. [1.2.44] Βία δέ, φάναι, καὶ ἀνομία τί ἐστίν, ὦ Περικλείς; ἄρ' οὐχ ὅταν ὁ κρείττων τὸν ἥττω μὴ πείσας, ἀλλὰ βιασάμενος, ἀναγκάσῃ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα. Καὶ ὅσα ἄρα τύραννος μὴ πείσας τοὺς πολίτας ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν γράφων, ἀνομία ἐστί; Δοκεῖ μοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα· ἀνατίθεμαι γὰρ τὸ ὅσα τύραννος μὴ πείσας γράφει νόμον εἶναι. [1.2.45] Ὅσα δὲ οἱ ὀλίγοι τοὺς πολλοὺς μὴ πείσαντες, ἀλλὰ κρατοῦντες γράφουσι, πότερον βίαν φῶμεν ἢ μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι; Πάντα μοι δοκεῖ, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, ὅσα τις μὴ πείσας ἀναγκάζει τινὰ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γράφων εἴτε μὴ, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος εἶναι. Καὶ ὅσα ἄρα τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος κρατοῦν τῶν τὰ χρήματα ἐχόντων γράφει μὴ πείσαν, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος ἂν εἴη; [1.2.46] Μάλα τοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, καὶ ἡμεῖς τηλικούτοι ὄντες δεινοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤμεν· τοιαῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἐμελετῶμεν καὶ ἐσοφίζόμεθα οἷάπερ καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς μελετᾶν. τὸν δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδην φάναι· Εἴθε σοι, ὦ Περικλείς, τότε συνεγενόμην ὅτε δεινότατος ἑαυτοῦ ᾔσθη.

[1.2.47] Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τάχιστα τῶν πολιτευομένων ὑπέλαβον κρείττονες εἶναι, Σωκράτει μὲν οὐκέτι προσῆισαν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως ἤρσκεν, εἴ τε προσέλθοιεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμάρτανον ἐλεγχόμενοι ἤχθοντο· τὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπραττον, ὧν περ ἕνεκαν καὶ Σωκράτει προσῆλθον. [1.2.48] ἀλλὰ Κρίτων τε Σωκράτους ἦν ὁμιλητῆς καὶ Χαιρεφῶν καὶ Χαιρεκράτης καὶ Ἑρμογένης καὶ Σιμίας καὶ Κέβης καὶ

Φαιδώνδας καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ ἐκείνῳ συνῆσαν, οὐχ ἵνα δημηγορικοὶ ἢ δικανικοὶ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἵνα καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει καὶ πολίταις δύναιτο καλῶς χρῆσθαι. καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς οὔτε νεώτερος οὔτε πρεσβύτερος ὢν οὐτ' ἐποίησε κακὸν οὐδὲν οὐτ' αἰτίαν ἔσχευεν.

[1.2.49] Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γ', ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, τοὺς πατέρας προπηλακίζειν ἐδίδασκε, πείθων μὲν τοὺς συνόντας αὐτῷ σοφωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν πατέρων, φάσκων δὲ κατὰ νόμον ἐξεῖναι παρανοίας ἐλόντι καὶ τὸν πατέρα δῆσαι, τεκμηρίῳ τούτῳ χρώμενος, ὥς τὸν ἀμαθέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφωτέρου νόμιμον εἶη δεδέσθαι. [1.2.50] Σωκράτης δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμαθίας ἔνεκα δεσμεύοντα δικαίως ἂν καὶ αὐτὸν ὤιετο δεδέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ἃ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται· καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔνεκα πολλάκις ἐσκόπει, τί διαφέρει μανίας ἀμαθίας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μαινομένους ὤιετο συμφερόντως ἂν δεδέσθαι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένους τὰ δέοντα δικαίως ἂν μανθάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων. [1.2.51] ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε, ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος, οὐ μόνον τοὺς πατέρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς ἐποίει ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ συνοῦσι, λέγων ὡς οὔτε τοὺς κάμνοντας οὔτε τοὺς δικαζομένους οἱ συγγενεῖς ὠφελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἰατροί, τοὺς δὲ οἱ συνδικεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι. [1.2.52] ἔφη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτὸν λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εὖνους εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὠφελεῖν δυνησονται· μόνους δὲ φάσκειν αὐτὸν ἀξίους εἶναι τιμῆς τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένους· ἀναπεῖθοντα οὖν τοὺς νέους αὐτόν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη σοφώτατός τε καὶ ἄλλους ἱκανώτατος ποιῆσαι σοφοὺς, οὕτω διατιθέναι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνόντας, ὥστε μηδαμοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι πρὸς ἑαυτόν. [1.2.53] ἐγὼ δ' αὐτὸν οἶδα μὲν καὶ περὶ πατέρων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενῶν [τε] καὶ περὶ φίλων ταῦτα λέγοντα· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε δῆ, ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξεληθούσης, ἐν ἣι μόνῃ γίγνεται φρόνησις, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ οἰκειοτάτου ἀνθρώπου τὴν ταχίστην ἐξενέγκαντες ἀφανίζουσιν. [1.2.54] ἔλεγε δ' ὅτι καὶ ζῶν ἕκαστος ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ πάντων μάλιστα φιλεῖ, τοῦ σώματος ὃ τι ἂν ἀχρεῖον ἦ καὶ ἀνωφελές, αὐτός τε ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἄλλῳ παρέχει. αὐτοὶ τέ γε αὐτῶν ὄνυχάς τε καὶ τρίχας καὶ τύλους ἀφαιροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς παρέχουσι μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ ἀλγηδόνων καὶ ἀποτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκάειν, καὶ τούτων χάριν οἶοντα δεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ μισθὸν τίνειν· καὶ τὸ σίαλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀποπτύουσιν ὡς δύνανται πορρωτάτῳ,

διότι ὠφελεῖ μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνόν, βλάπτει δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον. [1.2.55] ταῦτ' οὖν ἔλεγεν οὐ τὸν μὲν πατέρα ζῶντα κατορύττειν διδάσκων, ἑαυτὸν δὲ κατατέμνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύων ὅτι τὸ ἄφρον ἄτιμόν ἐστι παρεκάλει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ὡς φρονιμώτατον εἶναι καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον, ὅπως, ἐάν τε ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐάν τε ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ ἐάν τε ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ τῷ οἰκεῖος εἶναι πιστεύων ἀμελῇ, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶται, ὅφ' ὧν ἂν βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, τούτοις ὠφέλιμος εἶναι.

[1.2.56] Ἔφη δ' αὐτὸν ὁ κατήγορος καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων ποιητῶν ἐκλεγόμενον τὰ πονηρότατα καὶ τούτοις μαρτυρίοις χρώμενον διαάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας κακούργους τε εἶναι καὶ τυραννικούς, Ἡσιόδου μὲν τὸ

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος·

τοῦτο δὴ λέγειν αὐτόν, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς κελεύει μηδενὸς ἔργου μήτ' ἀδίκου μήτ' αἰσχροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει. [1.2.57] Σωκράτης δ' ἐπεὶ διομολογήσαιτο τὸ μὲν ἐργάτην εἶναι ὠφέλιμόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δ' ἀργεῖν κακόν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἐργάζεσθαι τε ἔφη καὶ ἐργάτας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κυβεύοντας ἢ τι ἄλλο πονηρὸν καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ποιοῦντας ἀργοὺς ἀπεκάλει. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι τὸ

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δέ τ' ὄνειδος.

[1.2.58] τὸ δὲ Ὀμήρου ἔφη ὁ κατήγορος πολλάκις αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι Ὀδυσσεὺς

Ὅντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξοχον ἄνδρα κιχεῖν,
τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστά·
Δαιμόνι', οὗ σε ἔοικε κακὸν ὧς δειδίσσεσθαι,
ἀλλ' αὐτός τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἴδρυνε λαούς.
ὄν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἴδοι βοόωντά τ' ἐφεύροι,
τὸν σκήπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μύθῳ·
Δαιμόνι', ἀτρέμας ἦσο, καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε,
οἳ σέο φέρτεροί εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἄναλκις,
οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.

ταῦτα δὴ αὐτὸν ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπαινοίη παῖεσθαι τοὺς δημότας καὶ πένητας. [1.2.59] Σωκράτης δ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε· καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὕτω γ' ἂν ὦιετο δεῖν παῖεσθαι· ἀλλ' ἔφη δεῖν τοὺς μήτε λόγῳ μήτ' ἔργῳ ὠφελίμους ὄντας μήτε στρατεύματι μήτε πόλει

μήτε αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ, εἴ τι δέοι, βοηθεῖν ἱκανούς, ἄλλως τ' ἐὰν πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ θρασεῖς ὧσι, πάντα τρόπον κωλύεσθαι, κἂν πάνυ πλούσιοι τυγχάνωσιν ὄντες. [1.2.60] ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε τὰναντία τούτων φανερός ἦν καὶ δημοτικός καὶ φιλόανθρωπος ὢν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ ἀστοὺς καὶ ξένους λαβὼν οὐδένα πώποτε μισθὸν τῆς συνουσίας ἐπράξατο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐπῆρκει τῶν ἑαυτοῦ· ὧν τινες μικρὰ μέρη παρ' ἐκείνου προῖκα λαβόντες πολλοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπώλουν, καὶ οὐκ ἦσαν ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος δημοτικοί· τοῖς γὰρ μὴ ἔχουσι χρήματα διδόναι οὐκ ἤθελον διαλέγεσθαι. [1.2.61] ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους κόσμον τῇ πόλει παρεῖχε πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ Λίχας τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ, ὃς ὀνομαστός ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέγονε. Λίχας μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τοὺς ἐπιδημοῦντας ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ξένους ἐδείπνιζε, Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου τὰ ἑαυτοῦ δαπανῶν τὰ μέγιστα πάντας τοὺς βουλομένους ὠφέλει· βελτίους γὰρ ποιῶν τοὺς συγγιγνομένους ἀπέπεμπεν.

[1.2.62] Ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ Σωκράτης τοιοῦτος ὢν ἐδόκει τιμῆς ἄξιος εἶναι τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ θανάτου. καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, δὲ σκοπῶν ἂν τις τοῦθ' εὖροι. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους, ἐὰν τις φανερὸς γένηται κλέπτων ἢ λωποδυτῶν ἢ βαλλαντιοτομῶν ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν, τούτοις θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία· ὧν ἐκεῖνος πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῖστον ἀπεῖχεν. [1.2.63] ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ πόλει γε οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος οὔτε στάσεως οὔτε προδοσίας οὔτε ἄλλου κακοῦ οὐδενὸς πώποτε αἴτιος ἐγένετο· οὐδὲ μὴν ἰδία γε οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρησεν οὔτε κακοῖς περιέβαλεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αἰτίαν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενὸς πώποτ' ἔσχε. [1.2.64] πῶς οὖν ἂν ἔνοχος εἴη τῇ γραφῇ; ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεοῦς, ὥς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐγγέγραπτο, φανερός ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς νέους, ὃ δὴ ὁ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν ἡτιᾶτο, φανερός ἦν τῶν συνόντων τοὺς πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας τούτων μὲν παύων, τῆς δὲ καλλίστης καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτης ἀρετῆς, ἣ πόλεις τε καὶ οἶκοι εὖ οἰκοῦσι, προτρέπων ἐπιθυμεῖν· ταῦτα δὲ πράττων πῶς οὐ μεγάλης ἄξιος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;

[1.3.1] Ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὠφελεῖν ἐδόκει μοι τοὺς συνόντας τὰ μὲν ἔργῳ δεικνύων ἑαυτὸν οἷος ἦν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαλεγόμενος, τούτων δὴ γράψω ὅποσα ἂν διαμνημονεύσω. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φανερός

ἦν καὶ ποιῶν καὶ λέγων ἥπερ ἡ Πυθία ἀποκρίνεται τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι πῶς δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ περὶ θυσίας ἢ περὶ προγόνων θεραπείας ἢ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων· ἢ τε γὰρ Πυθία νόμῳ πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ ποιοῦντας εὐσεβῶς ἂν ποιεῖν, Σωκράτης τε οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐποίει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρήνει, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως πῶς ποιοῦντας περιέργους καὶ ματαίους ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. [1.3.2] καὶ ἤϋχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τάγαθὰ διδόναι, ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὅποια ἀγαθὰ ἐστι· τοὺς δ' εὐχομένους χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον ἢ τυραννίδα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν διάφορον ἐνόμιζεν εὐχεσθαι ἢ εἰ κυβείαν ἢ μάχην ἢ ἄλλο τι εὐχοιντο τῶν φανερώς ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο. [1.3.3] θυσίας δὲ θύων μικρὰς ἀπὸ μικρῶν οὐδὲν ἡγεῖτο μειοῦσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα θυόντων. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον· πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν εἶναι κεχαρισμένα· οὐτ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄξιον εἶναι ζῆν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἦν κεχαρισμένα τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν· ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν. ἐπαινέτης δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἔπους τούτου·

Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱέρ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,

καὶ πρὸς φίλους δὲ καὶ ξένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν καλὴν ἔφη παραίνεσιν εἶναι τὴν Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν. [1.3.4] εἰ δέ τι δόξειεν αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἦττον ἂν ἐπείσθη παρὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποιῆσαι ἢ εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἔπειθεν ὁδοῦ λαβεῖν ἡγεμόνα τυφλὸν καὶ μὴ εἰδότα τὴν ὁδὸν ἀντὶ βλέποντος καὶ εἰδότος· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ μωρίαν κατηγορεῖ, οἵτινες παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα ποιοῦσιν τι, φυλαττόμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀδοξίαν· αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα τὰνθρώπινα ὑπερεώρα πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίαν.

[1.3.5] Διαιτήι δὲ τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἐπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἥι χρώμενος ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον εἶη, θαρραλέως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διάγοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειε τοσαύτης δαπάνης. οὕτω γὰρ εὐτελὴς ἦν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις οὕτως ἂν ὀλίγα ἐργάζοιτο ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰ Σωκράτει ἀρκοῦντα. σίτῳ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ ἐχρήτο, ὅσον ἡδέως ἦσθι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ἦι ὥστε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ σίτου ὅψον αὐτῷ εἶναι· ποτὸν δὲ πᾶν ἡδὺ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μὴ πίνειν, εἰ μὴ διψῶι. [1.3.6] εἰ δὲ ποτε κληθεὶς ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

ἐλθεῖν, ὃ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐργωδέστατόν ἐστιν, ὥστε φυλάσσασθαι τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόρον ἐμπίμπλασθαι, τοῦτο ραϊδίως πάνυ ἐφυλάττετο. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν συνεβούλευε φυλάττεσθαι τὰ πείθοντα μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν μηδὲ διψῶντας πίνειν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ λυμαινόμενα γαστέρας καὶ κεφαλᾶς καὶ ψυχᾶς ταῦτ' ἔφη εἶναι. [1.3.7] οἶεσθαι δ' ἔφη ἐπισκώπτων καὶ τὴν Κίρκην ὅς ποιεῖν τοιούτοις πολλοῖς δειπνίζουσιν· τὸν δὲ Ὀδυσσεῖα Ἑρμοῦ τε ὑποθημοσύνη καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκρατῇ ὄντα καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸν κόρον τῶν τοιούτων ἅπτεσθαι, διὰ ταῦτα οὐ γενέσθαι ὤν. [1.3.8] τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἔπαιζεν ἅμα σπουδάζων.

Ἀφροdisίων δὲ παρῆναι τῶν καλῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔφη ραϊδιὸν εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτόμενον σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κριτόβουλόν ποτε τὸν Κρίτωνος πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐφίλησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου υἱὸν καλὸν ὄντα, παρόντος τοῦ Κριτοβούλου ἤρετο Ξενοφῶντα· [1.3.9] Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, οὐ σὺ Κριτόβουλον ἐνόμιζες εἶναι τῶν σωφρονικῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν θρασέων καὶ τῶν προνοητικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνοήτων τε καὶ ῥιψοκινδύνων; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν. Νῦν τοίνυν νόμιζε αὐτὸν θερμουργότατον εἶναι καὶ λεωργότατον· οὗτος κἂν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσῃ κἂν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιτο. [1.3.10] Καὶ τί δή, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ἰδὼν ποιοῦντα τοιαῦτα κατέγνωκας αὐτοῦ; Οὐ γὰρ οὗτος, ἔφη, ἐτόλμησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου υἱὸν φιλῆσαι, ὄντα εὐπροσωπότατον καὶ ὠραιότατον; Ἄλλ' εἰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, τοιοῦτόν ἐστι τὸ ῥιψοκίνδυνον ἔργον, κἂν ἐγὼ δοκῶ μοι τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦτον ὑπομεῖναι. [1.3.11] Ὡς τλήμων, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τί ἂν οἶε παθεῖν καλὸν φιλήσας; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτίκα μάλα δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου, πολλὰ δὲ δαπανᾶν εἰς βλαβεράς ἡδονάς, πολλὴν δὲ ἀσχολίαν ἔχειν τοῦ ἐπιμεληθῆναι τινος καλοῦ κάγαθοῦ, σπουδάζειν δ' ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐφ' οἷς οὐδ' ἂν μαινόμενος σπουδάσειεν; [1.3.12] Ὡς Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν, ὡς δεινὴν τινα λέγεις δύναμιν τοῦ φιλήματος εἶναι. Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, θαυμάζεις; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τὰ φαλάγγια οὐδ' ἡμιωβελιαῖα τὸ μέγεθος ὄντα προσαψάμενα μόνον τῷ στόματι ταῖς τε ὀδύναις ἐπιτρίβει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξίστησι; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ξενοφῶν· ἐνίησι γάρ τι τὰ φαλάγγια κατὰ τὸ δηγμα. [1.3.13] Ὡς μῶρε, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς οὐκ οἶε φιλοῦντας ἐνιέναι τι, ὅτι σὺ οὐχ ὀρᾷς; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ θηρίον, ὃ καλοῦσι καλὸν καὶ ὠραῖον, τοσοῦτω δεινότερόν

ἐστὶ τῶν φαλαγγίων, ὅσῳ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἀψάμενα, τοῦτο δὲ οὐδ' ἀπτόμενον, ἐάν τις αὐτὸ θεᾷται, ἐνήσί τι καὶ πάνυ πρόσωθεν τοιοῦτον ὥστε μαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν; [ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔρωτες τοξόται διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται, ὅτι καὶ πρόσωθεν οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν.] ἀλλὰ συμβουλεύω σοι, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ὁπότεν ἴδῃς τινὰ καλόν, φεύγειν προτροπᾶδην. σοὶ δ', ὦ Κριτόβουλε, συμβουλεύω ἀπεναντίσαι· μόλις γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἐν τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ [τὸ δῆγμα] ὑγιῆς γένοιο. [1.3.14] οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀφροδισιάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀσφαλῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσια ὤιετο χρῆναι πρὸς τοιαῦτα, οἷα μὴ πάνυ μὲν δεομένου τοῦ σώματος οὐκ ἂν προσδέξαιτο ἡ ψυχὴ, δεομένου δὲ οὐκ ἂν πράγματα παρέχοι. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα φανερός ἦν οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ὥστε ῥᾶιον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ὠραιωτάτων ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἁωροτάτων. [1.3.15] περὶ μὲν δὴ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὕτω κατεσκευασμένος ἦν καὶ ὤιετο οὐδὲν ἂν ἥττον ἀρκούντως ἡδесθαι τῶν πολλὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις πραγματευομένων, λυπεῖσθαι δὲ πολὺ ἔλαττον.

[1.4.1] Εἰ δέ τινες Σωκράτην νομίζουσιν, ὥς ἔνιοι γράφουσιν τε καὶ λέγουσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ τεκμαιρόμενοι, προτρέψασθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ἀρετὴν κράτιστον γεγενῆναι, προαγαγεῖν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν οὐχ ἱκανόν, σκεψάμενοι μὴ μόνον ἃ ἐκεῖνος κολαστηρίου ἕνεκα τοὺς πάντ' οἰομένους εἰδέναι ἐρωτῶν ἤλεγχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ λέγων συνημέρευε τοῖς συνδιατρίβουσι, δοκιμαζόντων εἰ ἱκανὸς ἦν βελτίους ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. [1.4.2] λέξω δὲ πρῶτον ἃ ποτε αὐτοῦ ἤκουσα περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου διαλεγόμενου πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. καταμαθὼν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὔτε θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς οὔτε μαντικῇ χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιούντων ταῦτα καταγελῶντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀριστόδημε, ἔστιν οὐστinas ἀνθρώπους τεθαύμακας ἐπὶ σοφίαι; Ἔγωγ', ἔφη. [1.4.3] καὶ ὅς, Λέξον ἡμῖν, ἔφη, τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν. Ἐπὶ μὲν τοίνυν ἐπὼν ποιήσει Ὀμηρον ἔγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, ἐπὶ δὲ διθυράμβῳ Μελανιππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ τραγωιδίαι Σοφοκλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνδριαντοποιίαι Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ ζωγραφίαι Ζεῦξιν. [1.4.4] Πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀπεργαζόμενοι εἰδῶλα ἄφρονά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα ἀξιοθαυμαστότεροι εἶναι ἢ οἱ ζῶια ἔμφρονά τε καὶ ἐνεργά; Πολὺ νῆ Δία οἱ ζῶια, εἶπερ γε μὴ τύχηι τινί, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γνώμης ταῦτα γίνεται. Τῶν δὲ ἀτεκμάρτως ἐχόντων ὅτου ἕνεκα ἔστι καὶ τῶν φανερῶς ἐπ' ὠφελείαι ὄντων πότερα τύχης καὶ πότερα γνώμης ἔργα κρίνεις; Πρέπει μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ὠφελείαι γιγνόμενα

γνώμης εἶναι ἔργα. [1.4.5] Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ποιῶν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὠφελείαι προσθεῖναι αὐτοῖς δι' ὧν αἰσθάνονται ἕκαστα, ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὥσθ' ὁρᾶν τὰ ὁρατά, ὦτα δὲ ὥστ' ἀκούειν τὰ ἀκουστά; ὁσμῶν γε μὴν, εἰ μὴ ῥῖνες προσετέθησαν, τί ἂν ἡμῖν ὄφελος ἦν; τίς δ' ἂν αἰσθησις ἦν γλυκέων καὶ δριμέων καὶ πάντων τῶν διὰ στόματος ἡδέων, εἰ μὴ γλῶττα τούτων γνώμων ἐναιργάσθη; [1.4.6] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τὰδε προνοίας ἔργοις εἰοικέναι, τὸ ἐπεὶ ἀσθενῆς μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ὄψις, βλεφάροις αὐτὴν θυρῶσαι, ἅ, ὅταν μὲν αὐτῇ χρῆσθαι τι δέη, ἀναπετάννυται, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὕπνῳ συγκλείεται, ὥς δ' ἂν μηδὲ ἄνεμοι βλάπτωσιν, ἡθμὸν βλεφαρίδας ἐμψῶσαι, ὀφρύσι τε ἀπογεισῶσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ὥς μηδ' ὁ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἰδρὼς κακουργῇ· τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνάς, ἐμπίμπλασθαι δὲ μήποτε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν ὀδόντας πᾶσι ζώοις οἴους τέμνειν εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ γομφίους οἴους παρὰ τούτων δεξαμένους λεαίνειν· καὶ στόμα μὲν, δι' οὗ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ ζῶια εἰσπέμπεται, πλησίον ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ῥινῶν καταθεῖναι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀποχωροῦντα δυσχερῆ, ἀποστρέψαι τοὺς τούτων ὀχετοὺς [καὶ ἀπενεγκεῖν] ἥτις δυνατόν προσωτάτω ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων· ταῦτα οὕτω προνοητικῶς πεπραγμένα ἀπορεῖς πότερα τύχης ἢ γνώμης ἔργα ἐστίν; [1.4.7] Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ἀλλ' οὕτω γε σκοπούμεναι πάννυ ἔοικε ταῦτα σοφοῦ τινος δημιουργοῦ καὶ φιλοζώου τεχνήμασι. Τὸ δὲ ἐμψῶσαι μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τεκνοποιίας, ἐμψῶσαι δὲ ταῖς γειναμέναις ἔρωτα τοῦ ἐκτρέφειν, τοῖς δὲ τραφεῖσι μέγιστον μὲν πόθον τοῦ ζῆν, μέγιστον δὲ φόβον τοῦ θανάτου; Ἀμέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἔοικε μηχανήμασί τινος ζῶια εἶναι βουλευσαμένου. [1.4.8] Σὺ δὲ σαυτῷ δοκεῖς τι φρόνιμον ἔχειν; Ἐρώτα γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι. Ἄλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν οἶε φρόνιμον εἶναι; καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ σώματι πολλῆς οὐσης ἔχεις καὶ ὕγρου βραχὺ πολλοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δῆπου μεγάλων ὄντων ἐκάστου μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ σῶμα συνήρμωσταί σοι· νοῦν δὲ μόνον ἄρα οὐδαμοῦ ὄντα σε εὐτυχῶς πὼς δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι, καὶ τὰδε τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ πλῆθος ἄπειρα δι' ἀφροσύνην τινά, ὥς οἶε, εὐτάκτως ἔχειν; [1.4.9] Μὰ Δί' οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τοὺς κυρίους, ὥσπερ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων τοὺς δημιουργούς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σαυτοῦ σύγγε ψυχὴν ὁρᾷς, ἢ τοῦ σώματος κυρία ἐστίν· ὥστε κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἔξεστί σοι λέγειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τύχη πάντα πράττεις. [1.4.10] καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, Οὔτοι, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὑπερορῶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο

μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγοῦμαι <ἦ> ὡς τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας προσδεῖσθαι. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὅσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον <ὄν> ἀξιοῖ σε θεραπεύειν, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τιμητέον αὐτό. [1.4.11] Εὖ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι, εἰ νομίζοιμι θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων τι φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἂν ἀμελοῖην αὐτῶν. Ἔπειτ' οὐκ οἶει φροντίζειν; οἱ πρῶτον μὲν μόνον τῶν ζώων ἄνθρωπον ὀρθὸν ἀνέστησαν· ἡ δὲ ὀρθότης καὶ προορᾶν πλεον ποιεῖ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεῖν μᾶλλον θεᾶσθαι καὶ ἦττον κακοπαθεῖν καὶ ὄψιν καὶ ἀκοὴν καὶ στόμα ἐνεποίησαν· ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐρπετοῖς πόδας ἔδωκαν, οἱ τὸ πορεύεσθαι μόνον παρέχουσιν, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ καὶ χεῖρας προσέθεσαν, αἱ τὰ πλείστα οἷς εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἐκείνων ἐσμέν ἐξεργάζονται. [1.4.12] καὶ μὴν γλῶττάν γε πάντων τῶν ζώων ἐχόντων, μόνην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησαν οἷαν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχῇ ψαύουσιν τοῦ στόματος ἀρθροῦν τε τὴν φωνὴν καὶ σημαίνειν πάντα ἀλλήλοις ἃ βουλόμεθα. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδονὰς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ζώοις δοῦναι περιγράψαντας τοῦ ἔτους χρόνον, ἡμῖν δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι γήρως ταῦτα παρέχειν. [1.4.13] οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἦρκεσε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἀλλ', ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστι, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυσε. τίνας γὰρ ἄλλου ζώου ψυχὴ πρῶτα μὲν θεῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα συνταξάντων ἡισθηται ὅτι εἰσὶ; τί δὲ φύλον ἄλλο ἢ ἄνθρωποι θεοὺς θεραπεύουσι; ποία δὲ ψυχὴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἱκανωτέρα προφυλάττεσθαι ἢ λιμὸν ἢ δίψος ἢ ψύχη ἢ θάλη, ἢ νόσοις ἐπικουρῆσαι, ἢ ῥώμην ἀσκήσαι, ἢ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐκπονῆσαι, ἢ ὅσα ἂν ἀκούσῃ ἢ ἴδῃ ἢ μάθῃ ἱκανωτέρα ἐστὶ διαμεμνησθαι; [1.4.14] οὐ γὰρ πάνυ σοὶ κατάδηλον ὅτι παρὰ τᾶλλα ζῶια ὥσπερ θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι βιοτεύουσι, φύσει καὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κρατιστεύοντες; οὔτε γὰρ βοὸς ἂν ἔχων σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ γνώμην ἐδύνατ' ἂν πράττειν ἃ ἐβούλετο, οὔθ' ὅσα χεῖρας ἔχει, ἄφρονα δ' ἐστί, πλεον οὐδὲν ἔχει. σὺ δ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πλείστου ἀξίων τετυχηκὼς οὐκ οἶει σοῦ θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἀλλ' ὅταν τί ποιήσωσι, νομεῖς αὐτοὺς σοῦ φροντίζειν; [1.4.15] Ὅταν πέμπωσιν, ὥσπερ σὺ φῆς πέμπειν αὐτούς, συμβούλους ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν. Ὅταν δὲ Ἀθηναίοις, ἔφη, πυνθανομένοις τι διὰ μαντικῆς φράζωσιν, οὐ καὶ σοὶ δοκεῖς φράζειν αὐτούς, οὐδ' ὅταν τοῖς Ἕλλησι τέρατα πέμποντες προσημαίνωσι, οὐδ' ὅταν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ μόνον σὲ ἐξαίρουντες ἐν ἀμελείᾳ κατατίθενται; [1.4.16] οἶει δ' ἂν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόξαν ἐμφῶσαι ὡς ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν,

εἰ μὴ δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπατωμένους τὸν πάντα χρόνον οὐδέποτε ἂν αἰσθῆσθαι; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὰ πολυχροنیωτάτα καὶ σοφώτατα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη, θεοσεβέστατά ἐστι, καὶ αἱ φρονιμώταται ἡλικίαι θεῶν ἐπιμελέσταται; [1.4.17] ὦγαθέ, ἔφη, κατάμαθε ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὸς νοῦς ἐνὼν τὸ σὸν σῶμα ὅπως βούλεται μεταχειρίζεται. οἶσθαι οὖν χρή καὶ τὴν ἐν <τῶν> παντὶ φρόνησιν τὰ πάντα, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἡδὺ ἦι, οὕτω τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὄμμα δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια ἐξικνεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν, μηδὲ τὴν σὴν μὲν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δύνασθαι φροντίζειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φρόνησιν μὴ ἱκανὴν εἶναι ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [1.4.18] ἂν μέντοι, ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύων γινώσκεις τοὺς ἀντιθεραπεύειν ἐθέλοντας καὶ χαριζόμενος τοὺς ἀντιχαριζομένους καὶ συμβουλευόμενος καταμανθάνεις τοὺς φρονίμους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν πείραν λαμβάνῃς θεραπεύων, εἴ τί σοι θελήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἀδῆλων ἀνθρώποις συμβουλεύειν, γνώσει τὸ θεῖον ὅτι τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥσθ' ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν καὶ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι [αὐτούς]. [1.4.19] ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων οὐ μόνον τοὺς συνόντας ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ὁπότε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀρῶντο, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνοσίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁπότε ἐν ἐρημίᾳ εἶεν, ἐπεῖπερ ἡγήσαιντο μηδὲν ἂν ποτε ὧν πράττειεν θεοὺς διαλαθεῖν.

[1.5.1] Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγκράτεια καλὸν τε κάγαθόν ἀνδρὶ κτῆμά ἐστιν, ἐπισκεψόμεθα εἴ τι προυβίβαζε λέγων εἰς ταύτην τοιάδε· ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰ πολέμου ἡμῖν γενομένου βουλοίμεθα ἐλέσθαι ἄνδρα, ὅφ' οὐ μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ μὲν σιωζοίμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους χειροίμεθα, ἄρ' ὄντινα [ἂν] αἰσθανοίμεθα ἥττω γαστρὸς ἢ οἴνου ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἢ πόνου ἢ ὕπνου, τοῦτον ἂν αἰροίμεθα; καὶ πῶς ἂν οἰηθείμεν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ ἡμᾶς σῶσαι ἢ τοὺς πολεμίους κρατῆσαι; [1.5.2] εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου γενομένοι βουλοίμεθα τῷ ἐπιτρέψαι ἢ παῖδας ἄρρενας παιδεῦσαι ἢ θυγατέρας παρθένους διαφυλάξαι ἢ χρήματα διασῶσαι, ἄρ' ἀξιοπίστον εἰς ταῦθ' ἡγησόμεθα τὸν ἀκρατῆ; δούλωι δ' ἀκρατεῖ ἐπιτρέψαιμεν ἂν ἢ βοσκήματα ἢ ταμειᾶ ἢ ἔργων ἐπιστάσιαν; διάκονον δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστὴν τοιοῦτον ἐθελήσαιμεν ἂν προῖκα λαβεῖν; [1.5.3] ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε μηδὲ δούλον ἀκρατῆ δεξαίμεθ' ἂν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτόν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ πλεονέκται τῶν ἄλλων ἀφαιρούμενοι χρήματα ἑαυτοὺς

δοκοῦσι πλουτίζειν, οὕτως ὁ ἀκρατής τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις βλαβερός, ἑαυτῷ δ' ὠφέλιμος, ἀλλὰ κακοῦργος μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πολὺ κακοургότερος, εἴ γε κακοургότατόν ἐστι μὴ μόνον τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φθεῖρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν· [1.5.4] ἐν συνουσίαι δὲ τίς ἂν ἡσθεῖν τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὃν εἰδέη τῷ ὄψῳι τε καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ χαίροντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τὰς πόρνas ἀγαπῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἐταίρους; ἄρα γε οὐ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα, ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετῆς εἶναι κρηπίδα, ταύτην πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάσασθαι; [1.5.5] τίς γὰρ ἄνευ ταύτης ἢ μάθοι τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἢ μελετήsειεν ἀξιολόγως; ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς δουλεύων αἰσχυρῶς διατεθῇ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ νῆ τὴν Ἥραν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ εὐκτὸν εἶναι μὴ τυχεῖν δούλου τοιούτου, δουλεύοντα δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡδοναῖς ἰκετευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς δεσποτῶν ἀγαθῶν τυχεῖν· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μόνως ὁ τοιοῦτος σωθῇ. [1.5.6] τοιαῦτα δὲ λέγων ἔτι ἐγκρατέστερον τοῖς ἔργοις ἢ τοῖς λόγοις ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδείκνυν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν ἐκράτει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν χρημάτων, νομίζων τὸν παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος χρήματα λαμβάνοντα δεσπότην ἑαυτοῦ καθιστάναι καὶ δουλεύειν δουλείαν οὐδεμιᾶς ἤττον αἰσχυράν.

[1.6.1] Ἄξιον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἃ πρὸς Ἀντιφῶντα τὸν σοφιστὴν διελέχθη μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιφῶν ποτε βουλόμενος τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ παρελέσθαι προσελθὼν τῷ Σωκράτει παρόντων αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε· [1.6.2] ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ μὲν ὦμην τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας εὐδαιμονεστεροὺς χρῆναι γίνεσθαι· σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς τάναντία τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπολελαυκέναι. ζῆς γοῦν οὕτως ὥς οὐδ' ἂν εἷς δοῦλος ὑπὸ δεσπότηι δαιτιώμενος μείνει· σιτὰ τε σιτῇ καὶ ποτὰ πίνει τὰ φαυλότατα, καὶ ἱμάτιον ἡμίφεισαι οὐ μόνον φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρους τε καὶ χειμῶνος, ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς. [1.6.3] καὶ μὴν χρήματά γε οὐ λαμβάνεις, ἃ καὶ κτωμένους εὐφραίνει καὶ κεκτημένους ἐλευθεριώτερόν τε καὶ ἥδιον ποιεῖ ζῆν. εἰ οὖν ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοὺς μαθητὰς μιμητὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ σὺ τοὺς συνόντας διαθήsεις, νόμιζε κακοδαιμονίας διδάσκαλος εἶναι. [1.6.4] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπε· Δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, ὑπειληφέναι με οὕτως ἀνιαρῶς ζῆν ὥστε πέπεισμαι σὲ μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἂν ἐλέσθαι ἢ ζῆν ὥσπερ ἐγώ. ἴθι οὖν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τί χαλεπὸν ἦισθαι τοῦ ἐμοῦ βίου. [1.6.5] πότερον ὅτι τοῖς μὲν

λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦτο ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν μισθὸν λάβωσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντι οὐκ ἀνάγκη διαλέγεσθαι ᾧ ἂν μὴ βούλωμαι; ἢ τὴν διαίτάν μου φαυλίζεις ὥς ἤττον μὲν ὑγιεινὰ ἐσθίοντος ἐμοῦ ἢ σοῦ, ἤττον δὲ ἰσχύν παρέχοντα; ἢ ὥς χαλεπώτερα πορίσασθαι τὰ ἐμὰ διαιτήματα τῶν σῶν διὰ τὸ σπανιώτερά τε καὶ πολυτελέστερα εἶναι; ἢ ὥς ἡδίω σοι ἢ σὺ παρασκευάζῃ ὄντα ἢ ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐγώ; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἡδιστα ἐσθίων ἥκιστα ὅψου δεῖται, ὁ δὲ ἡδιστα πίνων ἥκιστα τοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθυμεῖ ποτοῦ; [1.6.6] τὰ γε μὴν ἱμάτια οἶσθ' ὅτι οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι ψύχους καὶ θάλπους ἔνεκα μεταβάλλονται, καὶ ὑποδήματα ὑποδοῦνται, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὰ λυποῦντα τοὺς πόδας κωλύωνται πορεύεσθαι· ἤδη οὖν ποτε ἤισθου ἐμὲ ἢ διὰ ψῦχος μᾶλλον του ἔνδον μένοντα, ἢ διὰ θάλπος μαχόμενόν τωι περὶ σκιᾶς, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν τοὺς πόδας οὐ βαδίζοντα ὅπου ἂν βούλωμαι; [1.6.7] οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι οἱ φύσει ἀσθενέστατοι τῷ σώματι μελετήσαντες τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων ἀμελησάντων κρεῖττους τε γίνονται πρὸς ἃ ἂν μελετῶσι καὶ ῥᾷον αὐτὰ φέρουσιν; ἐμὲ δὲ ἄρα οὐκ οἶει, τῷ σώματι ἀεὶ τὰ συντυγχάνοντα μελετῶντα καρτερεῖν, πάντα ῥᾷον φέρειν σοῦ μὴ μελετῶντος; [1.6.8] τοῦ δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν γαστρὶ μηδ' ὕπνῳ καὶ λαγνεῖαι οἶει τι ἄλλο αἰτιώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ἕτερα ἔχειν τούτων ἡδίω, ἢ οὐ μόνον ἐν χρεαίᾳ ὄντα εὐφραίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίδας παρέχοντα ὠφελήσιν ἀεὶ; καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε οἶσθα, ὅτι οἱ μὲν οἰόμενοι μηδὲν εὖ παάττειν οὐκ εὐφραίνονται, οἱ δὲ ἡγούμενοι καλῶς προχωρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἢ γεωργίαν ἢ ναυκληρίαν ἢ ἄλλ' ὅ τι ἂν τυγχάνωσιν ἐργαζόμενοι ὥς εὖ πράττοντες εὐφραίνονται. [1.6.9] οἶει οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τοσαύτην ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὅσην ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτόν τε ἡγεῖσθαι βελτίω γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλους ἀμείνους κτᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ τοίνυν διατελῶ ταῦτα νομίζων. ἐὰν δὲ δὴ φίλους ἢ πόλιν ὠφελεῖν δέῃ, ποτέρῳ ἢ πλείων σχολὴ τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῷ ὥς ἐγὼ νῦν ἢ τῷ ὥς σὺ μακαρίζεις διαιωμένῳ; στρατεύοιτο δὲ πότερος ἂν ῥᾷον, ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἄνευ πολυτελοῦς διαίτης ζῆν ἢ ᾧ τὸ παρὸν ἀρκοίῃ; ἐκπολιορκηθεῖν δὲ πότερος ἂν θᾶπτον, ὁ τῶν χαλεπωτάτων εὐρεῖν δεόμενος ἢ ὁ τοῖς ῥαίστοις ἐντυγχάνειν ἀρκούντως χρώμενος; [1.6.10] ἔοικας, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰομένῳ τρυφῇ καὶ πολυτέλειαν εἶναι· ἐγὼ δ' ἐνομίζον τὸ μὲν μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι θεῖον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὥς ἐλαχίστων ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ μὲν θεῖον κράτιστον, τὸ δ' ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ κρατίστου.

[1.6.11] Πάλιν δέ ποτε ὁ Ἀντιφῶν διαλεγόμενος τῷ Σωκράτει εἶπεν· ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ τοί σε δίκαιον μὲν νομίζω, σοφὸν δὲ οὐδ' ὀπωστιοῦν· δοκεῖς δέ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦτο γινώσκειν· οὐδένα γοῦν τῆς συνουσίας ἀργύριον πράττει. καίτοι τό γε ἱμάτιον ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ὧν κέκτησαι νομίζων ἀργυρίου ἄξιον εἶναι οὐδενὶ ἂν μὴ ὅτι προῖκα δοίης, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔλαττον τῆς ἀξίας λαβών. [1.6.12] δῆλον δὲ ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν ὧιου τινὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι, καὶ ταύτης ἂν οὐκ ἔλαττον τῆς ἀξίας ἀργύριον ἐπράττου. δίκαιος μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴης, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξαπαταῖς ἐπὶ πλεονεξίαι, σοφὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν, μηδενός γε ἄξια ἐπιστάμενος. [1.6.13] ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν· ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλόν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι. τὴν τε γὰρ ὥραν ἐὰν μὲν τις ἀργυρίου πωλῇ τῷ βουλομένῳ, πόρνον αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ἐὰν δέ τις, ὃν ἂν γνῶι καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐραστὴν ὄντα, τοῦτον φίλον ἐαυτῷ ποιῇται, σῶφρονα νομίζομεν· καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὡσαύτως τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας σοφιστὰς [ὥσπερ πόρνους] ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὅστις δὲ ὃν ἂν γνῶι εὐφυᾶ ὄντα διδάσκων ὃ τι ἂν ἔχη ἀγαθὸν φίλον ποιεῖται, τοῦτον νομίζομεν, ἃ τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ πολίτῃ προσήκει, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. [1.6.14] ἐγὼ δ' οὖν καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, ὥσπερ ἄλλος τις ἢ ἵππῳ ἀγαθῷ ἢ κυνὶ ἢ ὄρνιθι ἥδεται, οὕτω καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡδομαι φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐὰν τι ἔχω ἀγαθόν, διδάσκω, καὶ ἄλλοις συνίστημι παρ' ὧν ἂν ἡγῶμαι ὠφελήσεσθαι τι αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀρετὴν· καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἐκεῖνοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίῳ γράψαντες, ἀνελίττων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι, καὶ ἂν τι ὀρθῶμεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκλεγόμεθα· καὶ μέγα νομίζομεν κέρδος, ἐὰν ἀλλήλοις φίλοι γινώμεθα. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούοντι ἐδόκει αὐτός τε μακάριος εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθίαν ἄγειν.

[1.6.15] Καὶ πάλιν ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ἐρομένου αὐτόν, πῶς ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖται πολιτικούς ποιεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' οὐ πράττει τὰ πολιτικά, εἶπερ ἐπίσταται· Ποτέρως δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀντιφῶν, μᾶλλον τὰ πολιτικά πράττοιμι, εἰ μόνος αὐτὰ πράττοιμι ἢ εἰ ἐπιμελοίμην τοῦ ὡς πλείστους ἱκανοὺς εἶναι πράττειν αὐτά;

[1.7.1] Ἐπισκεψόμεθα δὲ εἰ καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἀποτρέπων τοὺς συνόντας ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προέτρεπεν· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ εἴη καλλίων ὁδὸς ἐπ' εὐδοξίαν ἢ δι' ἧς ἂν τις ἀγαθὸς τοῦτο γένοιτο, <ὁ> καὶ δοκεῖν βούλοιο, ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ ἔλεγεν, ὧδ' ἐδίδασκεν· [1.7.2]

Ἐνθυμώμεθα γάρ, ἔφη, εἴ τις μὴ ὦν ἀγαθὸς αὐλητῆς δοκεῖν βούλοιο, τί ἂν αὐτῷ ποιητέον εἴη. ἄρ' οὐ τὰ ἕξω τῆς τέχνης μιμητέον τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αὐλητάς; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι σκευή τε καλὰ κέκτηνται καὶ ἀκολούθους πολλοὺς περιιάγονται, καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτα ποιητέον· ἔπειτα, ὅτι ἐκεῖνους πολλοὶ ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ τούτῳ πολλοὺς ἐπαινέτας παρασκευαστέον. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔργον γε οὐδαμοῦ ληπτέον, ἢ εὐθὺς ἐλεγχθήσεται γελοῖος ὦν καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐλητῆς κακός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀλαζών. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν δαπανῶν, μηδὲν δ' ὠφελοῦμενος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κακοδοξῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἐπιπόνως τε καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς καὶ καταγελάστως βιώσεται; [1.7.3] ὥς δ' αὐτως εἴ τις βούλοιο στρατηγὸς ἀγαθὸς μὴ ὦν φαίνεσθαι ἢ κυβερνήτης, ἐννοῶμεν τί ἂν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοι. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἱκανὸς εἶναι ταῦτα πράττειν μὴ δύναιτο πείθειν, τοῦτ' εἴη λυπηρόν, εἰ δὲ πείσειεν, ἔτι ἀθλιώτερον; δηλὸν γὰρ ὅτι κυβερνᾶν κατασταθεὶς ὁ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἢ στρατηγεῖν ἀπολέσειεν ἂν οὐς ἥκιστα βούλοιο καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχυρῶς ἂν καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξειεν. [1.7.4] ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πλούσιον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν μὴ ὄντα δοκεῖν ἀλυσιτελεῖς ἀπέφαινε· προστάττεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔφη μείζω ἢ κατὰ δύναμιν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, δοκοῦντας ἱκανοὺς εἶναι, συγγνώμης οὐκ ἂν τυγχάνειν. [1.7.5] ἀπατεῶνα δ' ἐκάλει οὐ μικρὸν μὲν οὐδ' εἴ τις ἀργύριον ἢ σκεῦος παρά του πειθοῖ λαβὼν ἀποστεροίη, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ὅστις μηδενὸς ἄξιος ὦν ἐξηπατήκοι πείθων ὥς ἱκανὸς εἴη τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖσθαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας τοιάδε διαλεγόμενος.

Βιβλίον β'

[2.1.1] Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγων προτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ῥίγους καὶ θάλπους καὶ πόνου. γνοὺς γάρ τινα τῶν συνόντων ἀκολαστοτέρως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε, εἰ δέοι σε παιδεύειν παραλαβόντα δύο τῶν νέων, τὸν μὲν, ὅπως ἱκανὸς ἔσται ἄρχειν, τὸν δ', ὅπως μὴδ' ἀντιποιήσεται ἀρχῆς, πῶς ἂν ἐκάτερον παιδεύοις; βούλει σκοπῶμεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων; καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἔφη· Δοκεῖ γοῦν μοι ἡ τροφή ἀρχὴ εἶναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ζῶνι γ' ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ τρέφοιτο. [2.1.2] Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν βούλεσθαι σίτου ἅπτεσθαι, ὅταν ὥρα ἦκη, ἀμφοτέροις εἰκὸς παραγίγνεσθαι; Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφη. Τὸ οὖν προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ κατεπεῖγον μᾶλλον πράττειν ἢ τῇ γαστρὶ χαρίζεσθαι πότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ἐθίζοιμεν; Τὸν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἔφη, νῆ Δία παιδευόμενον, ὅπως μὴ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἅπρακτα γίγνηται παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχήν. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ ὅταν πιεῖν βούλωνται, τὸ δύνασθαι διψῶντα ἀνέχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ προσθετέον; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [2.1.3] Τὸ δὲ ὕπνου ἐγκρατὴ εἶναι, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ ὄψε κοιμηθῆναι καὶ πρῶι ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσαι, εἴ τι δέοι, ποτέρωι ἂν προσθεῖημεν; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ αὐτῷ. Τί δέ, ἔφη, τὸ ἀφροδισίων ἐγκρατὴ εἶναι, ὥστε μὴ διὰ ταῦτα κωλύεσθαι πράττειν, εἴ τι δέοι; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ αὐτῷ. Τί δέ, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους, ἀλλ' ἐθέλοντὴν ὑπομένειν ποτέρωι ἂν προσθεῖημεν; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, τῷ ἄρχειν παιδευομένωι. Τί δέ, τὸ μαθεῖν εἴ τι ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστι μάθημα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ποτέρωι ἂν προσθεῖναι μᾶλλον πρέποι; Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, τῷ ἄρχειν παιδευομένωι· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἄνευ τῶν τοιούτων μαθημάτων. [2.1.4] Οὐκοῦν ὁ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ἦττον ἂν δοκεῖ σοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἢ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶια ἀλίσκεσθαι; τούτων γὰρ δήπου τὰ μὲν γαστρὶ δελεαζόμενα, καὶ μάλα ἔνια δυσωπούμενα, ὅμως τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ φαγεῖν ἀγόμενα πρὸς τὸ δέλεαρ ἀλίσκεται, τὰ δὲ ποτῶι ἐνεδρεύεται. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ λαγνείας, οἷον οἱ τε ὄρτυγες καὶ οἱ πέρδικες, πρὸς τὴν τῆς θηλείας φωνὴν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀφροδισίων φερόμενοι καὶ ἐξιστάμενοι τοῦ τὰ δεινὰ ἀναλογίζεσθαι τοῖς θηράτροις ἐμπίπτουσι; [2.1.5] Συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα.

Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτ᾽ ἀσχεῖν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις τῶν θηρίων; ὥσπερ οἱ μοιχοὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὰς εἰρκτάς, εἰδότες ὅτι κίνδυνος τῷ μοιχεύοντι ἅ τε ὁ νόμος ἀπειλεῖ παθεῖν καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆναι καὶ ληφθέντα ὑβρισθῆναι· καὶ τηλικούτων μὲν ἐπικειμένων τῷ μοιχεύοντι κακῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἀπολυσόντων τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ἀδείᾳ, ὅμως εἰς τὰ ἐπικίνδυνα φέρεσθαι, ἄρ' οὐκ ἤδη τοῦτο παντάπασι κακοδαιμονῶντός ἐστιν; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη. [2.1.6] Τὸ δὲ εἶναι μὲν τὰς ἀναγκαιοτάτας πλείστας πράξεις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, οἷον τὰς τε πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς γεωργικὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐ τὰς ἐλαχίστας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀγυμνάστως ἔχειν πρὸς τε ψυχὴν καὶ θάλην οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πολλὴ ἀμέλεια εἶναι; Συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο. Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ἀσκεῖν δεῖν καὶ ταῦτα εὐπετῶς φέρειν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [2.1.7] Οὐκοῦν εἰ τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖς τούτων ἀπάντων εἰς τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς τάττομεν, τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ταῦτα ποιεῖν εἰς τοὺς μηδ' ἀντιποιησομένους τοῦ ἄρχειν τάξομεν; Συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο. Τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτων ἑκατέρου τοῦ φύλου τὴν τάξιν οἶσθα, ἤδη ποτ' ἐπεσκέψω, εἰς ποτέραν τῶν τάξεων τούτων σαυτὸν δικαίως ἂν τάττοις; [2.1.8] Ἔγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίστιππος· καὶ οὐδαμῶς γε τάττω ἑμαυτὸν εἰς τὴν τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων τάξιν. καὶ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ἀφρονος ἀνθρώπου εἶναι τό, μεγάλου ἔργου ὄντος τοῦ ἑαυτῷ τὰ δέοντα παρασκευάζειν, μὴ ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ προσαναθέσθαι τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὧν δέονται πορίζειν· καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν πολλὰ ὧν βούλεται ἐλλείπειν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως προεστῶτα, ἐὰν μὴ πάντα ὅσα ἢ πόλις βούλεται καταπράττει, τούτου δίκην ὑπέχειν, τοῦτο πῶς οὐ πολλὴ ἀφροσύνη ἐστί; [2.1.9] καὶ γὰρ ἀξιοῦσιν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὥσπερ ἐγὼ τοῖς οἰκέταις χρῆσθαι. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ἀξιῶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἑμοὶ μὲν ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μηδενὸς τούτων ἅπτεσθαι, αἱ τε πόλεις οἷονται χρῆναι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἑαυταῖς μὲν ὥς πλείστα ἀγαθὰ πορίζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτούς τε καὶ ἄλλοις παρέχειν οὕτως ἂν παιδεύσας εἰς τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς καταστήσαιμι· ἑμαυτὸν γε μέντοι τάττω εἰς τοὺς βουλομένους ἦι ῥᾷστά τε καὶ ἥδιστα βιοτεύειν. [2.1.10] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Βούλει οὖν καὶ τοῦτο σκεψώμεθα, πότερον ἥδιον ζῶσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πέρσαι μὲν ἄρχουσιν, ἄρχονται δὲ

Σύροι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοί· ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Σκύθαι μὲν ἄρχουσι, Μαιῶται δὲ ἄρχονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἄρχουσι, Λίβυες δὲ ἄρχονται. τούτων οὖν ποτέρους ἥδιον οἶε ζῆν; ἢ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς εἶ, πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν ἥδιον οἱ κρατοῦντες ἢ οἱ κρατούμενοι, ζῆν; [2.1.11] Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν δουλείαν ἐμαυτὸν τάττω, ἀλλ' εἶναι τίς μοι δοκεῖ μέση τούτων ὁδός, ἣν πειρᾶμαι βαδίζειν, οὔτε δι' ἀρχῆς οὔτε διὰ δουλείας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐλευθερίας, ἥπερ μάλιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἄγει. [2.1.12] Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ οὔτε δι' ἀρχῆς οὔτε διὰ δουλείας ἡ ὁδὸς αὕτη φέρει, οὕτω μηδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἴσως ἂν τι λέγοις· εἰ μὲντοι ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὦν μήτε ἄρχειν ἀξιώσεις μήτε ἄρχεσθαι μηδὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκὼν θεραπεύσεις, οἴμαι σε ὁρᾶν ὡς ἐπίστανται οἱ κρείττονες τοὺς ἥττονας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαι κλαίοντας καθίσαντες δούλοις χρῆσθαι· [2.1.13] ἢ λανθάνουσί σε οἱ ἄλλων σπειράντων καὶ φυτευσάντων τὸν τε σῖτον τέμνοντες καὶ δενδροκοποῦντες καὶ πάντα τρόπον πολιορκοῦντες τοὺς ἥττονας καὶ μὴ θέλοντας θεραπεύειν, ἕως ἂν πείσωσιν ἐλέσθαι δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι; καὶ ἰδία αὖ οἱ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ δυνατοὶ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀδυνάτους οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι καταδουλωσάμενοι καρποῦνται; Ἄλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ἵνα μὴ πάσχω ταῦτα, οὐδ' εἰς πολιτείαν ἐμαυτὸν κατακλείω, ἀλλὰ ξένος πανταχοῦ εἰμι. [2.1.14] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Τοῦτο μὲντοι ἤδη λέγεις δεινὸν πάλαισμα. τοὺς γὰρ ξένους, ἐξ οὗ ὃ τε Σίνις καὶ ὁ Σκείρων καὶ ὁ Προκρούστης ἀπέθανον, οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀδικεῖ· ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ μὲν πολιτευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ νόμους τίθενται, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται, καὶ φίλους πρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις καλουμένοις ἄλλους κτῶνται βοηθοὺς, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐρύματα περιβάλλονται, καὶ ὅπλα κτῶνται οἷς ἀμυνοῦνται τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλους ἐξωθεν συμμάχους κατασκευάζονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα πάντα κεκτημένοι ὅμως ἀδικοῦνται· [2.1.15] σὺ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἔχων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἔνθα πλείστοι ἀδικοῦνται, πολὺν χρόνον διατρίβων, εἰς ὁποίαν δ' ἂν πόλιν ἀφίκηι, τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἥττων ὢν, καὶ τοιοῦτος, οἷοις μάλιστα ἐπιτίθενται οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀδικεῖν, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ξένος εἶναι οὐκ ἂν οἶε ἀδικηθῆναι; ἢ διότι αἱ πόλεις σοι κηρύττουσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι, θαρρεῖς; ἢ διότι καὶ δοῦλος ἂν οἶε τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἷος μηδενὶ δεσπότῃ λυσιτελεῖν; τίς γὰρ ἂν ἐθέλοι ἄνθρωπον ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχειν πονεῖν μὲν μηδὲν ἐθέλοντα, τῇ δὲ πολυτελεστάτῃ διαίτῃ

χαίροντα; [2.1.16] σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς οἱ δεσπότες τοῖς τοιούτοις οἰκέταις χρῶνται. ἄρα οὐ τὴν μὲν λαγνείαν αὐτῶν τῷ λιμῷ σωφρονίζουσι; κλέπτειν δὲ κωλύουσιν ἀποκλείοντες ὅθεν ἂν τι λαβεῖν ἦ; τοῦ δὲ δραπετεῦναι δεσμοῖς ἀπείργουσι; τὴν ἀργίαν δὲ πληγαῖς ἐξανακάζουσιν; ἢ σὺ πῶς ποιεῖς, ὅταν τῶν οἰκετῶν τινα τοιοῦτον ὄντα καταμανθάνῃς; [2.1.17] Κολάζω, ἔφη, πᾶσι κακοῖς, ἕως ἂν δουλεύειν ἀναγκάσω. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἱ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην παιδευόμενοι, ἦν δοκεῖς μοι σὺ νομίζειν εὐδαιμονίαν εἶναι, τί διαφέρουσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθούντων, εἴ γε πεινῆσουσι καὶ διψήσουσι καὶ ῥιγώσουσι καὶ ἀγρυπνήσουσι καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα μοχθήσουσιν ἐκόντες; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι διαφέρει τὸ αὐτὸ δέρμα ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα μαστιγοῦσθαι ἢ ὅλως τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκόντα ἢ ἄκοντα πολιορκεῖσθαι ἄλλο γε ἢ ἀφροσύνη πρόσσεσι τῷ θέλοντι τὰ λυπηρὰ ὑπομένειν. [2.1.18] Τί δέ, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε; ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρειν τὰ ἐκούσια τῶν ἀκουσίων, ἦ ὁ μὲν ἐκὼν πεινῶν φάγοι ἂν ὅποτε βούλοιο καὶ ὁ ἐκὼν διψῶν πίοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὡσαύτως, τῷ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης ταῦτα πάσχοντι οὐκ ἔξεστιν ὁπότεν βούληται παύεσθαι; ἔπειτα ὁ μὲν ἐκουσίως ταλαιπωρῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθῇ ἐλπίδι πονῶν εὐφραίνεται, οἷον οἱ τὰ θηρία θηρῶντες ἐλπίδι τοῦ λήψεσθαι ἡδέως μοχθοῦσι. [2.1.19] καὶ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἄθλα τῶν πόνων μικροῦ τινος ἄξιά ἐστι, τοὺς δὲ πονοῦντας ἵνα φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσωνται, ἢ ὅπως ἐχθροὺς χειρώσωνται, ἢ ἵνα δυνατοὶ γενόμενοι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον καλῶς οἰκῶσι καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιῶσι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετῶσι, πῶς οὐκ οἶεσθαι χρὴ τούτους καὶ πονεῖν ἡδέως εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ ζῆν εὐφραينوμένους, ἀγαμένους μὲν ἑαυτοῦς, ἐπαινουμένους δὲ καὶ ζηλουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων; [2.1.20] ἔτι δὲ αἱ μὲν ῥαιδιουργίαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἡδοναὶ οὔτε σώματι εὐεξίαν ἱκαναί εἰσιν ἐνεργάζεσθαι, ὥς φασι οἱ γυμνασταί, οὔτε ψυχῇ ἐπιστήμην ἀξίολογον οὐδεμίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν, αἱ δὲ διὰ καρτερίας ἐπιμέλειαι τῶν καλῶν τε καγαθῶν ἔργων ἐξικνεῖσθαι ποιοῦσιν, ὥς φασι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες. λέγει δέ που καὶ Ἡσίοδος·

Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἰλαδὸν ἔστιν ἐλῆσθαι
ῥηιδίως· λείη μὲν ὁδός, μάλα δ' ἐγγύθι ναίει.
τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὴν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,

ρήιδίη δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπή περ ἐοῦσα.

μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν τῷιδε·

Τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰγάθ' οἱ θεοί.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ [τόπῳ] φησίν·

Ὡς πονηρέ, μὴ τὰ μαλακὰ μῶσο, μὴ τὰ σκλήρ' ἔχῃς.

[2.1.21] καὶ Πρόδοκος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συγγράμματι τῷ περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡσαύτως περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνεται, ὧδέ πως λέγων, ὅσα ἐγὼ μέμνημαι. φησὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ἐπεὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰς ἥβην ὠρμάτο, ἐν ᾗ οἱ νέοι ἤδη αὐτοκράτορες γιγνόμενοι δηλοῦσιν εἴτε τὴν δι' ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν βίον εἴτε τὴν διὰ κακίας, ἐξελθόντα εἰς ἡσυχίαν καθῆσθαι ἀποροῦντα ποτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν τράπηται· [2.1.22] καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναικας προσιέναι μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέραν εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔχειν ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ὥρα διαλάμποι· κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτήν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτὴν θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιὰν ἀποβλέπειν. [2.1.23] ὥς δ' ἐγένοντο πλησιαίτερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τὴν μὲν πρόσθεν ῥηθεῖσαν ἰέναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν φθάσαι βουλομένην προσδραμεῖν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ὁρῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα ποῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βίον τράπηι. ἐὰν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιησάμενος, [ἐπὶ] τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥαίστην ὁδὸν ἄξω σε, καὶ τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν οὐδενὸς ἄγευστος ἔσει, τῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἄπειρος διαβιώσει. [2.1.24] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολέμων οὐδὲ πραγμάτων φροντιεῖς, ἀλλὰ σκοπούμενος †δυέση† τί ἂν κεχαρισμένον ἢ σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν εὔροις, ἢ τί ἂν ἰδὼν ἢ ἀκούσας τερφθείης ἢ τίνων ὁσφραϊνόμενος ἢ ἀπτόμενος, τίσι δὲ παιδικoῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφρανθείης, καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακώτατα καθεύδοις, καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπονώτατα τούτων πάντων τυγχάνοις. [2.1.25] ἐὰν δέ ποτε γένηταί τις ὑποψία σπάνεως ἀφ' ὧν ἔσται ταῦτα, οὐ φόβος μὴ σε ἀγάγω ἐπὶ τὸ πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' οἷς ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἐργάζωνται, τούτοις σὺ χρήσῃ, οὐδενὸς ἀπεχόμενος ὅθεν ἂν δυνατὸν ἦι τι κερδᾶναι.

πανταχόθεν γὰρ ὠφελεῖσθαι τοῖς ἔμοι συνοῦσιν ἐξουσίαν ἐγὼ παρέχω. [2.1.26] καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, Ὡ γύναι, ἔφη, ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἐστίν; ἡ δέ, Οἱ μὲν ἔμοι φίλοι, ἔφη, καλοῦσί με Εὐδαιμονίαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὀνομάζουσι Κακίαν. [2.1.27] καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἡ ἑτέρα γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα εἶπε· Καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκω πρὸς σέ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, εἰδυῖα τοὺς γεννήσαντάς σε καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σὴν ἐν τῇ παιδείᾳ καταμαθοῦσα, ἐξ ὧν ἐλπίζω, εἰ τὴν πρὸς ἐμὲ ὁδὸν τράποιο, σφόδρ' ἂν σε τῶν καλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν ἀγαθὸν ἐργάτην γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ ἔτι πολὺ ἐντιμωτέραν καὶ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς διαπρεπεστέραν φανῆναι. οὐκ ἐξαπατήσω δέ σε προοιμίῳ ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ἥπερ οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν τὰ ὄντα διηγῆσομαι μετ' ἀληθείας. [2.1.28] τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδὲν ἄνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόασιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' εἴτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἴλεως εἶναί σοι βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς, εἴτε ὑπὸ φίλων ἐθέλεις ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους εὐεργετητέον, εἴτε ὑπὸ τινος πόλεως ἐπιθυμεῖς τιμᾶσθαι, τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήτεον, εἴτε ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης ἀξιοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ θαυμάζεσθαι, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πειρατέον εὖ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γῆν βούλει σοι καρποὺς ἀφθόνους φέρειν, τὴν γῆν θεραπευτέον, εἴτε ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων οἶει δεῖν πλουτίζεσθαι, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμελητέον, εἴτε διὰ πολέμου ὀρμαῖς αὖξεσθαι καὶ βούλει δύνασθαι τοὺς τε φίλους ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειροῦσθαι, τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας αὐτάς τε παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων μαθητέον καὶ ὅπως αὐταῖς δεῖ χρησθαι ἀσκητέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βούλει δυνατὸς εἶναι, τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθιστέον τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοις καὶ ἰδρωτί. [2.1.29] καὶ ἡ Κακία ὑπολαβοῦσα εἶπεν, ὥς φησι Πρόδικος· Ἐννοεῖς, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ὥς χαλεπὴν καὶ μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐφροσύνας ἡ γυνὴ σοι αὕτη διηγεῖται; ἐγὼ δὲ ραιδίαν καὶ βραχεῖαν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἄξω σε. [2.1.30] καὶ ἡ Ἀρετὴ εἶπεν· Ὡ τλήμων, τί δὲ σὺ ἀγαθὸν ἔχεις; ἡ τί ἡδὺ οἶσθα μηδὲν τούτων ἔνεκα πράττειν ἐθέλουσα; ἥτις οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἡδέων ἐπιθυμίαν ἀναμένεις, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι πάντων ἐμπύμπλασαι, πρὶν μὲν πεινῆν ἐσθίουσα, πρὶν δὲ διψῆν πίνουσα, ἵνα μὲν ἡδέως φάγηις, ὥσποιοὺς μηχανωμένα, ἵνα δὲ ἡδέως πίηις, οἶνους τε πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζηι καὶ τοῦ θέρους χιόνα περιθέουσα ζητεῖς, ἵνα δὲ καθυπνώσης ἡδέως, οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς μαλακάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ [τὰς κλῖνας καὶ] τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλῖναις παρασκευάζηι· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ὅ τι ποιῆις ὕπνου ἐπιθυμεῖς. τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ

δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις, πάντα μηχανωμένη καὶ γυναιξὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι
χρωμένη· οὕτω γὰρ παιδεύεις τοὺς σεαυτῆς φίλους, τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς
ὑβρίζουσα, τῆς δ' ἡμέρας τὸ χρησιμώτατον κατακοιμίζουσα. [2.1.31]
ἀθάνατος δὲ οὐσα ἐκ θεῶν μὲν ἀπέρριψαι, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν
ἀτιμάζει· τοῦ δὲ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαίνου σεαυτῆς,
ἀνήκοος εἶ, καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου θαύματος ἀθέατος· οὐδὲν γὰρ
πώποτε σεαυτῆς ἔργον καλὸν τεθέασαι. τίς δ' ἂν σοι λεγούσῃ τι
πιστεύσεις; τίς δ' ἂν δεομένην τινὸς ἐπαρκέσειεν; ἢ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν
τοῦ σοῦ θιάσου τολμήσειεν εἶναι; οἱ νέοι μὲν ὄντες τοῖς σώμασιν
ἀδύνατοί εἰσι, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γενόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνόητοι,
ἀπόνως μὲν λιπαροὶ διὰ νεότητος τρεφόμενοι, ἐπιπόνως δὲ αὐχμηροὶ
διὰ γήρως περῶντες, τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις αἰσχυνόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ
πραττομένοις βαρυνόμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἡδέα ἐν τῇ νεότητι διαδραμόντες,
τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀποθέμενοι. [2.1.32] ἐγὼ δὲ σύνειμι μὲν
θεοῖς, σύνειμι δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς· ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε θεῖον
οὔτ' ἀνθρώπειον χωρὶς ἐμοῦ γίνεται. τιμῶμαι δὲ μάλιστα πάντων
καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώποις οἷς προσήκω, ἀγαπητὴ μὲν
συνεργὸς τεχνίταις, πιστὴ δὲ φύλαξ οἴκων δεσπόταις, εὐμενὴς δὲ
παραστάτις οἰκέταις, ἀγαθὴ δὲ συλλήπτρια τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόνων,
βεβαία δὲ τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ σύμμαχος ἔργων, ἀριστη δὲ φιλίας
κοινωνός. [2.1.33] ἔστι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς φίλοις ἡδεῖα μὲν καὶ
ἀπράγμων σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀπόλαυσις· ἀνέχονται γὰρ ἕως ἂν
ἐπιθυμήσωσιν αὐτῶν· ὕπνος δ' αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν ἡδίων ἢ τοῖς
ἀμόχθοις, καὶ οὔτε ἀπολείποντες αὐτὸν ἄχθονται οὔτε διὰ τοῦτον
μεθιάσι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
ἐπαίνοις χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ γεραίτεροι ταῖς τῶν νέων τιμαῖς
ἀγάλλονται· καὶ ἡδέως μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων μέμνηται, εὖ δὲ
τὰς παρούσας ἡδονται πράττοντες, δι' ἐμὲ φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς ὄντες,
ἀγαπητοὶ δὲ φίλοις, τίμιοι δὲ πατρίσιν· ὅταν δ' ἔλθῃ τὸ πεπρωμένον
τέλος, οὐ μετὰ λήθης ἄτιμοι κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης τὸν αἰὲν
χρόνον ὑμνούμενοι θάλλουσι. τοιαῦτά σοι, ὦ παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν
Ἡράκλεις, ἔξεστι διαπονησαμένῳ τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν
κεκτῆσθαι. [2.1.34] οὕτω πως διώκει Πρόδικος τὴν ὑπ' Ἀρετῆς
Ἡρακλέους παιδευσιν· ἐκόσμησε μέντοι τὰς γνώμας ἔτι
μεγαλειότεροις ῥήμασιν ἢ ἐγὼ νῦν. σοὶ δ' οὖν ἄξιον, ὦ Ἀρίστιππε,
τούτων ἐνθυμουμένῳ πειρᾶσθαι τι καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα χρόνον
τοῦ βίου φροντίζειν.

[2.2.1] Αἰσθόμενος δέ ποτε Λαμπροκλέα τὸν πρεσβύτατον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα χαλεπαίνοντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ παῖ, οἷσθά τινας ἀνθρώπους ἀχαρίστους καλουμένους; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος. Καταμεμάθηκας οὖν τοὺς τί ποιῶντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσιν; Ἔγωγ', ἔφη· τοὺς γὰρ εὖ παθόντας, ὅταν δυνάμενοι χάριν ἀποδοῦναι μὴ ἀποδῶσιν, ἀχαρίστους καλοῦσιν. Οὐκοῦν δοκοῦσί σοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδίκοις καταλογίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀχαρίστους; Ἔμοιγε, ἔφη. [2.2.2] Ἦδη δέ ποτ' ἐσκέψω εἰ ἄρα, ὥσπερ τὸ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἄδικον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους δίκαιον εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀχαριστεῖν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἄδικόν ἐστι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους δίκαιον; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι, ὅφ' οὗ ἂν τις εὖ παθὼν εἴτε φίλου εἴτε πολεμίου μὴ πειρᾶται χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ἄδικος εἶναι. [2.2.3] Οὐκοῦν, εἰ γ' οὕτως ἔχει τοῦτο, εἰλικρινῆς τις ἂν εἴη ἀδικία ἢ ἀχαριστία; συνωμολόγει. Οὐκοῦν ὅσοι ἂν τις μείζω ἀγαθὰ παθὼν μὴ ἀποδιδῶι χάριν, τοσοῦτωι ἀδικώτερος ἂν εἴη; συνέφη καὶ τοῦτο. Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, ὑπὸ τίνων εὖροιμεν ἂν μείζω εὐηργετημένους ἢ παῖδας ὑπὸ γονέων; οὓς οἱ γονεῖς ἐκ μὲν οὐκ ὄντων ἐποίησαν εἶναι, τοσαῦτα δὲ καλὰ ἰδεῖν καὶ τοσοῦτων ἀγαθῶν μετασχεῖν, ὅσα οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἃ δὴ καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν δοκεῖ παντὸς ἄξια εἶναι ὥστε πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγομεν, καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀδικήμασι ζημίαν θάνατον πεποιήκασιν ὥς οὐκ ἂν μείζονος κακοῦ φόβῳ τὴν ἀδικίαν παύσαντες. [2.2.4] καὶ μὴν οὐ τῶν γε ἀφροδισίων ἔνεκα παιδοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἐπεὶ τούτου γε τῶν ἀπολυσόντων μεσταὶ μὲν αἱ ὁδοί, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκήματα. φανεροὶ δ' ἐσμέν καὶ σκοπούμενοι ἐξ ὁποίων ἂν γυναικῶν βέλτιστα ἡμῖν τέκνα γένοιτο· αἷς συνελθόντες τεκνοποιούμεθα. [2.2.5] καὶ ὁ μὲν γε ἀνὴρ τὴν τε συντεκνοποιήσουσαν ἑαυτῷ τρέφει καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι παισὶ προπαρασκευάζει πάντα, ὅσα ἂν οἴηται συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν βίον, καὶ ταῦτα ὥς ἂν δύνηται πλεῖστα· ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὑποδεξαμένη τε φέρει τὸ φορτίον τοῦτο, βαρυνομένη τε καὶ κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ μεταδιδούσα τῆς τροφῆς, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ τρέφεται, καὶ σὺν πολλῷ πόνῳ διενεγκούσα καὶ τεκοῦσα τρέφει τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖται, οὔτε προπεπονθυῖα οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν οὔτε γιγνώσκον τὸ βρέφος ὅφ' ὅτου εὖ πάσχει, οὐδὲ σημαίνειν δυνάμενον ὅτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ στοχαζομένη τά τε συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ κεχαρισμένα πειρᾶται ἐκπληροῦν, καὶ τρέφει πολὺν χρόνον καὶ

ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπομένουσα πονεῖν, οὐκ εἰδυῖα εἴ τινα τούτων χάριν ἀπολήψεται. [2.2.6] καὶ οὐκ ἀρκεῖ θρέψαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καί, ἐπειδὰν δόξωσιν ἱκανοὶ εἶναι οἱ παῖδες μανθάνειν τι, ἃ μὲν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἔχωσιν οἱ γονεῖς ἀγαθὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον, διδάσκουσιν, ἃ δ' ἂν οἴωνται ἄλλον ἱκανώτερον εἶναι διδάξαι, πέμπουσι πρὸς τοῦτον δαπανῶντες, καὶ ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντα ποιοῦντες ὅπως οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς γένωνται ὡς δυνατόν βέλτιστοι. [2.2.7] πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τοι εἰ καὶ πάντα ταῦτα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄλλα τούτων πολλαπλάσια, οὐδεὶς ἂν δύναιτο αὐτῆς ἀνασχέσθαι τὴν χαλεπότητα. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πότερα δέ, ἔφη, οἶει θηρίου ἀγριότητα δυσφορωτέραν εἶναι ἢ μητρός; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη, τῆς μητρός, τῆς γε τοιαύτης. Ἦδη πώποτε οὖν ἢ δακοῦσα κακὸν τί σοι ἔδωκεν ἢ λακτίσασα, οἷα ὑπὸ θηρίων ἤδη πολλοὶ ἔπαθον; [2.2.8] Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία, ἔφη, λέγει ἃ οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ βούλοιο ἀκοῦσαι. Σὺ δὲ πόσα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἶει ταύτῃ [δυσάνεκτα] καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκ παιδίου δυσκολαίνων καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πράγματα παρασχεῖν, πόσα δὲ λυπῆσαι κάμνων; Ἀλλ' οὐδεπώποτε αὐτήν, ἔφη, οὐτ' εἶπα οὐτ' ἐποίησα οὐδὲν ἐφ' ᾧ ἡσχύνθη. [2.2.9] Τί δ'; οἶει, ἔφη, χαλεπώτερον εἶναί σοι ἀκοῦειν ὧν αὕτη λέγει ἢ τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς, ὅταν ἐν ταῖς τραγωιδίαις ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔσχατα λέγωσιν; Ἀλλ', οἶμαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἴονται τῶν λεγόντων οὔτε τὸν ἐλέγχοντα ἐλέγχειν ἵνα ζημιώσῃ οὔτε τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα ἀπειλεῖν ἵνα κακὸν τι ποιήσῃ, ραϊδίως φέρουσι. Σὺ δ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι ἃ λέγει σοι ἡ μήτηρ οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν κακὸν νοοῦσα λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλομένη σοι ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ὅσα οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ, χαλεπαίνεις; ἢ νομίζεις κακόνουν τὴν μητέρα σοι εἶναι; Οὐ δῆτα ἔφη· τοῦτό γε οὐκ οἶομαι. [2.2.10] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, σὺ ταύτην, εὖνουν τέ σοι οὔσαν καὶ ἐπιμελομένην ὡς μάλιστα δύναται κάμνοντος ὅπως ὑγιάνῃς τε καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μηδενὸς ἐνδεῆς ἔσει, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομένην ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδιδούσαν, χαλεπὴν εἶναι φῆς; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, εἰ τοιαύτην μὴ δύνασαι φέρειν μητέρα, τὰγαθὰ σε οὐ δύνασθαι φέρειν. [2.2.11] εἰπὲ δέ μοι, ἔφη, πότερον ἄλλον τινὰ οἶει δεῖν θεραπεύειν; ἢ παρεσκεύασαι μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων πειρᾶσθαι ἀρέσκειν μηδὲ πείθεσθαι μήτε στρατηγῶι μήτε ἄλλῳ ἄρχοντι; Ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἔγωγε, ἔφη. [2.2.12] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῷ γείτονι βούλῃ σὺ ἀρέσκειν, ἵνα σοι καὶ πῦρ ἐναύῃ, ὅταν τούτου δέῃ, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τέ σοι γίγνηται συλλήπτωρ καὶ, ἂν τι σφαλλόμενος τύχῃς, εὐνοϊκῶς

ἐγγύθεν βοηθῇ σοι; Ἔγωγε, ἔφη. Τί δέ; συνοδοιπόρον ἢ σύμπλουν, ἢ εἴ τωι ἄλλωι ἐντυγχάνοις, οὐδὲν ἂν σοι διαφέροι φίλον ἢ ἐχθρὸν γενέσθαι, ἢ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τούτων εὐνοίας οἶει δεῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; Ἔγωγε, ἔφη. [2.2.13] Εἵτα τούτων μὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν πάντων μάλιστά σε φιλοῦσαν οὐκ οἶει δεῖν θεραπεύειν; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἄλλης μὲν ἀχαριστίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιμελεῖται οὐδὲ δικάζει, ἀλλὰ περιορᾷ τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας χάριν οὐκ ἀποδόντας, ἐὰν δέ τις γονέας μὴ θεραπεύῃ, τούτῳ δίκην τε ἐπιτίθησι καὶ ἀποδοκιμάζουσα οὐκ ἔαι ἄρχειν τοῦτον, ὥς οὔτε ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ εὐσεβῶς θυόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τούτου θύοντος οὔτε ἄλλο καλῶς καὶ δικαίως οὐδὲν ἂν τούτου πράξαντος; καὶ νῆ Δία ἐάν τις τῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τοὺς τάφους μὴ κοσμήῃ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων δοκιμασίαις. [2.2.14] σὺ οὖν, ὦ παῖ, ἐὰν σωφρονῇς, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς παραιτήσῃ συγγνώμονάς σοι εἶναι, εἴ τι παρημέληκας τῆς μητρός, μὴ σε καὶ οὗτοι νομίσαντες ἀχάριστον εἶναι οὐκ ἐθέλῃσωσιν εὖ ποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους φυλάξῃ μὴ σε αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γονέων ἀμελοῦντα πάντες ἀτιμάσωσιν, εἵτα ἐν ἐρημίαι φίλων ἀναφανῇς. εἰ γάρ σε ὑπλάβοιεν πρὸς τοὺς γονέας ἀχάριστον εἶναι, οὐδεὶς ἂν νομίσειεν εὖ σε ποιήσας χάριν ἀπολήψεσθαι.

[2.3.1] Χαιρεφῶντα δέ ποτε καὶ Χαιρεκράτην, ἀδελφῷ μὲν ὄντε ἀλλήλοιν, ἑαυτῷ δὲ γνωρίμῳ, αἰσθόμενος διαφορομένῳ, ἰδὼν τὸν Χαιρεκράτην, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, οὐ δήπου καὶ σὺ εἴ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων, οἳ χρησιμώτερον νομίζουσι χρήματα ἢ ἀδελφούς; καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἀφρόνων ὄντων, τοῦ δὲ φρονίμου, καὶ τῶν μὲν βοηθείας δεομένων, τοῦ δὲ βοηθεῖν δυναμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῶν μὲν πλειόνων ὑπαρχόντων, τοῦ δὲ ἐνός. [2.3.2] θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἴ τις τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ζημίαν ἡγεῖται, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κέκτηται, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οὐχ ἡγεῖται ζημίαν, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν δύνανται λογίζεσθαι ὅτι κρεῖττον σὺν πολλοῖς οἰκοῦντα ἀσφαλῶς τάρκοῦντα ἔχειν ἢ μόνον διαιτώμενον τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπικινδύνως πάντα κεκτηῖσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι. [2.3.3] καὶ οἰκέτας μὲν οἱ δυνάμενοι ὠνοῦνται, ἵνα συνεργοὺς ἔχωσι, καὶ φίλους κτῶνται, ὥς βοηθῶν δεόμενοι, τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν ἀμελοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γιγνομένους φίλους, ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γιγνομένους. [2.3.4] καὶ μὴν πρὸς φιλίαν μέγα μὲν ὑπάρχει τὸ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φῦναι, μέγα δὲ τὸ

όμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόθος τις ἐγγίγνεται τῶν συντρόφων· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τιμῶσί τε μᾶλλον τοὺς συναδέλφους ὄντας τῶν ἀναδέλφων καὶ ἤττον τούτοις ἐπιτίθενται. [2.3.5] καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, μὴ μέγα εἴη τὸ διάφορον, ἴσως ἂν δέοι φέρειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ μὴ μικρῶν ἔνεκα φεύγειν· ἀγαθὸν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ λέγεις, ἀδελφὸς ὢν οἶον δεῖ· ὁπότε μέντοι παντὸς ἐνδέοι καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντιώτατον εἴη, τί ἂν τις ἐπιχειροίη τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις; [2.3.6] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Πότερα δέ, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, οὐδενὶ ἀρέσαι δύναται Χαιρεφῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σοί, ἢ ἔστιν οἷς καὶ πάνυ ἀρέσκει; Διὰ τοῦτο γάρ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐμοὶ μισεῖν αὐτόν, ὅτι ἄλλοις μὲν ἀρέσκειν δύναται, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅπου ἂν παρῇ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ζημία μᾶλλον ἢ ὠφέλειά ἐστιν. [2.3.7] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ ἵππος τῷ ἀνεπιστήμονι μὲν, ἐγχειροῦντι δὲ χρῆσθαι ζημία ἐστίν, οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφός, ὅταν τις αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἐγχειρῇ χρῆσθαι, ζημία ἐστί; [2.3.8] Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Χαιρεκράτης, ἀνεπιστήμων εἶην ἀδελφῷ χρῆσθαι, ἐπιστάμενός γε καὶ εὖ λέγειν τὸν εὖ λέγοντα καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν εὖ ποιοῦντα; τὸν μέντοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ πειρώμενον ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην οὔτ' εὖ λέγειν οὔτ' εὖ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πειράσομαι. [2.3.9] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Θαυμαστά γε λέγεις, ὦ Χαιρέκρατες, εἰ κύνα μὲν, εἴ σοι ἦν ἐπὶ προβάτοις ἐπιτήδειος ὢν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ποιμένας ἡσπάζετο, σοὶ δὲ προσιόντι ἐχαλέπαινε, ἀμελήσας ἂν τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι ἐπειρῶ εὖ ποιήσας πρᾶννεν αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν φῆς μὲν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὄντα πρὸς σὲ οἶον δεῖ, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ὁμολογῶν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ εὖ λέγειν οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖς μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως σοι ὡς βέλτιστος ᾖ. [2.3.10] καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης, Δέδοικα, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, μὴ οὐκ ἔχω ἐγὼ τοσαύτην σοφίαν ὥστε Χαιρεφῶντα ποιῆσαι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἶον δεῖ. Καὶ μὴν οὐδέν γε ποικίλον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ καινὸν δεῖ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μηχανᾶσθαι, οἷς δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασαι αὐτὸς οἶομαι ἂν αὐτὸν ἁλόντα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι σε. [2.3.11] Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, ἔφη, λέγων, εἴ τι ἦισθαι με φίλτρον ἐπιστάμενον ὃ ἐγὼ εἰδὼς λέληθα ἐμαυτόν. Λέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, εἴ τινα τῶν γνωρίμων βούλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, ὁπότε θύοι, καλεῖν σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, τί ἂν ποιούης; Δῆλον ὅτι κατάρχοιμ' ἂν τοῦ αὐτός, ὅτε θύοιμι, καλεῖν ἐκείνον. [2.3.12] Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο τῶν φίλων τινὰ προτρέψασθαι, ὁπότε ἀποδημοίης, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σῶν, τί ἂν ποιούης; Δῆλον ὅτι πρότερος ἂν

ἐγχειροῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκείνου, ὅποτε ἀποδημοίῃ. [2.3.13] Εἰ δὲ βούλοιο ξένον ποιῆσαι ὑποδέχεσθαι σεαυτόν, ὅποτε ἔλθοις εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου, τί ἂν ποιήης; Δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον πρότερος ὑποδεχοίμην ἂν, ὅποτε ἔλθοι Ἀθήναζε· καὶ εἴ γε βουλοίμην αὐτὸν προθυμεῖσθαι διαπράττειν μοι ἐφ' ἃ ἤκοιμι, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δέοι ἂν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ ποιεῖν. [2.3.14] Πάντ' ἄρα σύγε τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις φίλτρα ἐπιστάμενος πάλοι ἀπεκρύπτου· ἢ ὀκνεῖς, ἔφη, ἄρξαι, μὴ αἰσχροὺς φανῆις, ἐὰν πρότερος τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὖ ποιῆς; καὶ μὴν πλείστου γε δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐπαίνου ἄξιος εἶναι, ὃς ἂν φθάνῃ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κακῶς ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους εὐεργετῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει μοι Χαιρεφῶν ἡγεμονικώτερος εἶναι σοῦ πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην, ἐκείνον ἂν ἐπειρώμην πείθειν πρότερον ἐγχειρεῖν τῷ σὲ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δέ μοι σὺ δοκεῖς ἡγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦτο. [2.3.15] καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἄτοπα λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ οὐδαμῶς πρὸς σοῦ, ὅς γε κελεύεις ἐμὲ νεώτερον ὄντα καθηγεῖσθαι· καίτοι τούτου γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τάναντία νομίζεται, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἡγεῖσθαι παντὸς καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου. [2.3.16] Πῶς; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· οὐ γὰρ καὶ ὁδοῦ παραχωρῆσαι τὸν νεώτερον πρεσβυτέρῳ συντυγχάνοντι πανταχοῦ νομίζεται καὶ καθήμενον ὑπαναστῆναι καὶ κοίτῃ μαλακῇ τιμῆσαι καὶ λόγῳ ὑπεῖξαι; ὦγαθέ, μὴ ὀκνεῖ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἐγχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα καταπραθύνειν, καὶ πάνυ ταχύ σοι ὑπακούσεται· οὐχ ὀρᾷς ὥς φιλότιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐλευθέριος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ πονηρὰ ἀνθρώπια οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἔλοις ἢ εἰ δοίης τι, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσφιλῶς χρώμενος μάλιστ' ἂν κατεργάσαιο. [2.3.17] καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἐὰν οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιούντος ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν βελτίων γίγνηται; Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἢ κινδυνεύσεις ἐπιδειῖξαι σὺ μὲν χρηστός τε καὶ φιλάδελφος εἶναι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ φαῦλός τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιος εὐεργεσίας; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἶμαι τούτων ἔσσεσθαι· νομίζω γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴν αἰσθηταί σε προκαλούμενον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον, πάνυ φιλονικῆσειν ὅπως περιγένηταί σου καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εὖ ποιῶν. [2.3.18] νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη, διάκεισθον, ὥσπερ εἰ τῷ χεῖρε, ἅς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἀλλήλοις ἐποίησεν, ἀφεμένῳ τούτου τράποιντο πρὸς τὸ διακωλύειν ἀλλήλῳ, ἢ εἰ τῷ πόδε θείαι μοίραι πεποιημένῳ πρὸς τὸ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἀμελήσαντε τούτου ἐμποδίζοιεν ἀλλήλῳ. [2.3.19] οὐκ ἂν πολλὴ ἀμαθία εἴη καὶ κακοδαιμονία τοῖς ἐπ' ὠφελείαι πεποιημένοις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ

χρησθαι; καὶ μὴν ἀδελφῷ γε, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ μείζονι ὠφελείᾳ ἀλλήλοιν ἢ χειρὲ τε καὶ πόδε καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἀδελφὰ ἔφυσεν ἀνθρώποις. χειρὲς μὲν γάρ, εἰ δέοι αὐτὰς τὰ πλέον ὀργυιᾶς διέχοντα ἅμα ποιῆσαι, οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο, πόδες δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀργυιὰν διέχοντα ἔλθοιεν ἅμα, ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ οἱ δοκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξικνεῖσθαι οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐτι ἐγγυτέρῳ ὄντων τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἅμα καὶ τὰ ὀπίσθεν ἰδεῖν δύναιντο· ἀδελφῷ δέ, φίλῳ ὄντε, καὶ πολὺ διεστῶτε πράττετον ἅμα καὶ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ἀλλήλοιν.

[2.4.1] Ἦκουσα δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένου ἐξ ὧν ἔμοιγε ἐδόκει μάλιστ' ἂν τις ὠφελεῖσθαι πρὸς φίλων κτήσιν τε καὶ χρεῖαν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν ἔφη ἀκούειν, ὡς πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον ἂν εἴη φίλος σαφῆς καὶ ἀγαθός· ἐπιμελομένους δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς ἢ φίλων κτήσεως. [2.4.2] καὶ γὰρ οἰκίας καὶ ἀγροὺς καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ σκευὴ κτωμένους τε ἐπιμελῶς ὁρᾷν ἔφη καὶ τὰ ὄντα σώζειν πειρωμένους, φίλον δέ, ὃ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φασιν, ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς οὔτε ὅπως κτήσωνται φροντίζοντας οὔτε ὅπως οἱ ὄντες αὐτοῖς σώζωνται. [2.4.3] ἀλλὰ καὶ καμνόντων φίλων τε καὶ οἰκετῶν ὁρᾷν τινὰς ἔφη τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις καὶ ἰατροῦς εἰσάγοντας καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιμελῶς παρασκευάζοντας, τῶν δὲ φίλων ὀλιγορῶντας, ἀποθανόντων τε ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἀχθομένους τε καὶ ζημίαν ἡγουμένους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς φίλοις οὐδὲν οἰομένους ἐλαττωθῆναι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων οὐδὲν ἐῶντας ἀθεράπευτον οὐδ' ἀνεπίσκεπτον, τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων ἀμελοῦντας. [2.4.4] ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁρᾷν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων, καὶ πάνυ πολλῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων, τὸ πλῆθος εἰδότας, τῶν δὲ φίλων, ὀλίγων ὄντων, οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἀγνοοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις τοῦτο καταλέγειν ἐγχειρήσαντας, οὓς ἐν τοῖς φίλοις ἔθεσαν, πάλιν τούτους ἀνατίθεσθαι τοσοῦτον αὐτοὺς τῶν φίλων φροντίζειν. [2.4.5] καίτοι πρὸς ποῖον κτῆμα τῶν ἄλλων παραβαλλόμενος φίλος ἀγαθός οὐκ ἂν πολλῶι κρείττων φανεῖ; ποῖος γὰρ ἵππος ἢ ποῖον ζευγὸς οὕτω χρήσιμον ὥσπερ ὁ χρηστὸς φίλος; ποῖον δὲ ἀνδράποδον οὕτως εὖνουν καὶ παραμόνιμον; ἢ ποῖον ἄλλο κτῆμα οὕτω πάγχρηστον; [2.4.6] ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς φίλος ἑαυτὸν τάττει πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἐλλείπον τῷ φίλῳ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἰδίων κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πράξεων, καί, ἂν τέ τινα εὖ ποιῆσαι δέηι, συνεπισχύει, ἂν τέ τις φόβος ταραττήι,

συμβοηθεῖ, τὰ μὲν συναναλίσκων, τὰ δὲ συμπράττων, καὶ τὰ μὲν συμπείθων, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενος, καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττοντας πλεῖστα εὐφραίνων, σφαλλομένους δὲ πλεῖστα ἐπανορθῶν. [2.4.7] ἃ δὲ αἶ τε χεῖρες ἐκάστωι ὑπηρετοῦσι καὶ <οἱ> ὀφθαλμοὶ προορῶσι καὶ τὰ ὦτα προακούουσι καὶ οἱ πόδες διανύτουσι, τούτων φίλος εὐεργετῶν οὐδενὸς λείπεται· πολλάκις ἂν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τις ἢ οὐκ ἐξειργάσατο ἢ οὐκ εἶδεν ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ἢ οὐ διήνυσε, ταῦτα ὁ φίλος πρὸ τοῦ φίλου ἐξήρκεσεν. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἔνιοι δένδρα μὲν πειρῶνται θεραπεύειν τοῦ καρποῦ ἕνεκεν, τοῦ δὲ παμφορωτάτου κτήματος, ὃ καλεῖται φίλος, ἀργῶς καὶ ἀνεμιμένως οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπιμέλονται.

[2.5.1] Ἦκουσα δὲ ποτε καὶ ἄλλον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὃς ἐδόκει μοι προτρέπειν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἐξετάζειν ἑαυτὸν ὁπόσου τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος εἴη. ἰδὼν γάρ τινα τῶν συνόντων ἀμελοῦντα φίλου πενία πιεζομένου, ἦρετο Ἀντισθένη ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀμελοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν· [2.5.2] Ἄρ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, εἰσὶ τινες ἀξία φίλων, ὥσπερ οἰκετῶν; τῶν γὰρ οἰκετῶν ὁ μὲν που δυοῖν μναῖν ἄξιος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ οὐδ' ἡμιμναῖον, ὁ δὲ πέντε μνῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ δέκα· Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικηράτου λέγεται ἐπιστάτην εἰς τὰργύρεια πρίασθαι ταλάντου· σκοποῦμαι δὴ τοῦτο, ἔφη, εἰ ἄρα, ὥσπερ τῶν οἰκετῶν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰσὶν ἀξία. [2.5.3] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης· ἐγὼ γοῦν βουλοίμην ἂν τὸν μὲν τινα φίλον μοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δύο μναῖς, τὸν δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἡμιμναίου προτιμησαίμην, τὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ δέκα μνῶν ἐλοίμην ἂν, τὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων χρημάτων, καὶ ἑπτόνων ἑπταίμην ἂν φίλον μοι εἶναι. [2.5.4] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἴ γε ταῦτα τοιαῦτά ἐστι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐξετάζειν τινὰ ἑαυτὸν, πόσου ἄρα τυγχάνει τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος ὢν, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι ὡς πλείστου ἄξιος εἶναι, ἵνα ἦττον αὐτὸν οἱ φίλοι προδιδῶσιν. ἐγὼ γάρ τοι, ἔφη, πολλάκις ἀκούων τοῦ μὲν ὅτι προῦδωκεν αὐτὸν φίλος ἀνὴρ, τοῦ δ' ὅτι μναῖν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον εἵλετο ἀνὴρ, ὃν ὤιετο φίλον εἶναι, [2.5.5] τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα σκοπῶ, μή, ὥσπερ ὅταν τις οἰκέτην πονηρὸν πωλῇ καὶ ἀποδίδεται τοῦ εὐρόντος, οὕτω καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν φίλον, ὅταν ἐξῇ τὸ πλεόν τῆς ἀξίας λαβεῖν, ἐπαγωγὸν ἦι ἀποδίδοσθαι· τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς οὔτε οἰκέτας πάνυ τι πωλουμένους ὁρῶ οὔτε φίλους προδιδομένους.

[2.6.1] Ἐδόκει δὲ μοι καὶ εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν φίλους ὁποίους ἄξιον κτᾶσθαι φρενοῦν τοιάδε λέγων· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰ δεοίμεθα φίλου ἀγαθοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἐπιχειροίμεν σκοπεῖν; ἄρα πρῶτον μὲν ζητητέον, ὅστις ἄρχει γαστρός τε καὶ φιλοποσίας καὶ λαγνείας

καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀργίας; ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατούμενος οὐτ' αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δύναται ἂν οὔτε φίλῳ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρχομένου ἀφεκτέον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [2.6.2] Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ὅστις δαπανηρὸς ὢν μὴ αὐτάρκης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τῶν πλησίον δεῖται, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ τὸν μὴ διδόντα μισεῖ, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οὗτος χαλεπὸς φίλος εἶναι; Πάνυ γ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου; Ἀφεκτέον μέντοι, ἔφη. [2.6.3] Τί γάρ; ὅστις χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν δύναται, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσσύμβολός ἐστι, καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν ἥδεται, ἀποδιδόναι δὲ μὴ βούλεται; Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, οὗτος ἐτι πονηρότερος ἐκείνου εἶναι. [2.6.4] Τί δ'; ὅστις διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι μηδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἄλλο σχολὴν ποιεῖται ἢ ὁπόθεν αὐτὸς τι κερδανεῖ; Ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ἂν εἴη τῷ χρωμένῳ. Τί δέ; ὅστις στασιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ θέλων πολλοὺς τοῖς φίλοις ἐχθροὺς παρέχειν; Φευκτέον νῆ Δία καὶ τοῦτον. Εἰ δέ τις τούτων μὲν τῶν κακῶν μηδὲν ἔχει, εὖ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται, μηδὲν φροντίζων τοῦ ἀντευεργετῆν; Ἀνωφελὴς ἂν εἴη καὶ οὗτος. ἀλλὰ ποῖον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπιχειρήσομεν φίλον ποιεῖσθαι; [2.6.5] Οἶμαι μὲν, ὅστις τάναντία τούτων ἐγκρατὴς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὖοικος δὲ καὶ εὐσύμβολος ὢν τυγχάνει καὶ φιλόνικος πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν, ὥστε λυσitteλεῖν τοῖς χρωμένοις. [2.6.6] Πῶς οὖν ἂν ταῦτα δοκιμάσαιμεν, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὸ τοῦ χρῆσθαι; Τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιούς, ἔφη, δοκιμάζομεν οὐ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ὀρώμεν τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀνδριάντας καλῶς εἰργασμένον, τούτῳ πιστεύομεν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὖ ποιήσιν. [2.6.7] Καὶ ἄνδρα δὴ λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃς ἂν τοὺς φίλους τοὺς πρόσθεν εὖ ποιῶν φαίνεται, δῆλον εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ὕστερον εὐεργετήσοντα; Καὶ γὰρ ἵπποις, ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ὀρῶ τοῖς πρόσθεν καλῶς χρώμενον, τοῦτον κἂν ἄλλοις οἶμαι καλῶς χρῆσθαι. [2.6.8] φίλον τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι; Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν Εἶεν, ἔφη· ὃς δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἄξιος φιλίας δοκῇ εἶναι, πῶς χρὴ ἐπισκεπτέον, εἰ συμβουλευόουσιν αὐτὸν φίλον ποιεῖσθαι. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ἡμῖν τε δοκῇ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ μὴ ἐναντιῶνται, ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὗτος θηρατέος; [2.6.9] Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ κατὰ πόδας, ὥσπερ ὁ λαγῶς, οὐδ' ἀπάτηι, ὥσπερ αἱ ὄρνιθες, οὐδὲ βίαι, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐχθροί· ἄκοντα γὰρ φίλον ἐλεῖν ἐργῶδες· χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ δῆσαντα κατέχειν, ὥσπερ δοῦλον·

ἐχθροὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλοι γίνονται <οἱ> ταῦτα πάσχοντες. Φίλοι δὲ πῶς; ἔφη. [2.6.10] Εἶναι μὲν τινὰς φασιν ἐπωιδάς, ἃς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπάιδοντες οἷς ἂν βούλωνται φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. [2.6.11] Πόθεν οὖν, ἔφη, ταῦτα μάθοιμεν ἄν; Ἄ μὲν αἱ Σειρήνες ἐπῆιδον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἡκουσας Ὀμήρου, ὧν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ τοιάδε τις·

Δεῦρ' ἄγε δῆ, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν.

Ταύτην οὖν, ἔφη, τὴν ἐπωιδήν, ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἱ Σειρήνες ἐπάιδουσαι κατεῖχον, ὥστε μὴ ἀπιέναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπαισθέντας; [2.6.12] Οὐκ ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φιλοτιμουμένοις οὕτως ἐπῆιδον. Σχεδόν τι λέγεις τοιαῦτα χρῆναι ἐκάστω ἐπάδειν, οἷα μὴ νομιεῖ ἀκούων τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα καταγελῶντα λέγειν; Οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἐχθίων τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ ἀπελαύνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ τὸν εἰδότα ὅτι μικρὸς τε καὶ αἰσχροὺς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἐστὶν ἐπαινοίη λέγων ὅτι καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστίν. Ἄλλας δὲ τινὰς οἴσθα ἐπωιδάς; [2.6.13] Οὐκ ἀλλ' ἡκουσα μὲν ὅτι Περικλῆς πολλὰς ἐπίσταιτο, ἃς ἐπάιδων τῇ πόλει ἐποίει αὐτὴν φιλεῖν αὐτόν; Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ πῶς ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν φιλεῖν αὐτόν; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐπάιδων, ἀλλὰ περιάψας τι ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ. [2.6.14] Δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ὥς εἰ μέλλοιμεν ἀγαθὸν τινα κτήσασθαι φίλον, αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἀγαθοὺς δεῖ γενέσθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν. Σὺ δ' ὦιου, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἷόν τ' εἶναι καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα χρηστοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι; [2.6.15] Ἐώρων γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ρήτοράς τε φαύλους ἀγαθοῖς δημηγόροις φίλους ὄντας, καὶ στρατηγεῖν οὐχ ἱκανοὺς πάνυ στρατηγικοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐταίρους. [2.6.16] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, καί, περὶ οὗ διαλεγόμεθα, οἴσθα τινὰς οἱ ἀνωφελεῖς ὄντες ὠφελίμους δύνανται φίλους ποιεῖσθαι; Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτ', ἔφη· ἀλλ' εἰ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι πονηρὸν ὄντα καλοὺς καγαθοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι, ἐκεῖνο ἤδη μέλει μοι, εἰ ἔστιν αὐτὸν καλὸν καγαθὸν γένόμενον ἐξ ἐτοίμου τοῖς καλοῖς καγαθοῖς φίλον εἶναι. [2.6.17] Ὁ ταράττει σε, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, ὅτι πολλάκις ἄνδρας καὶ <τὰ> καλὰ πράττοντας καὶ τῶν αἰσchrῶν ἀπεχομένους ὁρᾷς ἀντὶ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ χαλεπώτερον χρωμένους τῶν μηδενὸς ἀξίων ἀνθρώπων. [2.6.18] Καὶ οὐ μόνον γ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἰδιῶται τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις αἱ τῶν τε καλῶν μάλιστα ἐπιμελόμεναι καὶ τὰ αἰσchrὰ ἥκιστα προσιέμεναι

πολλάκις πολεμικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας. [2.6.19] ἃ λογιζόμενος πάνυ ἀθύμως ἔχω πρὸς τὴν τῶν φίλων κτῆσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς ὀρῶ φίλους ἀλλήλοις δυναμένους εἶναι· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἡ ἀχάριστοι ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ πλεονέκται ἢ ἄπιστοι ἢ ἀκρατεῖς ἄνθρωποι δύναιντο φίλοι γενέσθαι; οἱ μὲν οὖν πονηροὶ πάντως ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐχθροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλοι πεφυκέναι. [2.6.20] ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, οὐδ' ἂν τοῖς χρηστοῖς οἱ πονηροὶ ποτε συναρμόσειαν εἰς φιλίαν· πῶς γὰρ οἱ τὰ πονηρὰ ποιοῦντες τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα μισοῦσι φίλοι γένοιτ' ἂν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντες στασιάζουσί τε περὶ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ φθονοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἔτι φίλοι ἔσονται καὶ ἐν τίσιν ἀνθρώποις εὖνοια καὶ πίστις ἔσται; [2.6.21] Ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ποικίλως πῶς ταῦτα, ὦ Κριτόβουλε. φύσει γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰ μὲν φιλικὰ· δέονται τε γὰρ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐλεοῦσι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ὠφελοῦσι καὶ τοῦτο συνιέντες χάριν ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλοις· τὰ δὲ πολεμικά· τὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ ἡδέα νομίζοντες ὑπὲρ τούτον μάχονται καὶ διχογνωμονοῦντες ἐναντιοῦνται· πολεμικὸν δὲ καὶ ἔρις καὶ ὀργή· καὶ δυσμενὲς μὲν ὁ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἔρως, μισητὸν δὲ ὁ φθόνος. [2.6.22] ἀλλ' ὅμως διὰ τούτων πάντων ἡ φιλία διαδουμένη συνάπτει τοὺς καλοὺς τε καγαθοὺς. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αἰροῦνται μὲν ἄνευ πόνου τὰ μέτρια κεκτηῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολέμου πάντων κυριεῦειν, καὶ δύνανται πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες ἀλύπως σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ κοινωνεῖν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὡραίων ἀφροδισίοις ἡδόμενοι καρτερεῖν, ὥστε μὴ λυπεῖν οὓς μὴ προσήκει· [2.6.23] δύνανται δὲ καὶ χρημάτων οὐ μόνον τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενοι νομίμως κοινωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις· δύνανται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔριν οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφερόντως ἀλλήλοις διατίθεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν κωλύειν εἰς τὸ μεταμελησόμενον προϊέναι· τὸν δὲ φθόνον παντάπασιν ἀφαιροῦσι, τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἀγαθὰ τοῖς φίλοις οἰκεῖα παρέχοντες, τὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες. [2.6.24] πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τοὺς καλοὺς καγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν μὴ μόνον ἀβλαβεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελίμους ἀλλήλοις κοινωνοὺς εἶναι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν, ἵνα ἐξουσίαν ἔχωσι χρήματά τε κλέπτειν καὶ ἀνθρώπους βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἡδυπαθεῖν, ἄδικοί τε καὶ πονηροὶ ἂν εἶεν καὶ ἀδύνατοι ἄλλῳι συναρμόσαι. [2.6.25] εἰ δέ τις ἐν πόλει τιμᾶσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως αὐτός τε μὴ ἀδικῆται καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τὰ δίκαια βοηθεῖν δύνηται, καὶ ἄρξας ἀγαθόν τι ποιεῖν τὴν πατρίδα πειρᾶται,

διὰ τί ὁ τοιοῦτος ἄλλωι τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο συναρμόσαι; πότερον τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθων ἤττον δυνήσεται; ἢ τὴν πόλιν εὐεργετεῖν ἀδυνατώτερος ἔσται καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἔχων συνεργούς; [2.6.26] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι, εἰ ἐξῆν τοῖς κρατίστοις συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς χεῖρους ἰέναι, πάντας ἂν τοὺς ἀγῶνας οὗτοι ἐνίκων καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄθλα οὗτοι ἐλάμβανον. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἐῷσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, ἐν οἷς οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ κρατιστεύουσιν, οὐδεὶς κωλύει μεθ' οὗ ἂν τις βούληται τὴν πόλιν εὐεργετεῖν, πῶς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ τοὺς βελτίστους φίλους κτησάμενον πολιτεύεσθαι, τούτοις κοινωνοῖς καὶ συνεργοῖς τῶν πράξεων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρώμενον; [2.6.27] ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεῖνο δῆλον, ὅτι κἂν πολεμῇ τις τι, συμμαχῶν δεῖσεται, καὶ τούτων πλείονων, ἐὰν καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἀντιτάττηται. καὶ μὴν οἱ συμμαχεῖν ἐθέλοντες εὖ ποιητέοι, ἵνα θέλωσι προθυμεῖσθαι· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον τοὺς βελτίστους ἐλάττοντας εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοὺς χείρονας πλείονας ὄντας· οἱ γὰρ πονηροὶ πολὺ πλείονων εὐεργεσιῶν ἢ οἱ χρηστοὶ δέονται. [2.6.28] ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, πειρῶ ἀγαθὸς γίνεσθαι, καὶ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος θηρᾶν ἐπιχείρει τοὺς καλοὺς τε κάγαθοὺς. ἴσως δ' ἂν τί σοι κάγῳ συλλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν τε κάγαθων θήραν ἔχοιμι διὰ τὸ ἐρωτικὸς εἶναι· δεινῶς γάρ, ὣν ἂν ἐπιθυμήσω ἀνθρώπων, ὅλος ὥρμηται ἐπὶ τὸ φιλῶν τε αὐτοὺς ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ποθῶν ἀντιποθεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν συνεῖναι καὶ ἀντεπιθυμεῖσθαι τῆς συνουσίας. [2.6.29] ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ σοὶ τούτων δεῖσον, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσης φιλίαν πρὸς τινος ποιεῖσθαι· μὴ οὖν ἀποκρύπτου με οἷς ἂν βούληται φίλος γενέσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀρέσαι τῷ ἀρέσκοντί μοι οὐκ ἀπείρως οἶμαι ἔχειν πρὸς θήραν ἀνθρώπων. [2.6.30] καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Καὶ μὴν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τούτων ἐγὼ τῶν μαθημάτων πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ἐξαρκέσει μοι ἢ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοὺς τὰ σώματα. [2.6.31] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἀλλ', ὦ Κριτόβουλε, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὸ τὰς χεῖρας προσφέροντα ποιεῖν ὑπομένειν τοὺς καλοὺς. πέπεισμαι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκύλλης διὰ τοῦτο φεύγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς προσέφερε· τὰς δὲ γε Σειρήνας, ὅτι τὰς χεῖρας οὐδενὶ προσέφερον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πόρρωθεν ἐπηίδον, πάντας φασὶν ὑπομένειν καὶ ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν κηλεῖσθαι. [2.6.32] καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Ὡς οὐ προσοίσοντος τὰς χεῖρας, εἴ τι

ἔχεις ἀγαθὸν εἰς φίλων κτήσιν, δίδασκε. Οὐδὲ τὸ στόμα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πρὸς τὸ στόμα προσοίσεις; Θάρρει, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδε γὰρ τὸ στόμα πρὸς τὸ στόμα προσοίσω οὐδενί, ἐὰν μὴ καλὸς ᾖ. Εὐθύς, ἔφη, σύγε, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, τοῦναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἴρηκας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὑπομένουσιν· οἱ δὲ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἡδέως προσίενται, νομίζοντες διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καλοὶ καλεῖσθαι. [2.6.33] καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Ὡς τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς φιλήσοντός μου, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς καταφιλήσοντος, θαρρῶν δίδασκε τῶν φίλων τὰ θηρατικά. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ὅταν οὖν, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, φίλος τινὶ βούλῃ γενέσθαι, ἐάσεις με κατεπεῖν σου πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ἄγασαί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς φίλος αὐτοῦ εἶναι; Κατηγόρει, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδένα γὰρ οἶδα μισοῦντα τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας. [2.6.34] Ἐὰν δέ σου προσκατηγορήσω, ἔφη, ὅτι διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχεις πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄρα μὴ διαβάλλεσθαι δόξεις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ; Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι, ἔφη, ἐγγίγνεται εὖνοια πρὸς οὓς ἂν ὑπολάβω εὖνο ἰκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἐμέ. [2.6.35] Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξεῖται μοι λέγειν περὶ σοῦ πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλῃ φίλους ποιήσασθαι· ἐὰν δέ μοι ἔτι ἐξουσίαν δῶις λέγειν περὶ σοῦ ὅτι ἐπιμελής τε τῶν φίλων εἶ καὶ οὐδενὶ οὕτω χαίρεις ὥς φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις τῶν φίλων ἀγάλλῃ οὐχ ἥττον ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν φίλων χαίρεις οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ἐπὶ τῖς ἑαυτοῦ, ὅπως τε ταῦτα γίγνεται τοῖς φίλοις οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις μηχανώμενος, καὶ ὅτι ἔγνωκας ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι νικᾶν τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, πάννυ ἂν οἶμαί σοι ἐπιτήδειον εἶναί με σύνθηρον τῶν ἀγαθῶν φίλων. [2.6.36] Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἐμοὶ τοῦτο λέγεις, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ σοὶ ὃν ὃ τι ἂν βούλῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν; Μὰ Δί' οὐχ ὥς ποτε ἐγὼ Ἀσπασίας ἤκουσα· ἔφη γὰρ τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας μετὰ μὲν ἀληθείας τὰγαθὰ διαγγελλούσας δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδεῖαν, ψευδομένας δ' οὐκ ἐθέλειν ἐπαινεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντας ἅμα μισεῖν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τὴν προμνησαμένην. ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ ἐξεῖναί μοι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐπαινοῦντι οὐδὲν ὃ τι ἂν μὴ ἀληθεύω. [2.6.37] Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τοιοῦτός μοι φίλος εἶ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οἷος, ἂν μὲν τι αὐτὸς ἔχω ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὸ φίλους κτήσασθαι, συλλαμβάνειν μοι· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοις πλάσας τι εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ὠφελείᾳ. Πότερα δ' ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, δοκῶ σοι μᾶλλον ὠφελεῖν σε τὰ ψευδῇ ἐπαινῶν ἢ

πείθων πειρᾶσθαι σε ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι; [2.6.38] εἰ δὲ μὴ φανερόν οὕτω σοι, ἐκ τῶνδε σκέψαι· εἰ γάρ σε βουλόμενος φίλον ποιῆσαι ναυκλήρῳ ψευδόμενος ἐπαινοίην, φάσκων ἀγαθὸν εἶναι κυβερνήτην, ὁ δέ μοι πεισθεὶς ἐπιτρέψειέ σοι τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ κυβερνᾶν, ἔχεις τινὰ ἐλπίδα μὴ ἂν σαυτόν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι; ἢ εἴ σοι πείσαιμι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος, ὥς ἂν στρατηγικῶι τε καὶ δικαστικῶι καὶ πολιτικῶι, ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι, τί ἂν οἶε σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σοῦ παθεῖν; ἢ εἴ τινας ἰδία τῶν πολιτῶν πείσαιμι ψευδόμενος, ὥς ὄντι οἰκονομικῶι τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ, τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν πείραν διδοὺς ἅμα τε βλαβερὸς εἴης καὶ καταγέλαστος φαίνοιο; [2.6.39] ἀλλὰ συντομωτάτῃ τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτῃ καὶ καλλίστῃ ὁδός, ᾧ Κριτόβουλε, ὃ τι ἂν βούληι δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι· ὅσαι δ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρεταὶ λέγονται, σκοπούμενος εὐρήσεις πάσας μαθήσει τε καὶ μελέτηι αὐξανομένας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ᾧ Κριτόβουλε, οἶμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς ...· εἰ δὲ σύ πως ἄλλως γινώσκεις, δίδασκε. καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Ἄλλ' αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν, ἔφη, ᾧ Σώκρατες, ἀντιλέγων τούτοις· οὔτε γὰρ καλὰ οὔτε ἀληθῆ λέγοιμ' ἂν.

[2.7.1] Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀπορίας γε τῶν φίλων τὰς μὲν δι' ἄγνοιαν ἐπειρᾶτο γνώμηι ἀκείσθαι, τὰς δὲ δι' ἔνδειαν διδάσκων κατὰ δύναμιν ἀλλήλοις ἐπαρκεῖν. ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἃ σύνοιδα αὐτῶι. Ἀρίσταρχον γάρ ποτε ὁρῶν σκυθρωπῶς ἔχοντα, Ἔοικας, ἔφη, ᾧ Ἀρίσταρχε, βαρέως φέρειν τι. χρή δὲ τοῦ βάρους μεταδιδόναι τοῖς φίλοις· ἴσως γὰρ ἂν τί σε καὶ ἡμεῖς κουφίσαιμεν. [2.7.2] καὶ ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, ᾧ Σώκρατες, ἐν πολλῇ γέ εἰμι ἀπορίαί. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐστασίασεν ἡ πόλις, πολλῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, συνεληλύθασιν ὥς ἐμὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἀδελφαί τε καὶ ἀδελφιδαῖ καὶ ἀνεψιαὶ τοσαῦται ὥστ' εἶναι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τέτταρας καὶ δέκα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. λαμβάνομεν δὲ οὔτε ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐδέν· οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι κρατοῦσιν αὐτῆς· οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν· ὀλιγανθρωπία γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἅστει γέγονε. τὰ ἔπιπλα δὲ οὐδεὶς ὠνεῖται· οὐδὲ δανείσασθαι οὐδαμῶθεν ἔστιν ἀργύριον, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἂν τίς μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ ὁδῶι ζητῶν εὐρεῖν ἢ δανειζόμενος λαβεῖν. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν ἐστίν, ᾧ Σώκρατες, τοὺς οἰκείους περιορᾶν ἀπολλυμένους, ἀδύνατον δὲ τοσοῦτους τρέφειν ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν. [2.7.3] ἀκούσας οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης, Τί ποτὲ ἐστίν, ἔφη, ὅτι Κεράμων μὲν πολλοὺς τρέφων οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶι τε καὶ τούτοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δύναται παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ

καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσαῦτα ὥστε καὶ πλουτεῖν, σὺ δὲ πολλοὺς τρέφων δέδοικας μὴ δι' ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἅπαντες ἀπόλησθε; Ὅτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ μὲν δούλους τρέφει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρους. [2.7.4] Καὶ πότερον, ἔφη, τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἐλευθέρους οἶε βελτίους εἶναι ἢ τοὺς παρὰ Κεράμωνι δούλους; Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη, τοὺς παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐλευθέρους. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, αἰσχροὺς τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηροτέρων εὐπορεῖν, σὲ δὲ πολλῶι βελτίους ἔχοντα ἐν ἀπορίαι εἶναι; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεχνίτας τρέφει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθερίως πεπαιδευμένους. [2.7.5] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, τεχνῖταί εἰσιν οἱ χρήσιμόν τι ποιεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι; Μάλιστά γ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν χρήσιμά γ' ἄλφιτα; Σφόδρα γε. Τί δ' ἄρτοι; Οὐδὲν ἦττον. Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ἱμάτιά τε ἀνδρεῖα καὶ γυναικεῖα καὶ χιτωνίσκοι καὶ χλαμύδες καὶ ἐξωμίδες; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα χρήσιμα. Ἐπειτα, ἔφη, οἱ παρὰ σοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπίστανται ποιεῖν; Πάντα μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐγὼ μαι. [2.7.6] Εἴτ' οὐκ οἴσθα ὅτι ἀφ' ἐνὸς μὲν τούτων, ἀλφιτοποιίας, Ναυσικύδης οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας τρέφει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὥς πολλὰς καὶ βοῦς, καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσαῦτα ὥστε καὶ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις λειτουργεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ ἄρτοποιίας Κύρηβος τὴν τε οἰκίαν πᾶσαν διατρέφει καὶ ζῆι δαψιλῶς, Δημέας δ' ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἀπὸ χλαμυδουργίας, Μένων δ' ἀπὸ χλανιδοποιίας, Μεγαρέων δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ ἐξωμιδοποιίας διατρέφονται; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ ὠνούμενοι βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσιν, ὥστ' ἀναγκάζειν ἐργάζεσθαι ἃ καλῶς ἔχει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ συγγενεῖς. [2.7.7] Ἐπειτ', ἔφη, ὅτι ἐλεύθεροί τ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς σοι, οἶε χρήναι αὐτοὺς μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν; πότερον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθέρων τοὺς οὕτω ζῶντας ἄμεινον διάγοντας ὁραῖς καὶ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονίζεις ἢ τοὺς, ἃ ἐπίστανται χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον, τούτων ἐπιμελομένους; ἢ τὴν μὲν ἀργίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμέλειαν αἰσθάνηι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς τε τὸ μαθεῖν, ἃ προσήκει ἐπίστασθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν, ἃ ἂν μάθωσι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ ἰσχύειν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτήσασθαι τε καὶ σώζειν τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον ὠφέλιμα ὄντα, τὴν δ' ἐργασίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδὲν χρήσιμα; [2.7.8] ἔμαθον δέ, ἃ φῆς αὐτὰς ἐπιστασθαι, πότερον ὡς οὔτε χρήσιμα ὄντα πρὸς τὸν βίον οὔτε ποιήσουςαι αὐτῶν οὐδέν, ἢ τούναντίον ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελησόμεναι τούτων καὶ ὠφελησόμεναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν; ποτέρως γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ἄνθρωποι σωφρονοῖεν, ἀργοῦντες ἢ τῶν χρησίμων ἐπιμελόμενοι; ποτέρως δ' ἂν δικαιότεροι εἶεν, εἰ ἐργάζοιντο ἢ εἰ ἀργοῦντες

βουλεύοιντο περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων; [2.7.9] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μὲν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, οὔτε σὺ ἐκείνας φιλεῖς οὔτ' ἐκεῖναι σέ, σὺ μὲν ἡγούμενος αὐτὰς ἐπιζημίους εἶναι σεαυτῶι, ἐκεῖναι δὲ σέ ὀρᾶσαι ἀχθόμενον ἐφ' ἑαυταῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων κίνδυνος μεῖζω τε ἀπέχθειαν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὴν προγεγονυῖαν χάριν μειοῦσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ προστατήσης ὅπως ἐνεργοὶ ᾧσι, σὺ μὲν ἐκείνας φιλήσεις, ὁρῶν ὠφελίμους σεαυτῶι οὔσας, ἐκεῖναι δὲ σέ ἀγαπήσουσιν, αἰσθόμεναι χαίροντά σε αὐταῖς, τῶν δὲ προγεγονυῖων εὐεργεσιῶν ἥδιον μεμνημένοι τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων χάριν αὐξήσετε, καὶ ἐκ τούτων φιλικώτερόν τε καὶ οἰκειότερον ἀλλήλοις ἔξετε. [2.7.10] εἰ μὲν τοίνυν αἰσχρόν τι ἔμελλον ἐργάσασθαι, θάνατον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προαιρετέον ἦν· νῦν δὲ ἃ μὲν δοκεῖ κάλλιστα καὶ πρεπωδέστατα γυναικὶ εἶναι ἐπίστανται, ὡς ἔοικε· πάντες δὲ ἃ ἐπίστανται ῥᾷστά τε καὶ τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ ἥδιστα ἐργάζονται. μὴ οὖν ὅκνει, ἔφη, ταῦτα εἰσηγεῖσθαι αὐταῖς ἃ σοὶ τε λυσιτελήσει κἀκεῖναις· καί, ὡς εἰκός, ἡδέως ὑπακούσονται. [2.7.11] Ἀλλὰ νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, οὕτω μοι δοκεῖς καλῶς λέγειν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥστε πρόσθεν μὲν οὐ προσιέμην δανείσασθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀναλώσας ὁ ἂν λάβω οὐχ ἔξω ἀποδοῦναι, νῦν δέ μοι δοκᾷ εἰς ἔργων ἀφορμὴν ὑπομενεῖν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι.

[2.7.12] Ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν ἀφορμή, ἐωνήθη δὲ ἔρια· καὶ ἐργαζόμεναι μὲν ἡρίστων, ἐργασάμεναι δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἰλαραὶ δὲ ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν ἦσαν· καὶ ἀντὶ ὑφορωμένων ἑαυτοὺς ἡδέως ἀλλήλους ἐώρων, καὶ αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφίλουν, ὁ δὲ ὡς ὠφελίμους ἡγάπα. τέλος δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Σωκράτην χαίρων διηγείτο ταῦτά τε καὶ ὅτι αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἄργον ἐσθίειν. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· [2.7.13] Εἴτα οὐ λέγεις αὐταῖς τὸν τοῦ κυνὸς λόγον; φασὶ γάρ, ὅτε φωνήεντα ἦν τὰ ζῶια, τὴν οἶν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην εἰπεῖν· Θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὃς ἡμῖν μὲν ταῖς καὶ ἔρια σοὶ καὶ ἄρνας καὶ τυρὸν παρεχούσαις οὐδὲν δίδως ὃ τι ἂν μὴ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λάβωμεν, τῶι δὲ κυνὶ, ὃς οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν σοι παρέχει, μεταδίδως οὐπὲρ αὐτὸς ἔχεις σίτου. [2.7.14] τὸν κύνα οὖν ἀκούσαντα εἰπεῖν· Ναὶ μὰ Δί'· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς σώζων ὥστε μήτε ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων κλέπτεσθαι μήτε ὑπὸ λύκων ἀρπάζεσθαι· ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ προφυλάττοιμι ὑμᾶς, οὐδ' ἂν νέμεσθαι δύναισθε, φοβούμεναι μὴ ἀπόλησθε. οὕτω δὴ λέγεται καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συγχωρῆσαι τὸν κύνα προτιμᾶσθαι. καὶ σὺ οὖν ἐκείναις λέγε ὅτι ἀντὶ κυνὸς εἴ φύλαξ καὶ ἐπιμελητής, καὶ διὰ σέ οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀδικούμεναι ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ

ἡδέως ἐργαζόμεναι ζῶσιν.

[2.8.1] Ἄλλον δέ ποτε ἀρχαῖον ἐταῖρον διὰ χρόνου ἰδών, Πόθεν, ἔφη, Εὐθηρε, φαίνῃ; Ὑπὸ μὲν τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας, νυνὶ μέντοι αὐτόθεν. ἐπεὶδὲ γὰρ ἀφηρηθήμεν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ πατήρ μοι οὐδὲν κατέλιπεν, ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν ἐπιδημήσας τῷ σώματι ἐργαζόμενος τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι τοῦτο κρεῖττον εἶναι ἢ δεῖσθαι τινος ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλως τε καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν δανειζοίμην. [2.8.2] Καὶ πόσον χρόνον οἶσι σοι, ἔφη, τὸ σῶμα ἱκανὸν εἶναι μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐργάζεσθαι; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ πολὺν χρόνον. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, ὅταν γε πρεσβύτερος γένηι, δηλὸν ὅτι δαπάνης μὲν δεήσῃ, μισθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς σοι θελήσει τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔργων διδόναι. [2.8.3] Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, κρεῖττόν ἐστιν αὐτόθεν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἃ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ γενομένῳ ἐπαρκέσει, καὶ προσελθόντα τῷ τῶν πλείω χρήματα κεκτημένων, τῷ δεομένῳ τοῦ συνεπιμελησομένου, ἔργων τε ἐπιστατοῦντα καὶ συγκομίζοντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ συμφυλάττοντα τὴν οὐσίαν, ὠφελοῦντα ἀντωφελεῖσθαι. [2.8.4] Χαλεπῶς ἄν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, δουλείαν ὑπομείναιμι. Καὶ μὴν οἷ γε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστατεύοντες καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελούμενοι οὐ δουλοπρεπέστεροι ἔνεκα τούτου, ἀλλ' ἐλευθεριώτεροι νομίζονται. [2.8.5] Ὅλως, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ ὑπαίτιον εἶναι τινὶ οὐ πάνυ προσίεμαι. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, Εὐθηρε, οὐ πάνυ γε ράδιόν ἐστιν εὐρεῖν ἔργον ἐφ' ᾧ οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχοι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὕτω τι ποιῆσαι ὥστε μηδὲν ἁμαρτεῖν, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τι ποιήσαντα μὴ ἀγνώμονι κριτῇ περιτυχεῖν· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἷς νῦν ἐργάζεσθαι φῆις θαυμάζω εἰ ράδιόν ἐστιν ἀνέγκλητον διαγίγνεσθαι. [2.8.6] χρὴ οὖν πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς φιλαίτιους φεύγειν καὶ τοὺς εὐγνώμονας διώκειν, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὅσα μὲν δύνασαι ποιεῖν ὑπομένειν, ὅσα δὲ μὴ δύνασαι φυλάττεσθαι, ὅ τι δ' ἂν πράττῃς, τούτου ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ προθυμότατα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστ' ἂν μὲν σε οἶμαι ἐν αἰτίαι εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ βοήθειαν εὐρεῖν, ρᾶιστα δὲ καὶ ἀκινδυνότατα ζῆν καὶ εἰς τὸ γῆρας διαρκέστατα.

[2.9.1] Οἶδα δέ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ Κρίτωνος ἀκούσαντα, ὡς χαλεπὸν ὁ βίος Ἀθήνησιν εἴῃ ἀνδρὶ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν. Νῦν γάρ, ἔφη, ἐμέ τινες εἰς δίκας ἄγουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀδικοῦνται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομίζουσιν ἥδιον ἂν με ἀργύριον τελέσαι ἢ πράγματα ἔχειν. [2.9.2]

καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἶπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, κύνας δὲ τρέφεις, ἵνα σοὶ τοὺς λύκους ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἀπερύκωσι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· μᾶλλον γάρ μοι λυσιτελεῖ τρέφειν ἢ μὴ. Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θρέψαις καὶ ἄνδρα, ὅστις ἐθέλοι τε καὶ δύναιτο σοῦ ἀπερύκειν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀδικεῖν σε; [2.9.3] Ἡδέως γ' ἂν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ φοβοίμην ὅπως μὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν με τράποιτο. Τί δ'; ἔφη, οὐχ ὁραῖς ὅτι πολλῶι ἡδιόν ἐστι χαριζόμενον οἷω σοὶ ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἀπεχθόμενον ὠφελεῖσθαι; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐνθάδε τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν. οἱ πάνυ ἂν φιλοτιμηθεῖεν φίλῳ σοι χρῆσθαι.

[2.9.4] Καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀνευρίσκουσιν Ἀρχέδημον, πάνυ μὲν ἱκανὸν εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, πένητα δέ· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἷος ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν, ἀλλὰ φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ ἔφη ρᾶιστον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν. τούτῳ οὖν ὁ Κρίτων, ὁπότε συκομίζοι ἢ σῖτον ἢ ἔλαιον ἢ οἶνον ἢ ἔρια ἢ τι ἄλλο τῶν ἐν ἀγρῶι γιγνομένων χρησίμων πρὸς τὸν βίον, ἀφελὼν <ἂν> ἔδωκε· καὶ ὁπότε θύοι, ἐκάλει, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ἐπεμελεῖτο. [2.9.5] νομίσας δὲ ὁ Ἀρχέδημος ἀποστροφὴν οἱ τὸν Κρίτωνος οἶκον μάλα περιεῖπεν αὐτόν. καὶ εὐθύς† τῶν συκοφαντούντων τὸν Κρίτωνα ἀνευρίσκει πολλὰ μὲν ἀδικήματα, πολλοὺς δ' ἐχθρούς· καὶ προσεκαλέσατο εἰς δίκην δημοσίαν, ἐν ἣι αὐτὸν ἔδει κριθῆναι ὃ τι δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσθαι. [2.9.6] ὁ δὲ συνειδὼς αὐτῶι πολλὰ καὶ πονηρὰ πάντ' ἐποίει ὥστε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Ἀρχεδήμου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος οὐκ ἀπηλλάττετο, ἕως τόν τε Κρίτωνα ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτῶι χρήματα ἔδωκεν. [2.9.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ὁ Ἀρχέδημος διεπράξατο, ἤδη τότε, ὥσπερ ὅταν νομεὺς ἀγαθὸν κύνα ἔχη καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι νομεῖς βούλονται πλησίον αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἰστάναι, ἵνα τοῦ κυνὸς ἀπολαύωσιν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ Κρίτωνος πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἐδέοντο καὶ σφίσι παρέχειν φύλακα τὸν Ἀρχέδημον. [2.9.8] ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος τῶι Κρίτῳι ἡδέως ἐχαρίζετο, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Κρίτων ἐν ἡσυχίαι ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. εἰ δέ τις αὐτῶι τούτων οἷς ἀπήχθετο ὀνειδίζοι ὥς ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος ὠφελούμενος κολακεύοι αὐτόν, Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρχέδημος, αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν εὐεργετούμενον ὑπὸ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀντευεργετοῦντα τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς διαφέρεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ἀδικεῖν πειρώμενον ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς συνεργοῦντα πειρᾶσθαι φίλους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἀντ' ἐκείνων; ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰς τε τῶν Κρίτωνος φίλων Ἀρχέδημος ἦν καὶ

ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Κρίτωνος φίλων ἐτιμᾶτο.

[2.10.1] Οἶδα δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ αὐτὸν ἐταίρῳ ὄντι τοιάδε διαλεχθέντα· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Διόδωρε, ἄν τις σοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀποδραῖ, ἐπιμελῇ, ὅπως ἀνασώσῃ; [2.10.2] Καὶ ἄλλους γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη, παρακαλῶ, σῶστρα τούτου ἀνακηρύττων. Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ἐάν τις σοι κάμνηι τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτου ἐπιμελῇ καὶ παρακαλεῖς ἱατρούς, ὅπως μὴ ἀποθάνῃ; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη. Εἰ δέ τις σοι τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔφη, πολὺ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρησιμώτερος ὢν κινδυνεύει δι' ἔνδειαν ἀπολέσθαι, οὐκ οἶμι σοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως διασωθῇ; [2.10.3] καὶ μὴν οἷσθ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀγνώμων ἐστὶν Ἑρμογένης, αἰσχύνοιτο δ' ἄν, εἰ ὠφελούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ἀντωφελοίῃ σε· καίτοι τὸ ὑπηρετήν ἐκόντα τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ παραμόνιμον καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν ἔχειν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τὸ κελευόμενον ἱκανὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενον καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ προνοεῖν καὶ προβουλεύεσθαι πολλῶν οἰκετῶν οἷμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι. [2.10.4] οἱ μέντοι ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι, ὅταν τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον μικροῦ ἐξῆι πρίασθαι, τότε φασὶ δεῖν ὠνεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι. [2.10.5] καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος, Ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε, ἔφη, λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς ἐμὲ τὸν Ἑρμογένην. Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε· νομίζω γὰρ οὔτε σοὶ κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ καλέσαι ἐκεῖνον τοῦ αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὔτ' ἐκείνῳ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πραχθῆναι ταῦτα ἢ σοί. [2.10.6] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Διόδωρος ὦιχετο πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμογένην· καὶ οὐ πολὺ τελέσας ἐκτήσατο φίλον, ὃς ἔργον εἶχε σκοπεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἢ λέγων ἢ πράττων ὠφελοίῃ τε καὶ εὐφραίνει Διόδωρον.

Βιβλίον γ'

[3.1.1] Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ὀρεγομένους τῶν καλῶν ἐπιμελεῖς ὧν ὀρέγοντο ποιῶν ὠφέλει, νῦν τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι. ἀκούσας γάρ ποτε Διονυσόδωρον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον στρατηγεῖν διδάξειν, ἔλεξε πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνόντων, ὃν ἠισθάνετο βουλόμενον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἐν τῇ πόλει τυχεῖν· [3.1.2] Αἰσχροὺς μέντοι, ὧν νεανία, τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατηγεῖν, ἐξὸν τοῦτο μαθεῖν, ἀμελῆσαι αὐτοῦ· καὶ δικαίως ἂν οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ζημιοῖτο πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ἀνδριάντας ἐργολαβοίη μὴ μεμαθηκῶς ἀνδριαντοποιεῖν. [3.1.3] ὅλης γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπιτρεπομένης τῷ στρατηγῷ, μεγάλα τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ κατορθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κακὰ διαμαρτάνοντος εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὁ τοῦ μὲν μανθάνειν τοῦτο ἀμελῶν, τοῦ δὲ αἰρεθῆναι ἐπιμελόμενος ζημιοῖτο; τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ λέγων ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μανθάνειν. [3.1.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμαθηκῶς ἦκε, προσέειπεν αὐτῷ λέγων· Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ὧν ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ Ὅμηρος τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα γεραρὸν ἔφη εἶναι, οὕτω καὶ ὁδε στρατηγεῖν μαθὼν γεραρώτερος φαίνεσθαι; καὶ γάρ, ὥσπερ ὁ κιθαρίζειν μαθὼν, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ κιθαρίζῃ, κιθαριστάς ἐστι, καὶ ὁ μαθὼν ἰᾶσθαι, κἂν μὴ ἰατρεύῃ, ὅμως ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ ὁδε ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου διατελεῖ στρατηγὸς ὧν, κἂν μηδεὶς αὐτὸν ἔλῃται. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἐὰν ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἰρεθῇ. [3.1.5] ἀτάρ, ἔφη, ἵνα καί, ἐὰν ἡμῶν τις ἢ ταξιαρχῇ ἢ λοχαγῇ σοι, ἐπιστημονέστεροι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὦμεν, λέξον ἡμῖν πόθεν ἥρξατό σε διδάσκειν τὴν στρατηγίαν. καὶ ὅς, Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἔφη, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ ἐτελεύτα· τὰ γὰρ τακτικά ἐμέ γε καὶ ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ἐδίδασκεν. [3.1.6] Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦτό γε πολλοστὸν μέρος ἐστὶ στρατηγίας. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρή, καὶ ποριστικὸν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ μηχανικὸν καὶ ἐργαστικὸν καὶ ἐπιμελῆ καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ ἀγχίνουν, καὶ φιλόφρονά τε καὶ ὠμόν, καὶ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ ἐπίβουλون, καὶ φυλακτικόν τε καὶ κλέπτην, καὶ προετικὸν καὶ ἄρπαγα καὶ φιλόδωρον καὶ πλεονέκτην καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐπιθετικόν, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δεῖ τὸν εὖ στρατηγήσοντα ἔχειν. [3.1.7] καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν εἶναι· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει

στράτευμα τεταγμένον ἀτάκτου, ὥσπερ λίθοι τε καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα καὶ κέραμος ἀτάκτως μὲν ἐρριμμένα οὐδὲν χρήσιμά ἐστιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταχθῇ κάτω μὲν καὶ ἐπιπολῆς τὰ μῆτε σηπόμενα μῆτε τηκόμενα, οἱ τε λίθοι καὶ ὁ κέραμος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αἱ τε πλίνθοι καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίαι συντίθεται, τότε γίγνεται πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα, οἰκία.

[3.1.8] Ἀλλὰ πάνυ, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος, ὅμοιον, ὃ Σώκρατες, εἰρηκας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς ἀρίστους δεῖ πρώτους τάττειν καὶ τελευταίους, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς χειρίστους, ἵνα ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄγωνται, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ὠθῶνται. [3.1.9] Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐδίδαξεν· εἰ δὲ μή, τί σοι ὄφελος ὧν ἔμαθες; οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ σε ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ κάλλιστον τάττειν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τὸ χειρίστον, μὴ διδάξας διαγιγνώσκειν τό τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κίβδηλον, οὐδὲν ἂν σοι ὄφελος ἦν. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν· ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἂν ἡμᾶς δέοι τοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κρίνειν. [3.1.10] Τί οὖν οὐ σκοποῦμεν, ἔφη, πῶς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ διαμαρτάνοιμεν; Βούλομαι, ἔφη ὁ νεανίσκος. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, εἰ μὲν ἀργύριον δέοι ἀρπάζειν, τοὺς φιλαργυρωτάτους πρώτους καθιστάντες ὀρθῶς ἂν τάττοιμεν; Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ. Τί δὲ τοὺς κινδυνεύειν μέλλοντας; ἄρα τοὺς φιλοτιμοτάτους προτακτέον; Οὗτοι γοῦν εἰσιν, ἔφη, οἱ ἔνεκα ἐπαίνου κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντες. οὐ τοίνυν οὗτοί γε ἄδελφοι, ἀλλ' ἐπιφανεῖς πανταχοῦ ὄντες εὐαίρετοι ἂν εἶεν. [3.1.11] Ἀτάρ, ἔφη, πότερά σε τάττειν μόνον ἐδίδαξεν, ἢ καὶ ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως χρηστέον ἐκάστωι τῶν ταγμάτων; Οὐ πάνυ, ἔφη. Καὶ μὴν πολλὰ γ' ἐστὶ πρὸς ἃ οὔτε τάττειν οὔτε ἄγειν ὡσαύτως προσήκει. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ διεσαφηνίζε ταῦτα. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πάλιν τοίνυν ἐλθὼν ἐπανερῶτα· ἂν γὰρ ἐπίστηται καὶ μὴ ἀναιδὴς ᾖ, αἰσχυνεῖται ἀργύριον εἰληφῶς ἐνδεᾶ σε ἀποπέμψασθαι.

[3.2.1] Ἐντυχὼν δέ ποτε στρατηγεῖν ἡρημένῳ τῷ, Τοῦ ἔνεκεν, ἔφη, Ὅμηρον οἶει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προσαγορεῦσαι ποιμένα λαῶν; ἄρα γε ὅτι, ὥσπερ τὸν ποιμένα δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως σῶαί τε ἔσονται αἱ οἶες καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν καί, οὗ ἔνεκα τρέφονται, τοῦτο ἔσται, οὕτω καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅπως σῶοι τε οἱ στρατιῶται ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν καί, οὗ ἔνεκα στρατεύονται, τοῦτο ἔσται; στρατεύονται δέ, ἵνα κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων εὐδαιμονέστεροι ᾖσιν. [3.2.2] Ἥ τί δήποτε οὕτως ἐπήνισεν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα εἰπών·

Ἀμφοτέρων, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής;

ἄρα γε ὅτι αἰχμητῆς τε κρατερός ἂν εἴη, οὐκ εἰ μόνος αὐτὸς εὖ ἀγωνίζοιτο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τούτου αἴτιος εἴη, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀγαθός, οὐκ εἰ μόνον τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου καλῶς προεστίη, ἀλλ' εἰ καί, ὧν βασιλεύει, τούτοις εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιος εἴη; [3.2.3] καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἑαυτοῦ καλῶς ἐπιμελῇται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι· καὶ στρατεύονται δὲ πάντες, ἵνα ὁ βίος αὐτοῖς ὡς βέλτιστος ᾖ, καὶ στρατηγὸς αἰροῦνται τούτου ἕνεκα, ἵνα πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς ἡγεμόνες ᾦσι. [3.2.4] δεῖ οὖν τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν τοῖς ἐλομένοις αὐτὸν στρατηγόν· καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κάλλιον τούτου ἄλλο ράϊδιον εὑρεῖν οὔτε αἴσχιον τοῦ ἐναντίου. καὶ οὕτως ἐπισκοπῶν τίς εἴη ἀγαθοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἀρετὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιήρει, κατέλιπε δὲ τὸ εὐδαίμονας ποιεῖν ὧν ἂν ἡγῇται.

[3.3.1] Καὶ ἱππαρχεῖν δέ τινη ἡρημένῳ οἶδ' αὖ ποτε αὐτὸν τοιαύδε διαλεχθέντα· Ἐχοις ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ νεανία, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν ὅτου ἕνεκα ἐπεθύμησας ἱππαρχεῖν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἱππέων ἐλαύνειν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱπποτοξόται τούτου γε ἀξιοῦνται· προελαύνουσι γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἱπάρχων. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦ γνωσθῆναι γε· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μαινόμενοί γε ὑπὸ πάντων γινώσκονται. [3.3.2] Ἀληθές, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο λέγεις. Ἀλλ' ἄρα ὅτι τὸ ἱππικὸν οἶε τῇ πόλει βέλτιον ἂν ποιήσας παραδοῦναι καί, εἴ τις χρεῖα γίγνοιτο ἱππέων, τούτων ἡγούμενος ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Καὶ ἔστι γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καλόν, ἐὰν δύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῆσαι. ἡ δὲ ἀρχή που ἐφ' ἧς ἡρησαι ἵππων τε καὶ ἄμβατῶν ἐστίν. Ἐστὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. [3.3.3] Ἴθι δὴ λέξον ἡμῖν τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὅπως διανοῇ τοὺς ἵππους βελτίους ποιῆσαι. καὶ ὅς, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἐμὸν οἶμαι τὸ ἔργον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἰδίαι ἕκαστον δεῖν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἵππου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [3.3.4] Ἐὰν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, παρέχωνταί σοι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ μὲν οὕτω κακόποδας ἢ κακοσκελεῖς ἢ ἀσθενεῖς, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀτρόφους, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναγώγους ὥστε μὴ μένειν ὅπου ἂν σὺ τάξης, οἱ δὲ οὕτω λακτιστὰς ὥστε μὴδὲ τάξει δυνατόν εἶναι, τί σοι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ὄφελος ἔσται; ἢ πῶς δυνήσῃ τοιούτων ἡγούμενος ἀγαθόν τι ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν; καὶ ὅς, Ἀλλὰ καλῶς τε λέγεις, ἔφη, καὶ πειράσομαι τῶν ἵππων εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [3.3.5] Τί δέ; τοὺς ἱππέας οὐκ ἐπιχειρήσεις, ἔφη, βελτίονας ποιῆσαι; Ἐγωγ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν ἀναβατικωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ποιήσεις αὐτούς; Δεῖ γοῦν, ἔφη·

καὶ γὰρ εἴ τις αὐτῶν καταπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτω σώζοιτο. [3.3.6] Τί γάρ; ἐάν που κινδυνεύειν δέηι, πότερον ἐπάγειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον κελεύσεις, ἔνθαπερ εἰώθατε ἱππεύειν, ἢ πειράσῃ τὰς μελέτας ἐν τοιούτοις ποιεῖσθαι χωρίοις ἐν οἷσπερ οἱ πόλεμοι γίνονται; Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη. [3.3.7] Τί γάρ; τοῦ βάλλειν ὥς πλείστους ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιήσει; Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο. Θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἅπερ ἀλκιμωτέρους ποιεῖ, διανενόησαι; Εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πειράσομαι, ἔφη. [3.3.8] Ὅπως δέ σοι πείθονται οἱ ἱππεῖς πεφρόντικάς τι; ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτου οὔτε ἵππων οὔτε ἱππέων ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἀλκίμων οὐδὲν ὄφελος. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς προτρέψαιτο; [3.3.9] Ἐκεῖνο μὲν δήπου οἶσθα, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ πράγματι οἱ ἄνθρωποι τούτοις μάλιστα ἐθέλουσι πείθεσθαι οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν νόσῳ, ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται ἰατρικώτατον εἶναι, τούτῳ μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ ἐν πλοίῳ οἱ πλέοντες, ὃν ἂν κυβερνητικώτατον, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ, ὃν ἂν γεωργικώτατον. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν εἰκός, ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἱππικῇ, ὃς ἂν μάλιστα εἰδὼς φαίνεται ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐθέλειν τοὺς ἄλλους πείθεσθαι. [3.3.10] Ἐὰν οὖν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὃ Σώκρατες, βέλτιστος ὢν αὐτῶν δῆλος ὢ, ἀρκέσει μοι τοῦτο εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμοί; Ἐάν γε πρὸς τούτῳ, ἔφη, διδάξῃς αὐτοὺς ὥς τὸ πείθεσθαι σοι κάλλιον τε καὶ σωτηριώτερον αὐτοῖς ἔσται. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτο διδάξω; Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ῥᾷον ἢ εἴ σοι δέοι διδάσκειν ὥς τὰ κακὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμείνω καὶ λυσιτελέστερά ἐστι. [3.3.11] Λέγεις, ἔφη, σὺ τὸν ἵππαρχον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοῦ λέγειν δύνασθαι; Σὺ δ' ὦιου, ἔφη, χρῆναι σιωπῇ ἱππαρχεῖν; ἢ οὐκ ἐντεθύμῃσαι ὅτι, ὅσα τε νόμῳ μεμαθήκαμεν κάλλιστα ὄντα, δι' ὧν γε ζῆν ἐπιστάμεθα, ταῦτα πάντα διὰ λόγου ἐμάθομεν, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο καλὸν μανθάνει τις μάθημα, διὰ λόγου μανθάνει, καὶ οἱ ἄριστα διδάσκοντες μάλιστα λόγῳ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ τὰ σπουδαιότατα μάλιστα ἐπιστάμενοι κάλλιστα διαλέγονται; [3.3.12] ἢ τόδε οὐκ ἐντεθύμῃσαι, ὥς, ὅταν γε χορὸς εἷς ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως γίγνηται, ὥσπερ <ὁ> εἰς Δῆλον πεμπόμενος, οὐδεὶς ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμῶθεν τούτῳ ἐφάμιλλος γίγνεται οὐδὲ εὐανδρία ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει ὁμοία τῇ ἐνθάδε συνάγεται; [3.3.13] Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε εὐφονίαι τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε σωματῶν μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ, ὅσον φιλοτιμίαι, ἥπερ μάλιστα

παροξύνει πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔντιμα. Ἀληθές, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο. [3.3.14] Οὐκοῦν οἶει, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τοῦ ἐνθάδε εἴ τις ἐπιμεληθείη, ὥς πολλὸν ἂν καὶ τούτῳ διενέγκοιεν τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων τε καὶ ἵππων παρασκευῇ καὶ εὐταξίαι καὶ τῷ ἐτοίμως κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ νομίσειαν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι; Εἰκός γε, ἔφη. [3.3.15] Μὴ τοίνυν ὀκνεῖ, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ πειρῶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέπειν, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτός τε ὠφελήσῃ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται διὰ σέ. Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δία πειράσομαι, ἔφη.

[3.4.1] Ἴδὼν δέ ποτε Νικομαχίδην ἐξ ἀρχαιρεσιῶν ἀπίοντα ἤρετο· Τίνες, ὦ Νικομαχίδη, στρατηγοὶ ἥρηνται; καὶ ὅς, Οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιοῦτοὶ εἰσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν οὐχ εἴλοντο, ὅς ἐκ καταλόγου στρατευόμενος κατατέτριμμαι καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τραύματα ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμιων τοσαῦτα ἔχων — ἅμα δέ καὶ τὰς οὐλὰς τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπογυμνούμενος ἐπεδείκνυεν — Ἀντισθένη δέ, ἔφη, εἴλοντο τὸν οὔτε ὀπλίτην πώποτε στρατευσάμενον ἔν τε τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐδὲν περίβλεπτον ποιήσαντα ἐπιστάμενόν τε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ χρήματα συλλέγειν; [3.4.2] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοῦτο μὲν ἀγαθόν, εἴ γε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἱκανὸς ἔσται τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζειν; Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔμποροι, ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, χρήματα συλλέγειν ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ἔνεκα τούτου καὶ στρατηγεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν. [3.4.3] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόνομος Ἀντισθένης ἐστίν, ὃ στρατηγῷ προσεῖναι ἐπιτήδειόν ἐστιν· οὐχ ὁραῖς ὅτι καὶ ὁσάκις κεχορήγηκε πᾶσι τοῖς χοροῖς νενίκηκε; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίον ἐστὶ χοροῦ τε καὶ στρατεύματος προσεστάναι. [3.4.4] Καὶ μήν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ ὠιδῆς γε ὁ Ἀντισθένης οὐδὲ χορῶν διδασκαλίας ἔμπειρος ὢν ὁμως ἐγένετο ἱκανὸς εὐρεῖν τοὺς κρατίστους ταῦτα. Καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, ἄλλους μὲν εὐρήσει τοὺς τάξοντας ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλους δὲ τοὺς μαχουμένους. [3.4.5] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐάν γε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τοὺς κρατίστους, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς χορικοῖς, ἐξευρίσκηι τε καὶ προαιρῆται, εἰκότως ἂν καὶ τούτου νικηφόρος εἴη· καὶ δαπανᾷν δ' αὐτὸν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἂν ἐθέλειν εἰς τὴν σὴν ὅληι τῇ πόλει τῶν πολεμικῶν νίκην ἢ εἰς τὴν σὺν τῇ φυλῇ τῶν χορικῶν. [3.4.6] Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστὶ χορηγεῖν τε καλῶς καὶ στρατηγεῖν; Λέγω ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ὥς, ὅτου ἂν τις προστατεύη, ἐὰν γινώσκηι τε ὧν δεῖ καὶ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι δύνηται, ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἴη προστατής, εἴτε χοροῦ εἴτε οἴκου

εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε στρατεύματος προστατεύοι. [3.4.7] καὶ ὁ Νικομαχίδης, Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκратες, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ὦμην ἐγὼ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ὥς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ἂν εἶεν. Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη, ἐξετάσωμεν τὰ ἔργα ἐκατέρου αὐτῶν, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν πότερον τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἢ διαφέρει τι. Πάνυ γε, ἔφη. [3.4.8] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκόους τε καὶ εὐπειθεῖς ἑαυτοῖς παρασκευάζειν ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶν ἔργον; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Τί δέ; τὸ προστάττειν ἕκαστα τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύουσιν πράττειν; Καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη. Καὶ μὴν τὸ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν ἀμφοτέροις οἶμαι προσήκειν. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [3.4.9] Τὸ δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐμενεῖς ποιῆσθαι πῶς οὐ καλὸν ἀμφοτέροις; Καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη. Συμμάχους δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς προσάγεσθαι δοκεῖ σοι συμφέρειν ἀμφοτέροις ἢ οὐ; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ φυλακτικούς τῶν ὄντων οὐκ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι προσήκει; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ φιλοπόνους ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι προσήκει περὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα; [3.4.10] Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, πάντα ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶν· ἀλλὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐκέτι ἀμφοτέρων. Ἀλλ' ἐχθροὶ γέ τοι ἀμφοτέροις γίνονται; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε. Οὐκοῦν τὸ περιγενέσθαι τούτων ἀμφοτέροις συμφέρεει; [3.4.11] Πάνυ γ', ἔφη· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο παρίης, ἂν δέῃ μάχεσθαι, τί ὠφελήσει ἡ οἰκονομική; Ἐνταῦθα δὴπου καὶ πλεῖστον, ἔφη· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς οἰκονόμος, εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν οὕτω λυσιτελές τε καὶ κερδαλέον ἐστίν, ὥς τὸ μαχόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους νικᾶν, οὐδὲ οὕτως ἄλυσιτελές τε καὶ ζημιῶδες, ὥς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι, προθύμως μὲν τὰ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν συμφέροντα ζητήσει καὶ παρασκευάζεται, ἐπιμελῶς δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι φέροντα σκέπεται καὶ φυλάσσεται, ἐνεργῶς δ', ἂν τὴν παρασκευὴν ὁρᾷ νικητικὴν οὖσαν, μαχεῖται, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ τούτων, ἐὰν ἀπαρασκευος ᾖ, φυλάσσεται συνάπτειν μάχην. [3.4.12] μὴ καταφρόνει, ἔφη, ὦ Νικομαχίδη, τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ γὰρ τῶν ιδίων ἐπιμέλεια πλήθει μόνον διαφέρει τῆς τῶν κοινῶν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα παραπλήσια ἔχει, τὸ <δὲ> μέγιστον, ὅτι οὔτε ἄνευ ἀνθρώπων οὐδετέρα γίνεται οὔτε δι' ἄλλων μὲν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἴδια πράττεται, δι' ἄλλων δὲ τὰ κοινά. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι χρῶνται ἢ οἷσπερ τὰ ἴδια οἰκονομοῦντες· οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καλῶς πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθι πλημμελοῦσι.

[3.5.1] Περικλεῖ δὲ ποτε τῷ τοῦ πάνυ Περικλέους υἱῷ διαλεγόμενος, Ἐγὼ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Περικλείης, ἐλπίδα ἔχω σοῦ

στρατηγήσαντος ἀμείνω τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰ
πολεμικὰ ἔσεσθαι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσιν. καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς,
Βουλοίμην ἄν, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἃ λέγεις· ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα γένοιτ' ἄν,
οὐ δύναμαι γνῶναι. Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, διαλογιζόμενοι
περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶμεν ὅπου ἤδη τὸ δυνατόν ἐστι; Βούλομαι, ἔφη.
[3.5.2] Οὐκοῦν οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι πλήθει μὲν οὐδὲν μείους εἰσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι
Βοιωτῶν; Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφη. Σώματα δὲ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ πότερον ἐκ
Βοιωτῶν οἶε πλείω ἂν ἐκλεχθῆναι ἢ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν; Οὐδὲ ταύτη μοι
δοκοῦσι λείπεσθαι. Εὐμενεστέρους δὲ ποτέρους ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι
νομίζεις; Ἀθηναίους ἔγωγε· Βοιωτῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ
πλεονεκτούμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων δυσμενῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν, Ἀθήνησι
δὲ οὐδὲν ὁρῶ τοιοῦτον. [3.5.3] Ἀλλὰ μὴν φιλοτιμώτατοί γε καὶ
φιλοφρονέστατοι πάντων εἰσὶν· ἅπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα παροξύνει
κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας τε καὶ πατρίδος. Οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις
Ἀθηναῖοι μεμπτοί. Καὶ μὴν προγόνων γε καλὰ ἔργα οὐκ ἔστιν οἷς
μεῖζω καὶ πλείω ὑπάρχει ἢ Ἀθηναίοις· ὧι πολλοὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι
προτρέπονται τε ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἄλκιμοι γίνεσθαι. [3.5.4]
Ταῦτα μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγεις πάντα, ὃ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς, ὅτι, ἀφ' οὗ
ἢ τε σὺν Τολμίδῃ τῶν χιλίων ἐν Λεβαδεαίᾳ συμφορὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ
μεθ' Ἱπποκράτους ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, ἐκ τούτων τεταπεινῶνται μὲν ἡ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων δόξα πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, ἐπῆρται δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων
φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· ὥστε Βοιωτοὶ μὲν, οἱ πρόσθεν οὐδ'
ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν τολμῶντες Ἀθηναίοις ἄνευ Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων ἀντιτάττεσθαι, νῦν ἀπειλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καθ'
αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, οἱ πρότερον [ὅτε
Βοιωτοὶ μόνοι ἐγένοντο] πορθοῦντες τὴν Βοιωτίαν, φοβοῦνται μὴ
Βοιωτοὶ δηλώσωσι τὴν Ἀττικὴν. [3.5.5] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἀλλ'
αἰσθάνομαι μὲν, ἔφη, ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα· δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἀνδρὶ ἀγαθῷ
ἄρχοντι νῦν εὐαρεστοτέρως διακεῖσθαι ἢ πόλιν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ θάρσος
ἀμέλειάν τε καὶ ραιθυμίαν καὶ ἀπείθειαν ἐμβάλλει, ὁ δὲ φόβος
προσεκτικωτέρους τε καὶ εὐπειθεστέρους καὶ εὐτακτοτέρους ποιεῖ.
[3.5.6] τεκμήραιο δ' ἂν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
δήπου μηδὲν φοβῶνται, μεστοὶ εἰσὶν ἀταξίας· ἔστ' ἂν δὲ ἡ χειμῶνα ἢ
πολεμίους δέισωσιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ κελεύόμενα πάντα ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ σιγῶσι καρδοκοῦντες τὰ προσταχθεσόμενα, ὥσπερ χορευταί.
[3.5.7] Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη ὁ Περικλῆς, εἴ γε νῦν μάλιστα πείθοντο, ὥρα ἂν
εἴη λέγειν, πῶς ἂν αὐτοὺς προτρεψαίμεθα πάλιν ἀνερασθῆναι τῆς

ἀρχαίας ἀρετῆς τε καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας. [3.5.8] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ μὲν ἐβουλόμεθα χρημάτων αὐτοὺς ὧν οἱ ἄλλοι εἶχον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, ἀποδεικνύντες αὐτοῖς ταῦτα πατρῷά τε ὄντα καὶ προσήκοντα μάλιστ' ἂν οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐξωρμῶμεν ἀντέχεσθαι τούτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μετ' ἀρετῆς πρωτεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα, τοῦτ' αὖ δεικτέον ἐκ παλαιοῦ μάλιστα προσήκον αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὡς τούτου ἐπιμελόμενοι πάντων ἂν εἶεν κράτιστοι. [3.5.9] Πῶς οὖν ἂν τοῦτο διδάσκοιμεν; Οἶμαι μὲν, εἰ τοὺς γε παλαιτάτους ὧν ἀκούομεν προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀναμιμνήσκοιμεν αὐτοὺς ἀκηκοότας ἀρίστους γεγονέναι. [3.5.10] Ἄρα λέγεις τὴν τῶν θεῶν κρίσιν, ἣν οἱ περὶ Κέκροπα δι' ἀρετὴν ἔκριναν; Λέγω γάρ, καὶ τὴν Ἑρεχθέως γε τροφὴν καὶ γένεσιν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γενόμενον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡπείρου πάσης, καὶ τὸν ἐφ' Ἡρακλειδῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θησέως πολεμηθέντας, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν ἐκεῖνοι δῆλοι γεγόνασι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἀριστεύσαντες· [3.5.11] εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἃ ὕστερον οἱ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπόγονοι, οὐ πολὺ δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ἔπραξαν, τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κυριεύοντας τῆς τε Ἀσίας πάσης καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ πλείστην τῶν προγεγονότων δυνάμιν καὶ ἀφορμὴν κεκτημένους καὶ μέγιστα ἔργα κατειργασμένους, τὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀριστεύοντες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· οἱ δὴ καὶ λέγονται πολὺ διενεγκεῖν τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπων. Λέγονται γάρ, ἔφη. [3.5.12] Τοιγαροῦν πολλῶν μὲν μεταναστάσεων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γεγονυῶν διέμειναν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ δικαίων ἀντιλέγοντες ἐπέτρεπον ἐκείνοις, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ κρειττόνων ὑβριζόμενοι κατέφευγον πρὸς ἐκείνους. [3.5.13] καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Καὶ θαυμάζω γ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ πόλις ὅπως ποτ' ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἔκλινεν. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οἶμαι, ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ καὶ ἀθληταὶ τινες διὰ τὸ πολὺ ὑπερενεγκεῖν καὶ κρατιστεῦσαι καταρραϊθυμήσαντες ὑστερίζουσι τῶν ἀντιπάλων, οὕτω καὶ Ἀθηναίους πολὺ διενεγκόντας ἀμελῆσαι ἑαυτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χεῖρους γεγονέναι. [3.5.14] Νῦν οὖν, ἔφη, τί ἂν ποιοῦντες ἀναλάβοιεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετὴν; καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὐδὲν ἀπόκρυφον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐξευρόντες τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιτηδεύματα μὴδὲν χεῖρον ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύοιεν, οὐδὲν ἂν χεῖρους ἐκείνων γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς γε νῦν πρωτεύοντας μιμούμενοι καὶ τούτοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι οὐδὲν ἂν χεῖρους

ἐκείνων εἶεν, εἰ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον, καὶ βελτίους. [3.5.15] Λέγεις, ἔφη, πόρρω που εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν. πότε γὰρ οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἢ πρεσβυτέρους αἰδέσονται, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἄρχονται καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεραιτέρων, ἢ σωμασκήσουσιν οὕτως, οἱ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ εὐεξίας ἀμελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων καταγελῶσι; [3.5.16] πότε δὲ οὕτω πείσονται τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οἱ καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων; ἢ πότε οὕτως ὁμονήσουσιν, οἳ γε ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ συνεργεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα ἐπηρεάζουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ φθονοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἔν τε ταῖς ἰδίαις συνόδοις καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς διαφέρονται καὶ πλείστας δίκας ἀλλήλοις δικάζονται καὶ προαιροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω κερδαίνειν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ κοινοῖς ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίοις χρώμενοι περὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάχονται καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυνάμεσι μάλιστα χαίρουσιν; [3.5.17] ἐξ ὧν πολλὴ μὲν ἀτηρία καὶ κακία τῇ πόλει ἐμφύεται, πολλὴ δὲ ἔχθρα καὶ μῖσος ἀλλήλων τοῖς πολίταις ἐγγίγνεται, δι' ἃ ἔγωγε μάλα φοβοῦμαι ἀεὶ, μή τι μείζον ἢ ὥστε φέρειν δύνασθαι κακὸν τῇ πόλει συμβῇ. [3.5.18] Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὃ Περικλείς, οὕτως ἡγοῦ ἀνηκέστῳι πονηρίαί νοσεῖν Ἀθηναίους. οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὥς εὐτακτοὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, εὐτάκτως δ' ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι πείθονται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδεέστερον ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις; [3.5.19] Τοῦτο γάρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ θαυμαστόν ἐστι, τὸ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ὀπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, οἱ δοκοῦσι καλοκαγαθία προκεκρίσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπειθεστάτους εἶναι πάντων. [3.5.20] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή, ὃ Περικλείς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων καθίσταται; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Οἶσθα οὖν τινας, ἔφη, κάλλιον ἢ νομιμώτερον ἢ σεμνότερον ἢ δικαιότερον τάς τε δίκας δικάζοντας καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα πράττοντας; Οὐ μέφομαι, ἔφη, τούτοις. Οὐ τοίνυν, ἔφη, δεῖ ἀθυμεῖν ὥς οὐκ εὐτάκτων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων. [3.5.21] Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, ἔφη, ἔνθα μάλιστα δεῖ σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ εὐτακτεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν, οὐδενὶ τούτων προσέχουσιν. Ἴσως γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν τούτοις οἱ ἥκιστα ἐπιστάμενοι ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι κιθαριστῶν μὲν καὶ χορευτῶν καὶ ὀρχηστῶν οὐδὲ εἷς ἐπιχειρεῖ ἄρχειν μὴ ἐπιστάμενος, οὐδὲ παλαιστῶν οὐδὲ παγκρατιαστῶν; ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ τούτων ἄρχοντες ἔχουσι δεῖξαι

ὁπόθεν ἔμαθον ταῦτα ἐφ' οἷς ἐφεστᾶσιν τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν. [3.5.22] οὐ μέντοι σέ γε τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ νομίζω εἶναι, ἀλλ' οἶμαί σε οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ὅποτε στρατηγεῖν ἢ ὅποτε παλαίειν ἤρξω μαθάνειν. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἶμαί σε τῶν πατρώϊων στρατηγημάτων παρειληφότα διασώζεις, πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν συνηγέαι, ὁπόθεν οἷόν τε ἦν μαθεῖν τι ὠφελίμον εἰς στρατηγίαν. [3.5.23] οἶμαι δέ σε πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν, ὅπως μὴ λάθης σεαυτὸν ἀγνοῶν τι τῶν εἰς στρατηγίαν ὠφελίμων, καὶ ἐάν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθῇ σεαυτὸν μὴ εἰδότα, ζητεῖν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ταῦτα, οὔτε δώρων οὔτε χαρίτων φειδόμενον, ὅπως μάθης παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ ἐπίστασαι καὶ συνεργοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἔχῃς. [3.5.24] καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Οὐ λανθάνεις με, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐδ' οἰόμενός με τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ταῦτα λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρῶν με διδάσκειν ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα στρατηγεῖν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. ὁμολογῶ μέντοι καὶ γὰρ σοὶ ταῦτα. [3.5.25] Τοῦτο δ', ἔφη, ὦ Περίκλεις, κατανενόηκας, ὅτι πρόκειται τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν ὄρη μεγάλα, καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, δι', ὧν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσοδοὶ στεναὶ τε καὶ προσάντεις εἰσὶ καὶ ὅτι μέση διέζωται ὄρεσιν ἐρυμνοῖς; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. [3.5.26] Τί δέ; ἐκεῖνο ἀκήκοας, ὅτι Μυσοὶ καὶ Πισίδαι ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώραι κατέχοντες ἐρυμνὰ πάνυ χωρία καὶ κούφως ὀπλισμένοι δύνανται πολλὰ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν καταθέοντες κακοποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ζῆν ἐλεύθεροι; Καὶ τοῦτό γ', ἔφη, ἀκούω. [3.5.27] Ἀθηναίους δ' οὐκ ἂν οἶει, ἔφη, μέχρι τῆς ἐλαφρᾶς ἡλικίας ὀπλισμένους κουφοτέροις ὅπλοις καὶ τὰ προκείμενα τῆς χώρας ὄρη κατέχοντας βλαβεροὺς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι, μεγάλην δὲ προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατεσκευάσθαι; καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Πάντ' οἶμαι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ταῦτα χρήσιμα εἶναι. [3.5.28] Εἰ τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀρέσκει σοὶ ταῦτα, ἐπιχείρει αὐτοῖς, ὦ ἄριστε· ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ἂν τούτων καταπράξης, καὶ σοὶ καλὸν ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν, ἐὰν δέ τι αὐτῶν ἀδυνατήης, οὔτε τὴν πόλιν βλάψεις οὔτε σαυτὸν κατασχυνεῖς.

[3.6.1] Γλαῦκωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, ὅτ' ἐπεχείρει δημηγορεῖν, ἐπιθυμῶν προστατεύειν τῆς πόλεως οὐδέπω εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονώς, τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο παῦσαι ἐλκόμενόν τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ καταγέλαστον ὄντα· Σωκράτης δέ, εὖνους ὢν αὐτῷ διὰ τε Χαρμίδην τὸν Γλαῦκωνος καὶ διὰ Πλάτωνα, μόνος ἔπαυσεν. [3.6.2] ἐντυχὼν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸ ἐθελῆσαι

ἀκούειν τοιάδε λέξας κατέσχευεν, ὦ Γλαύκων, ἔφη, προστατεύειν ἡμῖν διανενόησαι τῆς πόλεως; Ἐγώ γ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. Νή Δί', ἔφη, καλὸν γάρ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν τοῦτο διαπράξῃ, δυνατός μὲν ἔσει αὐτὸς τυγχάνειν ὅτου ἂν ἐπιθυμήσῃς, ἱκανὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν, ἐπαρεῖς δὲ τὸν πατρῷον οἶκον, αὐξήσεις δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὀνομαστός δ' ἔσει πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἔπειτα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἴσως δ' ὥσπερ Θεμιστοκλῆς, καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις· ὅπου δ' ἂν ᾖ, πανταχοῦ περίβλεπτος ἔσει. [3.6.3] ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούων ὁ Γλαύκων ἐμεγαλύνετο καὶ ἡδέως παρέμενε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ Γλαύκων, δῆλον, ὅτι, εἴπερ τιμᾶσθαι βούλει, ὠφελητέα σοι ἢ πόλις ἐστί; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, μὴ τοῖνυν ἀποκρύψῃ, ἀλλ' εἶπον ἡμῖν ἐκ τίνος ἄρξῃ τὴν πόλιν εὐεργετεῖν. [3.6.4] ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων διεσιώπησεν, ὡς ἂν τότε σκοπῶν ὀπόθεν ἄρχοιτο, Ἄρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ φίλου οἶκον εἰ αὐξῆσαι βούλοιο, πλουσιώτερον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῖς ἂν ποιεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν πόλιν πειράσῃ πλουσιωτέραν ποιῆσαι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [3.6.5] Οὐκοῦν πλουσιωτέρα γ' ἂν εἴη προσόδων αὐτῇ πλειόνων γενομένων; Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη. Λέξον δὴ, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνων νῦν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῇ πόλει καὶ πόσαι τινές εἰσι; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἔσκεψαι, ἵνα, εἰ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσιν, ἐκπληρώσῃς, εἰ δὲ παραλείπονται, προσπορίσῃς. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, ταῦτά γε οὐκ ἐπέσκεμμαι. [3.6.6] Ἀλλ' εἰ τοῦτο, ἔφη, παρέλipes, τάς γε δαπάνας τῆς πόλεως ἡμῖν εἰπέ· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τούτων τὰς περιττάς ἀφαιρεῖν διανοῇ. Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῦτά πω ἐσχόλασα. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν πλουσιωτέραν τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν ἀναβαλούμεθα· πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε μὴ εἰδότα γε τὰ ἀναλώματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπιμεληθῆναι τούτων; [3.6.7] Ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν πλουτίζειν. Νή Δία σφόδρα γ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐὰν τις αὐτῶν κρείττων ᾖ ἢ ἥττων δὲ ὢν καὶ τὰ ὄντα προσαποβάλοι ἅν. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. [3.6.8] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸν γε βουλευσόμενον, πρὸς οὐστinas δεῖ πολεμεῖν, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων εἰδέναι δεῖ, ἵνα, ἐὰν μὲν ἢ τῆς πόλεως κρείττων ᾖ, συμβουλευῇ ἐπιχειρεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐὰν δὲ ἥττων τῶν ἐναντίων, εὐλαβεῖσθαι πείθῃ. Ὅρθως λέγεις, ἔφη. [3.6.9] Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη, λέξον ἡμῖν τῆς πόλεως τὴν τε πεζικὴν καὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, εἴτα τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων. Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμί σοι οὕτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. Ἀλλ' εἰ

γέγραπταί σοι, ἔνεγκε, ἔφη· πάνυ γὰρ ἡδέως ἂν τοῦτο ἀκούσαιμι. Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδὲ γέγραπταί μοι πω. [3.6.10] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ πολέμου συμβουλευεῖν τήν γε πρώτην ἐπισχίσομεν· ἴσως γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος τῆς προστατείας οὐπω ἐξήτακας. ἀλλὰ τοι περὶ γε φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας οἶδ' ὅτι ἤδη σοι μεμέληκε, καὶ οἶσθα ὁπόσαι τε φυλακαὶ ἐπικairoί εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ, καὶ ὁπόσοι τε φρουροὶ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ ὁπόσοι μὴ εἰσι· καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπικαίρους φυλακὰς συμβουλευσεις μείζονας ποιεῖν, τὰς δὲ περιττὰς ἀφαιρεῖν. [3.6.11] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, ἀπάσας μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε, ἔνεκά γε τοῦ οὕτως αὐτὰς φυλάττεσθαι ὥστε κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. Ἐὰν δέ τις ἀφέλῃ γ', ἔφη, τὰς φυλακάς, οὐκ οἶει καὶ ἀρπάζειν ἐξουσίαν ἔσεσθαι τῷ βουλομένῳ; ἀτάρ, ἔφη, πότερον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ἐξήτακας τοῦτο, ἢ πῶς οἶσθα ὅτι κακῶς φυλάττονται; Εἰκάζω, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὅταν μηκέτι εἰκάζωμεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη εἰδῶμεν, τότε συμβουλευσομεν; Ἴσως, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, βέλτιον. [3.6.12] Εἷς γε μὴν, ἔφη, τὰργύρεια οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀφίζαι, ὥστ' ἔχειν εἰπεῖν δι' ὃ τι νῦν ἐλάττω ἢ πρόσθεν προσέρχεται αὐτόθεν. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν ἐλήλυθα, ἔφη. Καὶ γὰρ νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, λέγεται βαρὺ τὸ χωρίον εἶναι, ὥστε, ὅταν περὶ τούτου δέῃ συμβουλευεῖν, αὕτη σοι ἡ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει. Σκώπτομαι, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων. [3.6.13] Ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γέ τοι, ἔφη, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἡμέληκας, ἀλλ' ἔσκεψαι, πόσον χρόνον ἱκανός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ τῆς χώρας γιγνόμενος σῖτος διατρέφειν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πόσου εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν προσδεῖται, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτό γε λάθῃ σε ποτε ἡ πόλις ἐνδεὴς γενομένη, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς ἔχῃς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων συμβουλευὼν τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν τε καὶ σώιζειν αὐτήν. Λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, παμμέγεθες πρᾶγμα, εἴ γε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεήσει. [3.6.14] Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τότε οἶκον καλῶς τις οἰκήσειεν, εἰ μὴ πάντα μὲν εἴσεται ὧν προσδεῖται, πάντων δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐκπληρώσει. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ μὲν πόλις ἐκ πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων οἰκιῶν συνέστηκε, χαλεπὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἅμα τοσούτων οἰκῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐχ ἓνα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πρῶτον ἐπειράθῃς αὐξῆσαι; δεῖται δέ. κἂν μὲν τοῦτον δύνῃη, καὶ πλείοσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις· ἓνα δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος ὠφελῆσαι πῶς ἂν πολλοὺς γε δυνηθείης; ὥσπερ, εἴ τις ἐν τάλαντον μὴ δύναιτο φέρειν, πῶς οὐ φανερόν ὅτι πλείω γε φέρειν οὐδ' ἐπιχειρητέον αὐτῷ; [3.6.15] Ἀλλ' ἔγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, ὠφελοῖν ἂν τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οἶκον, εἴ μοι ἐθέλοι πεῖθεσθαι. Εἵτα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸν θεῖον οὐ δυνάμενος

πεισαι, Ἀθηναίους πάντας μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζεις δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι πείθεσθαί σοι; [3.6.16] φυλάττου, ἔφη, ὦ Γλαῦκων, ὅπως μὴ τοῦ εὐδοξεῖν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τοῦναντίον ἔλθῃς. ἢ οὐχ ὁραῖς ὡς σφαλερόν ἐστι τό, ἃ μὴ οἶδέ τις, ταῦτα ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν; ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσους οἶσθα τοιούτους, οἳ φαίνονται καὶ λέγοντες ἃ μὴ ἴσασι καὶ πράττοντες, πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον ἢ ψόγου τυγχάνειν καὶ πότερον θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι; [3.6.17] ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰδότεων ὅ τι τε λέγουσι καὶ ὅ τι ποιοῦσι· καί, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, εὐρήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν ἔργοις τοὺς μὲν εὐδοκιμοῦντάς τε καὶ θαυμαζομένους ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισταμένων ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ κακοδοξοῦντάς τε καὶ καταφρονουμένους ἐκ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων. εἰ οὖν ἐπιθυμεῖς εὐδοκιμεῖν τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, [3.6.18] πειρῶ κατεργάσασθαι ὡς μάλιστα τὸ εἰδέναι ἃ βούλει πράττειν· ἐὰν γὰρ τούτῳ διενέγκας τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιχειρήσῃς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἰ πάνυ ραϊδίως τύχοις ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖς.

[3.7.1] Χαρμίδην δὲ τὸν Γλαῦκωνος ὄρων ἀξιόλογον μὲν ἄνδρα ὄντα καὶ πολλῶι δυνατώτερον τῶν τὰ πολιτικὰ τότε πραττόντων, ὁκνοῦντα δὲ προσίειναι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Χαρμίδη, εἴ τις ἱκανὸς ὢν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας νικᾷν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτός τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὐδοκιμωτέραν ποιεῖν μὴ θέλοι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ποῖόν τινα τοῦτον νομίζεις ἂν τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι; Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη, μαλακόν τε καὶ δειλόν. [3.7.2] Εἰ δέ τις, ἔφη, δυνατός ὢν τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων ἐπιμελόμενος τὴν τε πόλιν αὔξειν καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦτο τιμᾶσθαι, ὁκνοίῃ δὴ τοῦτο πράττειν, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δειλὸς νομίζοιτο; Ἰσως, ἔφη· ἀτὰρ πρὸς τί με ταῦτ' ἐρωτᾷς; Ὅτι, ἔφη, οἷμά σε δυνατόν ὄντα ὁκνεῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὧν ἀνάγκη σοι μετέχειν πολίτῃ γε ὄντι. [3.7.3] Τὴν δὲ ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ἐν ποίῳ ἔργῳ καταμαθὼν ταῦτά μου καταγιγνώσκεις; Ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις, ἔφη, αἷς σύνει τοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττουσι· καὶ γὰρ ὅταν τι ἀνακοινῶνται σοι, ὁρῶ σε καλῶς συμβουλευόντα, καὶ ὅταν τι ἀμαρτάνωσιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντα. [3.7.4] Οὐ ταῦτόν ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἰδία τε διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἀγωνίζεσθαι. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, ὅ γε ἀριθμεῖν δυνάμενος οὐδὲν ἥττον ἐν τῷ πλήθει ἢ μόνος ἀριθμεῖ, καὶ οἱ κατὰ μόνας ἄριστα καθαρίζοντες οὔτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλήθει κρατιστεύουσιν. [3.7.5] Αἰδῶ δὲ καὶ φόβον, ἔφη, οὐχ ὁραῖς

ἔμφυτά τε ἀνθρώποις ὄντα καὶ πολλῶι μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ὁμιλίαις παριστάμενα; Καὶ σέ γε διδάξων, ἔφη, ὥρμηται· οὔτε τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους αἰδούμενος οὔτε τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους φοβούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις τε καὶ ἀσθενεστάτοις αἰσχύνει λέγειν. [3.7.6] πότερον γὰρ τοὺς γναφέας αὐτῶν ἢ τοὺς σκυτέας ἢ τοὺς τέκτονας ἢ τοὺς χαλκέας ἢ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ μεταβαλλομένους καὶ φροντίζοντας ὃ τι ἐλάττονος πριάμενοι πλείονος ἀποδῶνται αἰσχύνει; ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἀπάντων ἡ ἐκκλησία συνίσταται. [3.7.7] τί δὲ οἶει διαφέρειν ὃ σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὄντα κρεῖττω τοὺς ἰδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι; σὺ γὰρ τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὧν ἔνιοι καταφρονοῦσί σου, ραιδίως διαλεγόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων τοῦ τῇ πόλει διαλέγεσθαι πολὺ περιῶν, ἐν τοῖς μηδεπώποτε φροντίσασι τῶν πολιτικῶν μηδὲ σοῦ καταπεφρονηκόσιν ὀκνεῖς λέγειν, δεδιὼς μὴ καταγελασθῇς. [3.7.8] Τί δ'; ἔφη, οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι πολλάκις οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ὀρθῶς λεγόντων καταγελαῖν; Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι, ἔφη· δι' ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω σου εἰ, ἐκείνους, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσι, ραιδίως χειρούμενος, τούτοις μηδένα τρόπον οἶει δυνήσεσθαι προσενεχθῆναι. [3.7.9] ὦγαθέ, μὴ ἀγνῶει σεαυτόν, μηδὲ ἀμάρτανε ἃ οἱ πλείστοι ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ ὥρμηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων πράγματα οὐ τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὸ ἑαυτοὺς ἐξετάζειν. μὴ οὖν ἀπορραϊθῇς τούτου, ἀλλὰ διατείνου μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σαυτῷ προσέχειν. καὶ μὴ ἀμέλει τῶν τῆς πόλεως, εἴ τι δυνατόν ἐστι διὰ σέ βέλτιον ἔχειν· τούτων γὰρ καλῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄλλοι πολῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σοὶ φίλοι καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ὠφελήσῃ.

[3.8.1] Ἀριστίππου δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντος ἐλέγχειν τὸν Σωκράτην, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου τὸ πρότερον ἠλέγγετο, βουλόμενος τοὺς συνόντας ὠφελεῖν ὁ Σωκράτης ἀπεκρίνατο οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ φυλαττόμενοι μή πηι ὁ λόγος ἐπαλλαχθῇ, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν πεπεισμένοι μάλιστα πράττειν τὰ δέοντα. [3.8.2] ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤρετο εἴ τι εἰδείη ἀγαθόν, ἵνα, εἴ τι εἴποι τῶν τοιούτων, οἷον ἢ σιτίον ἢ ποτὸν ἢ χρήματα ἢ ὑγίειαν ἢ ῥώμην ἢ τόλμαν, δεικνύοι δὴ τοῦτο κακὸν ἐνίστε ὄν. ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς ὅτι, ἐάν τι ἐνοχλῇ ἡμᾶς, δεόμεθα τοῦ παύσοντος, ἀπεκρίνατο ἥτις καὶ ποιεῖν κράτιστον, [3.8.3] Ἄρά γε, ἔφη, ἐρωτᾷς με, εἴ τι οἶδα πυρετοῦ ἀγαθόν; Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Ἀλλ' ὀφθαλμίας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Ἀλλὰ λιμοῦ; Οὐδὲ λιμοῦ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, εἴ γ' ἐρωτᾷς με εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν οἶδα ὁ μηδενοῦς ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν, οὔτ' οἶδα, ἔφη, οὔτε δέομαι.

[3.8.4] Πάλιν δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστίππου ἐρωτῶντος αὐτὸν εἴ τι εἰδείη καλόν, Καὶ πολλά, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, πάντα ὅμοια ἀλλήλοις; Ὡς οἶόν τε μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἀνομοιότατα ἔνια. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τὸ τῷ καλῷ ἀνόμοιον καλὸν ἂν εἴη; Ὅτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ἔστι μὲν τῷ καλῷ πρὸς δρόμον ἀνθρώπων ἄλλος ἀνόμοιος καλὸς πρὸς πάλην, ἔστι δὲ ἀσπίς καλὴ πρὸς τὸ προβάλλεσθαι ὥς ἔνι ἀνομοιοτάτῃ τῷ ἀκοντίῳ, καλῷ πρὸς τὸ σφόδρα τε καὶ ταχὺ φέρεσθαι. [3.8.5] Οὐδὲν διαφερόντως, ἔφη, ἀποκρίνῃ μοι ἢ ὅτε σε ἠρώτησα εἴ τι ἀγαθὸν εἰδείης. Σὺ δ' οἶει, ἔφη, ἄλλο μὲν ἀγαθόν, ἄλλο δὲ καλὸν εἶναι; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔστι; πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀρετὴ οὐ πρὸς ἄλλα μὲν ἀγαθόν, πρὸς ἄλλα δὲ καλόν ἐστίν, ἔπειτα οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ αὐτό τε καὶ πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ λέγονται, πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ φαίνεται, πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα οἷς ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ νομίζεται, πρὸς ἅπερ ἂν εὐχρηστα ἦι. [3.8.6] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ κόφινος κοπροφόρος καλόν ἐστι; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ χρυσῇ γε ἀσπίς αἰσχρόν, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα ὁ μὲν καλῶς πεποιημένος ἦι, ἡ δὲ κακῶς. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, καλὰ τε καὶ αἰσχρὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι; [3.8.7] Καὶ νῆ Δί' ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ· πολλάκις γὰρ τό γε λιμοῦ ἀγαθὸν πυρετοῦ κακόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ πυρετοῦ ἀγαθὸν λιμοῦ κακόν ἐστι· πολλάκις δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς δρόμον καλὸν πρὸς πάλην αἰσχρόν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς πάλην καλὸν πρὸς δρόμον αἰσχρόν· πάντα γὰρ ἀγαθὰ μὲν καὶ καλὰ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἃ ἂν εὖ ἔχῃ, κακὰ δὲ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς ἃ ἂν κακῶς.

[3.8.8] Καὶ οἰκίας δὲ λέγων τὰς αὐτὰς καλὰς τε εἶναι καὶ χρησίμους παιδεύειν ἔμοιγ' ἐδόκει, οἷας χρή, οἰκοδομεῖσθαι. ἐπεσκόπει δὲ ὧδε· Ἄρα γε τὸν μέλλοντα οἰκίαν, οἷαν χρή, ἔχειν τοῦτο δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἡδίστη τε ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι καὶ χρησιμωτάτῃ ἔσται; [3.8.9] τούτου δὲ ὁμολογουμένου, Οὐκοῦν ἡδὺ μὲν θέρους ψυχρινὴν ἔχειν, ἡδὺ δὲ χειμῶνος ἁλεινὴν; ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συμφαῖεν, Οὐκοῦν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλεπούσαις οἰκίαις τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὰς παστάδας ὑπολάμπει, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στεγῶν πορευόμενος σκιὰν παρέχει. οὐκοῦν, εἴ γε καλῶς ἔχει ταῦτα οὕτω γίνεσθαι, οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ ὑψηλότερα μὲν τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἵνα ὁ χειμερινὸς ἥλιος μὴ ἀποκλείηται, χθαμαλότερα δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἵνα οἱ ψυχροὶ μὴ ἐμπίπτωσιν ἄνεμοι· [3.8.10] ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅποι πάσας ὥρας αὐτός τε ἂν ἡδίστα καταφεύγοι καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀσφαλέστατα τιθοῖτο, αὕτη ἂν εἰκότως ἡδίστη τε καὶ καλλίστη

οἰκησις εἴη· γραφαὶ δὲ καὶ ποικιλίαι πλείονας εὐφροσύνας ἀποστεροῦσιν ἢ παρέχουσι. ναοὺς γε μὴν καὶ βωμοὺς χώραν ἔφη εἶναι πρεπωδεστάτην ἣτις ἐμφανεστάτη οὕσα ἀστιβεστάτη εἴη· ἡδὺ μὲν γὰρ ἰδόντας προσεῦξασθαι, ἡδὺ δὲ ἀγνῶς ἔχοντας προσιέναι.

[3.9.1] Πάλιν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ἡ ἀνδρεία πότερον εἴη διδακτὸν ἢ φυσικόν, Οἶμαι μὲν, ἔφη, ὥσπερ σῶμα σώματος ἰσχυρότερον πρὸς τοὺς πόνους φύεται, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστέραν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ φύσει γίγνεσθαι· ὁρῶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις τε καὶ ἔθεσι τρεφομένους πολὺ διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τόλμηι. [3.9.2] νομίζω μέντοι πᾶσαν φύσιν μαθήσει καὶ μελέτηι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν αυξεσθαι· δηλὸν μὲν γὰρ ὅτι Σκύθαι καὶ Θραικες οὐκ ἂν τολμήσειαν ἀσπίδας καὶ δόρατα λαβόντες Λακεδαιμονίοις διαμάχεσθαι· φανερόν δ' ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὗτ' ἂν Θραιξὶ πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις οὔτε Σκύθαις τόξοις ἐθέλοιεν ἂν διαγωνίζεσθαι. [3.9.3] ὁρῶ δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ φύσει διαφέροντας ἀλλήλων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐπιμελείαι πολὺ ἐπιδιδόντας, ἐκ δὲ τούτων δηλὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι πάντας χρῆ καὶ τοὺς εὐφυεστεροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀμβλυτέρους τὴν φύσιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀξιόλογοι βούλωνται γενέσθαι, ταῦτα καὶ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν.

[3.9.4] Σοφίαν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν, ἀλλὰ ἥτον τὰ μὲν καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ γινώσκοντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἥ τὰ αἰσχροῖα εἰδότα εὐλαβεῖσθαι σοφόν τε καὶ σώφρονα ἔκρινε. προσερωτώμενος δὲ εἰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους μὲν ἂ δεῖ πράττειν, ποιοῦντας δὲ τὰναντία σοφοὺς τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς εἶναι νομίζοι, Οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, ἢ ἀσόφους τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς· πάντας γὰρ οἶμαι προαιρουμένους ἐκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων ἂ οἶονται συμφορώτατα αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτα πράττειν· νομίζω οὖν τοὺς μὴ ὀρθῶς πράττοντας οὔτε σοφοὺς οὔτε σώφρονας εἶναι. [3.9.5] ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν σοφίαν εἶναι. τὰ τε γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀρετῇ πράττεται καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι· καὶ οὗτ' ἂν τοὺς ταῦτα εἰδότας ἄλλο ἀντὶ τούτων οὐδὲν προελέσθαι οὔτε τοὺς μὴ ἐπισταμένους δύνασθαι πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἀμαρτάνειν· οὕτω [καὶ] τὰ καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς μὲν σοφοὺς πράττειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ σοφοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἀμαρτάνειν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τᾶλλα καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ πάντα ἀρετῇ πράττεται, δηλὸν εἶναι ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα ἀρετὴ σοφία ἐστί. [3.9.6] μανίαν γε μὴν ἐναντίον μὲν ἔφη εἶναι σοφίαι, οὐ μέντοι γε τὴν ἀνεπισημοσύνην μανίαν ἐνόμιζε· τὸ

δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἃ μὴ οἶδε δοξάζειν τε καὶ οἶεσθαι γινώσκειν ἐγγυτάτῳ μανίας ἐλογίζετο εἶναι. τοὺς μέντοι πολλοὺς ἔφη, ἃ μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀγνοοῦσι, τοὺς διημαρτηκότας τούτων οὐ φάσκειν μαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ διημαρτηκότας ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ γινώσκουσι μαινομένους καλεῖν· [3.9.7] ἐάν τε γὰρ τις μέγας οὕτως οἴηται εἶναι ὥστε κύπτειν τὰς πύλας τοῦ τείχους διεξιὼν, ἐάν τε οὕτως ἰσχυρὸς ὥστ' ἐπιχειρεῖν οἰκίας αἶρεσθαι ἢ ἄλλῳ τῷ ἐπιθέσθαι τῶν πᾶσι δῆλων ὅτι ἀδύνατά ἐστι, τοῦτον μαίνεσθαι φάσκειν, τοὺς δὲ μικρὸν διαμαρτάνοντας οὐ δοκεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς μαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ', ὥστε τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπιθυμίαν ἔρωτα καλοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν μεγάλην παράνοیان μανίαν αὐτοὺς καλεῖν.

[3.9.8] Φθόνον δὲ σκοπῶν, ὃ τι εἴη, λύπην μὲν τινα ἐξηύρισκεν αὐτὸν ὄντα, οὔτε μέντοι τὴν ἐπὶ φίλων ἀτυχίαις οὔτε τὴν ἐπ' ἐχθρῶν εὐτυχίαις γιγνομένην, ἀλλὰ μόνους ἔφη φθονεῖν τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων εὐπραξίαις ἀνιωμένους. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τινῶν εἰ τις φίλῳ τινα ἐπὶ τῇ εὐπραξίᾳ αὐτοῦ λυποῖτο, ὑπεμίνησκεν ὅτι πολλοὶ οὕτω πρὸς τινὰς ἔχουσιν, ὥστε κακῶς μὲν πράττοντας μὴ δύνασθαι περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν ἀτυχοῦσιν, εὐτυχοῦντων δὲ λυπεῖσθαι. τοῦτο μέντοι φρονίμῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ οὐκ ἂν συμβῆναι, τοὺς ἡλιθίους δὲ ἀεὶ πάσχειν αὐτό.

[3.9.9] Σχολὴν δὲ σκοπῶν, τί εἴη, ποιοῦντας μὲν τι τοὺς πλείστους εὕρισκεν ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πεττεύοντας καὶ τοὺς γελωτοποιοῦντας ποιεῖν τι· πάντας δὲ τούτους ἔφη σχολάζειν· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἰέναι πράζοντας τὰ βελτίω τούτων. ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν βελτιόνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ἰέναι οὐδένα σχολάζειν· εἰ δέ τις ἴοι, τούτων ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ οὔσης κακῶς ἔφη τοῦτο πράττειν.

[3.9.10] Βασιλέας δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐ τοὺς τὰ σκῆπτρα ἔχοντας ἔφη εἶναι οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων αἰρεθέντας οὐδὲ τοὺς κλήρῳ λαχόντας οὐδὲ τοὺς βιασαμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐξαπατήσαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἄρχειν. [3.9.11] ὁπότε γὰρ τις ὁμολογήσειε τοῦ μὲν ἄρχοντος εἶναι τὸ προστάττειν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἀρχομένου τὸ πείθεσθαι, ἐπεδείκνυνεν ἓν τε νηὶ τὸν μὲν ἐπιστάμενον ἄρχοντα, τὸν δὲ ναύκληρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντας πειθομένους τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ τοὺς κεκτημένους ἀγρούς, καὶ ἐν νόσῳ τοὺς νοσοῦντας, καὶ ἐν σωμασκίᾳ τοὺς σωμασκοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἷς ὑπάρχει τι ἐπιμελείας δεόμενον, ἂν μὲν αὐτοὶ ἡγῶνται ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι — · εἰ δὲ μή, τοῖς ἐπισταμένοις οὐ

μόνον παροῦσι πειθομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντας μεταπεμπομένους, ὅπως ἐκείνοις πειθόμενοι τὰ δέοντα πράττωσιν· ἐν δὲ ταλασίαι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπεδείκνυν ἀρχούσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν διὰ τὸ τὰς μὲν εἰδέναι ὅπως χρῆ ταλασιουργεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι. [3.9.12] εἰ δέ τις πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοι ὅτι τῷ τυράννῳ ἔξεστι μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὀρθῶς λέγουσι, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, ἐξείη μὴ πείθεσθαι, ἐπικειμένης γε ζημίας, ἐάν τις τῷ εὖ λέγοντι μὴ πείθεται; ἐν ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τις πράγματι μὴ πείθεται τῷ εὖ λέγοντι, ἀμαρτήσεται δήπου, ἀμαρτάνων δὲ ζημιωθήσεται. [3.9.13] εἰ δὲ φαίη τις τῷ τυράννῳ ἐξεῖναι καὶ ἀποκτείνειν τὸν εὖ φρονοῦντα, Τὸν δὲ ἀποκτείνοντα, ἔφη, τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν συμμάχων οἶει ἀζήμιον γίνεσθαι ἢ ὡς ἔτυχε ζημιουῖσθαι; πότερα γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον οἶει σώζεσθαι τὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα ἢ οὕτω καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν ἀπολέσθαι;

[3.9.14] Ἐρομένου δὲ τίνος αὐτὸν τί δοκοίη αὐτῷ κράτιστον ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτήδευμα εἶναι, ἀπεκρίνατο· Εὐπραξία. ἐρομένου δὲ πάλιν εἰ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζοι εἶναι, Πᾶν μὲν οὖν τοῦναντίον ἔγωγ', ἔφη, τύχην καὶ πρᾶξιν ἡγοῦμαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ζητοῦντα ἐπιτυχεῖν τινι τῶν δεόντων εὐτυχίαν οἶμαν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μαθόντα τε καὶ μελετήσαντά τι εὖ ποιεῖν εὐπραξίαν νομίζω, καὶ οἱ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύοντες δοκοῦσί μοι εὖ πράττειν. [3.9.15] καὶ ἀρίστους δὲ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους ἔφη εἶναι ἐν μὲν γεωργίαι τοὺς τὰ γεωργικὰ εὖ πράττοντας, ἐν δ' ἰατρείαι τοὺς τὰ ἱατρικά, ἐν δὲ πολιτείαι τοὺς τὰ πολιτικά· τὸν δὲ μηδὲν εὖ πράττοντα οὔτε χρήσιμον οὐδὲν ἔφη εἶναι οὔτε θεοφιλῆ.

[3.10.1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἴ ποτε τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων καὶ ἐργασίας ἕνεκα χρωμένων αὐταῖς διαλέγοιτό τινι, καὶ τούτοις ὠφέλιμος ἦν. εἰσελθὼν μὲν γὰρ ποτε πρὸς Παρράσιον τὸν ζωγράφον καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, Ἄρα, ἔφη ὦ Παρράσιε, γραφικὴ ἐστὶν εἰκασία τῶν ὀρωμένων; τὰ γοῦν κοῖλα καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ τὰ σκοτεινὰ καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τὰ τραχέα καὶ τὰ λεῖα καὶ τὰ νέα καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ σώματα διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀπεικάζοντες ἐκμμεῖσθε. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. [3.10.2] Καὶ μὴν τά γε καλὰ εἶδη ἀφομοιοῦντες, ἐπεὶ οὐ ράϊδιον ἐνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτυχεῖν ἄμεμπτα πάντα ἔχοντι, ἐκ πολλῶν συνάγοντες τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστου κάλλιστα οὕτως ὅλα τὰ σώματα καλὰ ποιεῖτε φαίνεσθαι. [3.10.3] Ποιοῦμεν γάρ, ἔφη, οὕτως. Τί γάρ; ἔφη, τὸ πιθανώτατον καὶ ἡδιστον καὶ φιλικώτατον καὶ ποθεινώτατον καὶ ἐρασμιώτατον ἀπομμεῖσθε τῆς ψυχῆς ἦθος; ἢ οὐδὲ

μιμητόν ἐστι τοῦτο; Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, μιμητόν εἴη, ὃ Σώκρατες, ὃ μήτε συμμετρίαν μήτε χρῶμα μήτε ὦν σὺ εἶπας ἄρτι μηδὲν ἔχει μηδὲ ὅλως ὁρατόν ἐστιν; [3.10.4] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, γίγνεται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τό τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν πρὸς τινας; Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτό γε μιμητόν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῶν φίλων ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ὁμοίως σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰ πρόσωπα οἳ τε φροντίζοντες καὶ οἱ μή; Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φαιδροί, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς σκυθρωποὶ γίνονται. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα δυνατόν ἀπεικάζειν; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. [3.10.5] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ τὸ σωφρονικόν τε καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἐστώτων καὶ κινουμένων ἀνθρώπων διαφαίνει. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ταῦτα μιμητά; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις ἥδιον ὁρᾶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ὧν τὰ καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ ἤδη φαίνεται ἢ δι' ὧν τὰ αἰσχρά τε καὶ πονηρὰ καὶ μισητά; Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, διαφέρει, ὃ Σώκρατες.

[3.10.6] Πρὸς δὲ Κλείωνα τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν εἰσελθὼν ποτε καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, Ὅτι μὲν, ἔφη, ὃ Κλείων, καλοὶ οὓς ποιεῖς δρομέας τε καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστάς, ὁρῶ τε καὶ οἶδα· ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὀψεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο ἐνεργάζῃ τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν; [3.10.7] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Κλείων οὐ ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἄρ', ἔφη, τοῖς τῶν ζώντων εἶδεςιν ἀπεικάζων τὸ ἔργον ζωτικωτέρους ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδριάντας; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν σχημάτων κατασπώμενα καὶ τὰνασπώμενα ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τὰ συμπιεζόμενα καὶ τὰ διελκόμενα καὶ τὰ ἐντεινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀνιέμενα ἀπεικάζων ὁμοιώτερα τε τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς καὶ πιθανώτερα ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [3.10.8] Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ποιοῦντων τι σωμάτων ἀπομιμεῖσθαι οὐ ποιεῖ τίνα τέρψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις; Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀπειλητικά τὰ ὄμματα ἀπεικαστέον, τῶν δὲ νενικηκότων εὐφραινομένων ἢ ὄψις μιμητέα; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη. Δεῖ ἄρα, ἔφη, τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιὸν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τῷ εἶδει προσεικάζειν.

[3.10.9] Πρὸς δὲ Πιστίαν τὸν θωρακοποιὸν εἰσελθὼν, ἐπιδείξαντος αὐτοῦ τῷ Σωκράτει θώρακας εὖ εἰργασμένους, Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, καλόν γε, ὃ Πιστία, τὸ εὖρημα τὸ τὰ μὲν δεόμενα σκέπης τοῦ

ἀνθρώπου σκεπάζειν τὸν θώρακα, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ μὴ κωλύειν χρῆσθαι. [3.10.10] ἀτάρ, ἔφη, λέξον μοι, ὦ Πιστία, διὰ τί οὐτ' ἰσχυροτέρους οὔτε πολυτελεστέρους τῶν ἄλλων ποιῶν τοὺς θώρακας πλείονος πωλεῖς; Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, εὐρυθμοτέρους ποιῶ. Τὸν δὲ ρυθμὸν, ἔφη, πότερα μέτρῳ ἢ σταθμῷ ἀποδεικνύων πλείονος τιμᾷ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἴσους γε πάντας οὐδὲ ὁμοίους οἶμαί σε ποιεῖν, εἴ γε ἀρμόττοντας ποιεῖς. Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ποιῶ· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὀφελὸς ἐστὶ θώρακος ἄνευ τούτου. [3.10.11] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, σώματά γε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν εὐρυθμά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἄρρυθμα; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τῷ ἄρρυθμῳ σώματι ἀρμόττοντα τὸν θώρακα εὐρυθμον ποιεῖς; Ὡσπερ καὶ ἀρμόττοντα, ἔφη· ὁ ἀρμόττων γὰρ ἐστὶν εὐρυθμος. [3.10.12] Δοκεῖς μοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ εὐρυθμον οὐ καθ' ἑαυτὸ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χρώμενον, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ φαίης ἀσπίδα, ὧι ἂν ἀρμόττηι, τούτῳ εὐρυθμον εἶναι, καὶ χλαμύδα, καὶ τᾶλλα ὡσαύτως ἔοικεν ἔχειν τῷ σῶι λόγῳ. [3.10.13] ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι οὐ μικρὸν ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἀρμόττειν πρόσεστι. Δίδαξον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ τί ἔχεις. Ἦττον, ἔφη, τῷ βάρει πιέζουσιν οἱ ἀρμόττοντες τῶν ἀναρμόστων τὸν αὐτὸν σταθμὸν ἔχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάρμοστοι ἢ ὅλοι ἐκ τῶν ὥμων κρεμάμενοι ἢ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῦ σώματος σφόδρα πιέζοντες δύσφοροι καὶ χαλεποὶ γίνονται· οἱ δὲ ἀρμόττοντες, διειλημμένοι τὸ βάρος τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κλειδῶν καὶ ἐπωμίδων, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ὥμων, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ στήθους, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νώτου, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γαστροῦς, ὀλίγου δεῖν οὐ φορήματι, ἀλλὰ προσθήματι εἰκόασιν. [3.10.14] Εἴρηκας, ἔφη, αὐτὸ δι' ὅπερ ἔγωγε τὰ ἐμὰ ἔργα πλείστου ἄξια νομίζω εἶναι. ἐνιοὶ μέντοι τοὺς ποικίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους θώρακας μᾶλλον ὠνοῦνται. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, εἴ γε διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀρμόττοντας ὠνοῦνται, κακὸν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποικίλον τε καὶ ἐπίχρυσον ὠνεῖσθαι. [3.10.15] ἀτάρ, ἔφη, τοῦ σώματος μὴ μένοντος, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν κυρτουμένου, τοτὲ δὲ ὀρθουμένου, πῶς ἂν ἀκριβεῖς θώρακες ἀρμόττοιεν; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη. Λέγεις, ἔφη, ἀρμόττειν οὐ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ λυποῦντας ἐν τῇ χρεΐαι. Αὐτός, ἔφη, τοῦτο λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ πάνυ ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχῃ.

[3.11.1] Γυναικὸς δὲ ποτε οὔσης ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῆς, ἥ ὄνομα ἦν Θεοδότῃ, καὶ οἷας συνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι, μνησθέντος αὐτῆς τῶν παρόντων τινὸς καὶ εἰπόντος ὅτι κρεῖττον εἴη λόγου τὸ κάλλος τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ζωγράφους φήσαντος εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεικασομένους, οἷς ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύειν ἑαυτῆς ὅσα καλῶς ἔχοι,

Ἰτέον ἂν εἶη θεασομένους, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούσασί γε τὸ λόγου κρεῖττον ἔστι καταμαθεῖν. καὶ ὁ διηγησάμενος, Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοιτ', ἔφη, ἀκολουθοῦντες. [3.11.2] οὕτω μὲν δὴ πορευθέντες πρὸς τὴν Θεοδότην καὶ καταλαβόντες ζωγράφῳ τινὶ παρεστηκυῖαν ἐθεάσαντο. παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ζωγράφου, Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πότερον ἡμᾶς δεῖ μᾶλλον Θεοδότῃ χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι ἡμῖν τὸ κάλλος ἑαυτῆς ἐπιεδείξεν, ἢ ταύτην ἡμῖν, ὅτι ἐθεασάμεθα; ἄρ' εἰ μὲν ταύτῃ ὠφελιμωτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπιδείξις, ταύτην ἡμῖν χάριν ἐκτέον, εἰ δὲ ἡμῖν ἢ θέα, ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ; [3.11.3] εἰπόντος δὲ τινος ὅτι δίκαια λέγοι, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, αὕτη μὲν ἤδη τε παρ' ἡμῶν ἔπαινον κερδαίνει καί, ἐπειδὴν εἰς πλείους διαγγείλωμεν, πλείῳ ὠφελήσεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἤδη τε ὧν ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ἄψασθαι καὶ ἄπιμεν ὑποκνιζόμενοι καὶ ἀπελθόντες ποθήσομεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς μὲν θεραπεύειν, ταύτην δὲ θεραπεύεσθαι. καὶ ἡ Θεοδότη, Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐμὲ ἂν δέοι ὑμῖν τῆς θέας χάριν ἔχειν. [3.11.4] ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Σωκράτης ὁρῶν αὐτὴν τε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην καὶ μητέρα παροῦσαν αὐτῇ ἐν ἐσθῇτί τε καὶ θεραπείαι οὐ τῇ τυχούσῃ, καὶ θεραπαίνας πολλὰς καὶ εὐεידεῖς καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτας ἡμελημένως ἐχούσας, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφθόνως κατεσκευασμένην, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Θεοδότη, ἔστι σοι ἀγρός; Οὐκ ἔμοιγ', ἔφη. Ἀλλ' ἄρα οἰκία προσόδους ἔχουσα; Οὐδὲ οἰκία, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴ χειροτέχναι τινές; Οὐδὲ χειροτέχναι, ἔφη. Πόθεν οὖν, ἔφη, τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχεις; Ἐάν τις, ἔφη, φίλος μοι γενόμενος εὖ ποιεῖν ἐθέλῃ, οὗτός μοι βίος ἐστί. [3.11.5] Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, ὦ Θεοδότη, καλὸν γε τὸ κτῆμα καὶ πολλῶι κρεῖττον <ἢ> οἰῶν τε καὶ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν φίλων ἀγέλην κεκτῆσθαι. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, πότερον τῇ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέπεις, ἐάν τις σοι φίλος ὥσπερ μυῖα πρόσπτηται, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ τι μηχανᾷ; [3.11.6] Πῶς δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ τούτου μηχανὴν εὖροιμι; Πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, προσηκόντως μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ φάλαγγες· οἶσθα γὰρ ὥς ἐκεῖναι θηρῶσι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον· ἀράχνια γὰρ δήπου λεπτὰ ὑφηνάμεναι, ὅ τι ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἐμπέσῃ, τούτῳ τροφῇ χρῶνται. [3.11.7] Καὶ ἐμοὶ οὖν, ἔφη, συμβουλευεῖς ὑφήνασθαί τι θήρατρον; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε ἀτέχνως οἶεσθαι χρή τὸ πλείστου ἄξιον ἄγρευμα, φίλους, θηράσειν. οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ τὸ μικροῦ ἄξιον, τοὺς λαγῶς, θηρῶντες πολλὰ τεχνάζουσιν; [3.11.8] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς νέμονται, κύνας νυκτερευτικὰς πορισάμενοι, ταύταις αὐτοὺς θηρῶσιν· ὅτι δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, ἄλλας κτῶνται κύνας, αἵτινες, ἥ ἂν ἐκ τῆς

νομῆς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν ἀπέλθωσι, τῇ ὁσμῇ αἰσθανόμεναι εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτούς· ὅτι δὲ ποδώκεις εἰσὶν ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τρέχοντες ἀποφεύγειν, ἄλλας αὖ κύνας ταχείας παρασκευάζονται, ἵνα κατὰ πόδας ἀλίσκωνται· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῶν τινες ἀποφεύγουσι, δίκτυα ἰσθᾶσιν εἰς τὰς ἀτραπούς, ἣι φεύγουσιν, ἵν' εἰς ταῦτα ἐμπίπτοντες συμποδίζονται. [3.11.9] Τίνι οὖν, ἔφη, τοιοῦτοι φίλους ἂν ἐγὼ θηρώην; Ἐὰν νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ἀντὶ κυνὸς κτήσῃ, ὅστις σοι ἰχνεύων μὲν τοὺς φιλοκάλους καὶ πλουσίους εὐρήσῃ, εὐρὼν δὲ μηχανήσεται ὅπως ἐμβάλῃ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σὰ δίκτυα. [3.11.10] Καὶ ποῖα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ δίκτυα ἔχω; Ἐν μὲν δήπου, ἔφη, καὶ μάλα εὖ περιπλεκόμενον, τὸ σῶμα· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ψυχὴν, ἣ καταμανθάνεις καὶ ὥς ἂν ἐμβλέπουσα χαρίζοιο καὶ ὃ τι ἂν λέγουσα εὐφραίνεις, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μὲν ἐπιμελόμενον ἀσμένως ὑποδέχεσθαι, τὸν δὲ τρυφῶντα ἀποκλείειν, καὶ ἄρρωστήσαντός γε φίλου φροντιστικῶς ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ καλὸν τι πράξαντος σφόδρα συνησθῆναι καὶ τῷ σφόδρα σοῦ φροντίζοντι ὅληι τῇ ψυχῇ κεχαρίσθαι· φιλεῖν γε μὴν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἐπίστασαι οὐ μόνον μαλακῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὖ νοικῶς· καὶ ὅτι ἄρεστοί σοί εἰσιν οἱ φίλοι, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀναπείθεις. Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ἡ Θεοδότῃ, ἐγὼ τούτων οὐδὲν μηχανῶμαι. [3.11.11] Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, πολὺ διαφέρει τὸν κατὰ φύσιν τε καὶ ὀρθῶς ἀνθρώπῳ προσφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ βίαι μὲν οὗτ' ἂν ἔλοις οὔτε κατάσχοις φίλον, εὐεργεσίαι δὲ καὶ ἡδονῇ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἀλώσιμόν τε καὶ παραμόνιμόν ἐστιν. Ἀληθῇ λέγεις, ἔφη. [3.11.12] Δεῖ τοίνυν, ἔφη, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς φροντίζοντάς σου τοιαῦτα ἀξιοῦν, οἷα ποιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς μικρότατα μελήσει, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὴν ἀμείβεσθαι χαριζομένην τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα φίλοι γίνονιντο καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον φιλοῖεν καὶ μέγιστα εὐεργετοῖεν. [3.11.13] χαρίζοιο δ' ἂν μάλιστα, εἰ δεομένοις δωροῖο τὰ παρὰ σεαυτῆς· ὁρᾷς γὰρ ὅτι καὶ τῶν βρωμάτων τὰ ἥδιστα, ἐὰν μὲν τις προσφέρῃ πρὶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀηδὴ φαίνεται, κεκορεσμένοις δὲ καὶ βδελυγμίαν παρέχει, ἐὰν δὲ τις προσφέρῃ λιμὸν ἐμποιήσας, καὶ φαιδρότερα ἢ, πάντῃ ἡδέα φαίνεται. [3.11.14] Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ λιμὸν ἐμποιεῖν τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ δυναίμην; Εἰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς κεκορεσμένοις μήτε προσφέρεις μήτε ὑπομιμνήσκεις, ἕως ἂν τῆς πλησμονῆς παυσάμενοι πάλιν δέωνται, ἔπειτα τοὺς δεομένους ὑπομιμνήσκεις ὥς κοσμιωτάτῃ τε ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ τῷ <μη> φαίνεσθαι βουλομένη χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διαφεύγουσα ἕως ἂν ὥς μάλιστα δεηθῶσι· τῆνικαῦτα γὰρ πολὺ διαφέρει τὰ αὐτὰ δῶρα

ἢ πρὶν ἐπιθυμῆσαι διδόναι. [3.11.15] καὶ ἡ Θεοδότῃ, Τί οὖν οὐ σύ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγένου συνθηρατῆς τῶν φίλων; Ἐάν γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πείθῃς με σύ. Πῶς οὖν ἄν, ἔφη, πείσαιμί σε; Ζητήσεις, ἔφη, τοῦτο αὐτὴ καὶ μηχανήσῃ, ἐάν τί μου δέῃ. Εἴσιθι τοίνυν, ἔφη, θαμινά. [3.11.16] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπισκώπτων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπραγμοσύνην, Ἀλλ', ὦ Θεοδότῃ, ἔφη, οὐ πάνυ μοι ραϊδιὸν ἐστὶ σχολάσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἴδια πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ δημόσια παρέχει μοι ἀσχολίαν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ φίλοι μοι, αἱ οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀφ' αὐτῶν ἐάσουσί με ἀπιέναι, φίλτρα τε μανθάνουσαι παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπωιδάς. [3.11.17] Ἐπίστασαι γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Σώκρατες; Ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οἶει, ἔφη, Ἀπολλόδωρόν τε τόνδε καὶ Ἀντισθένη οὐδέποτε μου ἀπολείπεσθαι; διὰ τί δὲ καὶ Κέβητα καὶ Σιμίαν Θήβηθεν παραγίγνεσθαι; εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπωιδῶν καὶ ὑγγων ἐστί. [3.11.18] Χρῆσον τοίνυν μοι, ἔφη, τὴν ἴυγγα, ἵνα ἐπὶ σοὶ πρῶτον ἔλκω αὐτήν. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλκεσθαι πρὸς σὲ βούλομαι, ἀλλὰ σὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ πορεύεσθαι. Ἀλλὰ πορεύσομαι, ἔφη· μόνον ὑποδέχου. Ἀλλ' ὑποδέξομαί σε, ἔφη, ἂν μὴ τις φιλωτέρα σου ἔνδον ᾖ.

[3.12.1] Ἐπιγένῃν δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινὰ νέον τε ὄντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶς ἔχοντα ἰδὼν, Ὡς ιδιωτικῶς, ἔφη, τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις, ὦ Ἐπίγενες. καὶ ὅς, Ἰδιώτης γάρ, ἔφη, εἰμί, ὦ Σώκρατες. Οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἔφη, τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μελλόντων ἀγωνίζεσθαι· ἢ δοκεῖ σοι μικρὸς εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγών, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι θήσουσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι; [3.12.2] καὶ μὴν οὐκ ὀλίγοι μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεξίαν ἀποθνήσκουσιν τε ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ αἰσχυρῶς σώζονται· πολλοὶ δὲ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ζῶντές τε ἀλίσκονται καὶ ἀλόντες ἤτοι δουλεύουσι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ἐὰν οὕτω τύχωσι, τὴν χαλεπωτάτην δουλείαν ἢ εἰς τὰς ἀνάγκας τὰς ἀλγεινοτάτας ἐμπεσόντες καὶ ἐκτείσαντες ἐνίστε πλείω τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐνδεεῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὄντες καὶ κακοπαθοῦντες διαζῶσι· πολλοὶ δὲ δόξαν αἰσχυρὰν κτῶνται διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀδυναμίαν δοκοῦντες ἀποδειλιάν. [3.12.3] ἢ καταφρονεῖς τῶν ἐπιτιμίων τῆς καχεξίας τούτων, καὶ ραϊδίως ἂν οἶει φέρειν τὰ τοιαῦτα; καὶ μὴν οἶμαί γε πολλῶι ραίῳ καὶ ἡδίῳ τούτων εἶναι ἢ δεῖ ὑπομένειν τὸν ἐπιμελόμενον τῆς τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίας. ἢ ὑγιεινότερόν τε καὶ εἰς τᾶλλα χρησιμώτερον νομίζεις εἶναι τὴν καχεξίαν τῆς εὐεξίας, ἢ τῶν διὰ τὴν εὐεξίαν γιγνομένων καταφρονεῖς; [3.12.4] καὶ μὴν πάντα γε

τάναντία συμβαίνει τοῖς εὖ τὰ σώματα ἔχουσιν ἢ τοῖς κακῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὑγιαίνουν οἱ τὰ σώματα εὖ ἔχοντες καὶ ἰσχύουσι· καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀγώνων σώζονται τε εὐσχημόνως καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα διαφεύγουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ φίλοις τε βοηθοῦσι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετοῦσι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα χάριτός τε ἀξιοῦνται καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην κτῶνται καὶ τιμῶν καλλίστων τυγχάνουσι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τόν τε λοιπὸν βίον ἥδιον καὶ κάλλιον διαζῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν παισὶ καλλίους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸν βίον καταλείπουσιν. [3.12.5] οὗτοι χρή, ὅτι οὐκ ἀσκεῖ δημοσίαι ἢ πόλεις τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδία ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἥττον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἀγῶνι οὐδὲ ἐν πράξει οὐδεμιᾷ μείον ἕξεις διὰ τὸ βέλτιον τὸ σῶμα παρεσκευάσθαι· πρὸς πάντα γὰρ ὅσα πράττουσιν ἄνθρωποι χρήσιμον τὸ σῶμά ἐστιν· ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος χρεῖαις πολὺ διαφέρει ὡς βέλτιστα τὸ σῶμα ἔχειν [3.12.6] ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐν ᾧ δοκεῖ ἐλαχίστη σώματος χρεῖα εἶναι, ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοὶ μεγάλα σφάλλονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὑγιαίνειν τὸ σῶμα; καὶ λήθη δὲ καὶ ἀθυμία καὶ δυσκολία καὶ μανία πολλάκις πολλοῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεξίαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμπίπτουσιν οὕτως ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐκβάλλειν. [3.12.7] τοῖς δὲ τὰ σώματα εὖ ἔχουσι πολλὴ ἀσφάλεια καὶ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος διὰ γε τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεξίαν τοιοῦτόν τι παθεῖν, εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία τῶν διὰ τὴν καχεξίαν γινομένων [καὶ] τὴν εὐεξίαν χρήσιμον εἶναι· καίτοι τῶν γε τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐναντίων ἕνεκα τί οὐκ ἂν τις νοῦν ἔχων ὑπομείνειεν; [3.12.8] αἰσχρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἀμέλειαν γηρᾶναι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν ἑαυτὸν ποῖος ἂν κάλλιστος καὶ κράτιστος τῷ σώματι γένοιτο· ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀμελοῦντα· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλει αὐτόματα γίνεσθαι.

[3.13.1] Ὅργιζομένου δὲ ποτέ τινος, ὅτι προσειπὼν τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροσερρήθη, Γελοῖον, ἔφη, τό, εἰ μὲν τὸ σῶμα κάκιον ἔχοντι ἀπήνητάς τω, μὴ ἂν ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγροικοτέρως διακειμένῳ περιέτυχες, τοῦτό σε λυπεῖ.

[3.13.2] Ἄλλου δὲ λέγοντος ὅτι ἀηδῶς ἐσθίῳι, Ἀκουμένος, ἔφη, τούτου φάρμακον ἀγαθὸν διδάσκει. ἐρομένου δέ, Ποῖον; Παύσασθαι ἐσθίοντα, ἔφη· καὶ ἥδιόν τε καὶ εὐτελέστερον καὶ ὑγιεινότερον διάζειν πανσάμενον.

[3.13.3] Ἄλλου δ' αὖ λέγοντος ὅτι θερμὸν εἴη παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ὃ πίνῃ, Ὅταν ἄρ', ἔφη, βούλῃ θερμῷ λούσασθαι, ἔτοιμον ἔσται

σοι. Ἀλλὰ ψυχρόν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὥστε λούσασθαι. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ οἰκέται σου ἄχθονται πίνοντές τε αὐτὸ καὶ λούμενοι αὐτῷ; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη· ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις τεθαύμακα ὡς ἡδέως αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα χρῶνται. Πότερον δέ, ἔφη, τὸ παρὰ σοὶ ὕδωρ θερμότερον πιεῖν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ; Τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ἔφη. Πότερον δὲ λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον τὸ παρὰ σοὶ ἢ τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου; Τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου, ἔφη. Ἐνθυμοῦ οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι κινδυνεύεις δυσαρεστότερος εἶναι τῶν τε οἰκετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρρωστούντων.

[3.13.4] Κολάσαντος δέ τινος ἰσχυρῶς ἀκόλουθον, ἦρετο τί χαλεπαῖνοι τῷ θεράποντι, Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὀψοφαγίστατός τε ὢν βλακότατός ἐστι καὶ φιλαργυρώτατος ὢν ἀργότατος. Ἦδη ποτὲ οὖν ἐπεσκέψω, πότερος πλειόνων πληγῶν δεῖται, σὺ ἢ ὁ θεράπων;

[3.13.5] Φοβουμένου δέ τινος τὴν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ὁδόν, Τί, ἔφη, φοβῇ τὴν πορείαν; οὐ καὶ οἴκοι σχεδὸν ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖς; καὶ ἐκεῖσε πορευόμενος περιπατήσας ἀριστήσεις, περιπατήσας δειπνήσεις καὶ ἀναπαύσῃ. οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι, εἰ ἐκτείναις τοὺς περιπάτους, οὓς ἐν πέντε ἢ ἑξ ἡμέραις περιπατεῖς, ραιδίως ἂν Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφίκοιο; χαριέστερον δὲ καὶ προεξορμᾶν ἡμέραι μιᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑστερίζειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκάζεσθαι περαιτέρω τοῦ μετρίου μηκύνειν τὰς ὁδοὺς χαλεπόν, τὸ δὲ μιᾷ ἡμέραι πλείους πορευθῆναι πολλὴν ραισιτώνην παρέχει. κρεῖττον οὖν ἐν τῇ ὁρμῇ σπεύδειν ἢ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

[3.13.6] Ἄλλου δὲ λέγοντος ὡς παρετάθη μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευθείς, ἦρετο αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ φορτίον ἔφερε, Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱμάτιον. Μόνος δ' ἐπορεύου, ἔφη, ἢ καὶ ἀκόλουθός σοι ἡκολούθει; Ἥκολούθει, ἔφη. Πότερον κενός, ἔφη, ἢ φέρων τι; Φέρων νῆ Δί', ἔφη, τά τε στρώματα καὶ τᾶλλα σκεύη. Καὶ πῶς [τι], ἔφη, ἀπῆλλαχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ; Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, βέλτιον ἐμοῦ. Τί οὖν; ἔφη, εἰ τὸ ἐκείνου φορτίον ἔδει σε φέρειν, πῶς ἂν οἶε διατεθῆναι; Κακῶς νῆ Δί', ἔφη· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐδυνήθην κομίσει. Τὸ οὖν τοσοῦτω ἦττον τοῦ παιδὸς δύνασθαι πονεῖν πῶς ἡσκημένου δοκεῖ σοι ἀνδρὸς εἶναι;

[3.14.1] Ὅποτε δὲ τῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον οἱ μὲν μικρὸν ὄψον, οἱ δὲ πολὺ φέροιεν, ἐκέλευεν ὁ Σωκράτης τὸν παῖδα τὸ μικρὸν ἢ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τιθέναι ἢ διανέμειν ἐκάστωι τὸ μέρος. οἱ οὖν τὸ πολὺ φέροντες ἡσχύοντο <τό> τε μὴ κοινωνεῖν τοῦ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τιθεμένου καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀντιτιθέναι τὸ ἑαυτῶν· ἐτίθεσαν οὖν καὶ τὸ

ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸ κοινόν. καὶ ἐπεὶ οὐδὲν πλέον εἶχον τῶν μικρὸν φερομένων, ἐπαύοντο πολλοῦ ὀψωνοῦντες.

[3.14.2] Καταμαθὼν δὲ ποτε τῶν συνδειπνούντων τινὰ τοῦ μὲν σίτου πεπαυμένον, τὸ δὲ ὄψον αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἐσθίοντα, λόγου ὄντος περὶ ὀνομάτων, ἐφ' οἷωι ἔργωι ἕκαστον εἶη, Ἔχοιμεν ἄν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ ποίῳ ποτὲ ἔργωι ἄνθρωπος ὀψοφάγος καλεῖται; ἐσθίουσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ ὄψον, ὅταν παρῇ· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶμαί πω ἐπὶ τούτῳ γε ὀψοφάγοι καλοῦνται. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων. [3.14.3] Τί γάρ; ἔφη, ἔάν τις ἄνευ τοῦ σίτου τὸ ὄψον αὐτὸ ἐσθίῃ μὴ ἀσκήσεως, ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα, πότερον ὀψοφάγος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἢ οὐ; Σχολῇ γ' ἄν, ἔφη, ἄλλος τις ὀψοφάγος εἶη. καὶ τις ἄλλος τῶν παρόντων, Ὁ δὲ μικρῶι σίτῳ, ἔφη, πολλὸ ὄψον ἐπεσθίον; Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ οὗτος δοκεῖ δικαίως ἂν ὀψοφάγος καλεῖσθαι· καὶ ὅταν γε οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχωνται πολυκαρπίαν, εἰκότως ἂν οὗτος πολυοσίαν εὐχοίτο. [3.14.4] ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος, νομίσας ὁ νεανίσκος εἰς αὐτὸν εἰρῆσθαι τὰ λεχθέντα τὸ μὲν ὄψον οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ἐσθίων, ἄρτον δὲ προσέλαβε. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης καταμαθὼν, Παρατηρεῖτ', ἔφη, τοῦτον οἱ πλησίον, ὁπότερα τῷ σίτῳ ὄψῳ ἢ τῷ ὄψῳ σίτῳ χρήσεται.

[3.14.5] Ἄλλον δὲ ποτε τῶν συνδείπνων ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνὶ ψωμῷ πλειόνων ὄψων γευόμενον, Ἄρα γένοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη, πολυτελεστέρα ὀψοποιία ἢ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄψα λυμαιομένη, ἢ ἣν ὀψοποιεῖται ὁ ἅμα πολλὰ ἐσθίων καὶ ἅμα παντοδαπὰ ἡδύσματα εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνων; πλείῳ μὲν γε τῶν ὀψοποιῶν συμμιγνύων πολυτελέστερα ποιεῖ· ἃ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ συμμιγνύουσιν, ὥς οὐχ ἄρμόττοντα, ὁ συμμιγνύων, εἴπερ ἐκεῖνοι ὀρθῶς ποιοῦσιν, ἀμαρτάνει τε καὶ καταλύει τὴν τέχνην αὐτῶν. [3.14.6] καίτοι πῶς οὐ γελοῖόν ἐστι παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὀψοποιοὺς τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπιστάμενους, αὐτὸν δὲ μὴδ' ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς τέχνης ταύτης τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνων ποιούμενα μετατιθέναι; καὶ ἄλλο δέ τι προσγίγνεται τῷ ἅμα πολλὰ ἐσθίειν ἐθισθέντι· μὴ παρόντων γὰρ πολλῶν μειονεκτεῖν ἂν τι δοκοίη ποθῶν τὸ σύνηθες· ὁ δὲ συνεθισθεὶς τὸν ἕνα ψωμὸν ἐνὶ ὄψῳ προπέμπειν, ὅτε μὴ παρείη πολλά, δύναται ἂν ἀλύπως τῷ ἐνὶ χρήσθαι.

[3.14.7] Ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ὥς τὸ εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων γλώττῃ ἐσθίειν καλοῖτο· τὸ δὲ εὖ προσκεῖσθαι ἔφη ἐπὶ τῷ ταῦτα ἐσθίειν, ἃ μήτε τὴν ψυχὴν μήτε τὸ σῶμα λυποῖη μὴδὲ δυσεύρετα εἶη· ὥστε καὶ τὸ εὐωχεῖσθαι τοῖς κοσμίως διαιτωμένοις ἀνετίθει.

Βιβλίον δ'

[4.1.1] Οὕτω δὲ Σωκράτης ἦν ἐν παντὶ πράγματι καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὠφέλιμος, ὥστε τῷ σκοπομένῳ τοῦτο καὶ [εἰ] μετρίως αἰσθανομένῳ φανερόν εἶναι ὅτι οὐδὲν ὠφελιμώτερον ἦν τοῦ Σωκράτει συνεῖναι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου διατρίβειν ὅπου οὖν καὶ ἐν ὁττωῖν πράγματι· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μεμνησθαι μὴ παρόντος οὐ μικρὰ ὠφέλει τοὺς εἰωθότας τε αὐτῷ συνεῖναι καὶ ἀποδεχομένους ἐκείνον. καὶ γὰρ παίζων οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ σπουδάζων ἐλυσιτέλει τοῖς συνδιατρίβουσι. [4.1.2] πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη μὲν ἂν τινος ἐρᾶν, φανερόν δ' ἦν οὐ τῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς ὥραν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν εὖ πεφυκότων ἐφιέμενος. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ τὰς ἀγαθὰς φύσεις ἐκ τοῦ ταχὺ τε μανθάνειν οἷς προσέχοιεν καὶ μνημονεύειν ἃ [ἂν] μάθοιεν καὶ ἐπιθυμῆναι τῶν μαθημάτων πάντων δι' ὧν ἔστιν οἰκόν τε καλῶς οἰκεῖν καὶ πόλιν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀνθρώποις τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασιν εὖ χρῆσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους ἡγεῖτο παιδευθέντας οὐκ ἂν μόνον αὐτοὺς τε εὐδαίμονας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν οἴκους καλῶς οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ πόλεις δύνασθαι εὐδαίμονας ποιεῖν. [4.1.3] οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐπὶ πάντας ἦiei, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους φύσει ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, μαθήσεως δὲ καταφρονοῦντας ἐδίδασκεν ὅτι αἱ ἄριστα δοκοῦσαι εἶναι φύσεις μάλιστα παιδείας δέονται, ἐπιδεικνύων τῶν τε ἵππων τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους, θυμοειδεῖς τε καὶ σφοδροὺς ὄντας, εἰ μὲν ἐκ νέων δαμασθεῖεν, εὐχρηστοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους γιγνομένους, εἰ δὲ ἀδάμαστοι γένοιτο, δυσκαθεκτοτάτους καὶ φανλοτάτους· καὶ τῶν κυνῶν τῶν εὐφυεστάτων, φιλοπόνων τε οὐσῶν καὶ ἐπιθετικῶν τοῖς θηρίοις, τὰς μὲν καλῶς ἀχθείσας ἀρίστας γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τὰς θήρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτας, ἀναγώγους δὲ γιγνομένας ματαίους τε καὶ μανιώδεις καὶ δυσπειθεστάτας. [4.1.4] ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους, ἐρρωμενεστάτους τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὄντας καὶ ἐξεργαστικωτάτους ὧν ἂν ἐγχειρῶσι, παιδευθέντας μὲν καὶ μαθόντας ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἀρίστους τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτους γίγνεσθαι· πλεῖστα γὰρ καὶ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι· ἀπαιδεύτους δὲ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενομένους κακίστους τε καὶ βλαβερωτάτους γίγνεσθαι· κρίνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπισταμένους ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, πολλάκις πονηροῖς ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασι, μεγαλείους δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς ὄντας δυσκαθέκτους τε καὶ

δυσασποτρέπτους εἶναι, δι' ὃ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι. [4.1.5] τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ μέγα φρονοῦντας καὶ νομίζοντας οὐδὲν προσδεῖσθαι παιδείας, ἐξαρκέσειν δὲ σφίσι τὸν πλοῦτον οἰομένους πρὸς τὸ διαπράττεσθαι τε ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφρένου λέγων ὅτι μῶρος μὲν εἴη, εἴ τις οἶεται μὴ μαθὼν τὰ τε ὠφέλιμα καὶ τὰ βλαβερὰ τῶν πραγμάτων διαγνώσεσθαι, μῶρος δ', εἴ τις μὴ διαγιγνώσκων μὲν ταῦτα, διὰ δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον ὃ τι ἂν βούληται ποριζόμενος οἶεται δυνήσεσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα πράττειν, ἡλίθιος δ', εἴ τις μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ συμφέροντα πράττειν εὖ τε πράττειν οἶεται καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτῷ [ἢ] καλῶς ἢ ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, ἡλίθιος δὲ καὶ εἴ τις οἶεται διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον, μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος, δόξειν τι ἀγαθὸς εἶναι ἢ, μηδὲν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, εὐδοκιμήσειν.

[4.2.1] Τοῖς δὲ νομίζουσι παιδείας τε τῆς ἀρίστης τετυχηκέναι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σοφίαι ὥς προσεφέρετο νῦν διηγήσομαι. καταμαθὼν γὰρ Εὐθύδημον τὸν καλὸν γράμματα πολλὰ συνειλεγμένον ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμωτάτων καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἤδη τε νομίζοντα διαφέρειν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐν σοφίαι καὶ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα πάντων διοίσειν τῷ δύνασθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν, πρῶτον μὲν, αἰσθανόμενος αὐτὸν διὰ νεότητα οὐπω εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν εἰσιόντα, εἰ δέ τι βούλοιο διαπράξασθαι, καθίζοντα εἰς ἡνιοποιεῖον τι τῶν ἐγγὺς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἦιει τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τινὰς ἔχων. [4.2.2] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πυνθανομένου τινὸς πότερον Θεμιστοκλῆς διὰ συνουσίαν τινὸς τῶν σοφῶν ἢ φύσει τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν πολιτῶν, ὥστε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέπειν τὴν πόλιν, ὁπότε σπουδαίου ἀνδρὸς δεηθείη, ὁ Σωκράτης βουλόμενος κινεῖν τὸν Εὐθύδημον εὔηθες ἔφη εἶναι τὸ οἶεσθαι τὰς μὲν ὀλίγου ἀξίας τέχνας μὴ γίνεσθαι σπουδαίους ἄνευ διδασκάλων ἱκανῶν, τὸ δὲ προεστάναι πόλεως, πάντων ἔργων μέγιστον ὄν, ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου παραγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. [4.2.3] πάλιν δὲ ποτε παρόντος τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα τῆς συνεδρίας καὶ φυλαττόμενον μὴ δόξῃ τὸν Σωκράτην θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ σοφίαι, Ὅτι μὲν, ἔφη, ὧ ἄνδρες, Εὐθύδημος οὕτοσι ἐν ἡλικίαι γενόμενος, τῆς πόλεως λόγον περὶ τινος προτιθείσης, οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ συμβουλευεῖν, εὐδῆλον ἐξ ὧν ἐπιτηδεύει· δοκεῖ δέ μοι καλὸν προσίμιον τῶν δημηγοριῶν παρασκευάσασθαι φυλαττόμενος μὴ δόξῃ μανθάνειν τι παρὰ του. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ὧδε

προοιμιάσεται [4.2.4] «Παρ' οὐδενὸς μὲν πρόποτε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐδὲν ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ἀκούων τινὰς εἶναι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ἱκανοὺς ἐζήτησα τούτοις ἐντυχεῖν, οὐδ' ἐπεμελήθην τοῦ διδάσκαλόν τινά μοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπισταμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάναντία· διατετέλεκα γὰρ φεύγων οὐ μόνον τὸ μανθάνειν τι παρὰ τινος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόξαι. ὅμως δὲ ὃ τι ἂν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου ἐπίηι μοι συμβουλευσώ ὑμῖν.» [4.2.5] ἀρμόσειε δ' ἂν οὕτω προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἱατρικὸν ἔργον λαβεῖν· ἐπιτήδειόν γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς εἴη τοῦ λόγου ἄρχεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν· «Παρ' οὐδενὸς μὲν πρόποτε, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην ἔμαθον, οὐδ' ἐζήτησα διδάσκαλον ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι τῶν ἱατρῶν οὐδένα· διατετέλεκα γὰρ φυλαττόμενος οὐ μόνον τὸ μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόξαι μεμαθηκέναι τὴν τέχνην ταύτην. ὅμως δέ μοι τὸ ἱατρικὸν ἔργον δότε· πειράσομαι γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀποκινδυνεύων μανθάνειν.» πάντες οὖν οἱ παρόντες ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τῷ προοιμίῳ. [4.2.6] ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸς ἦν ὁ Εὐθύδημος ἤδη μὲν οἷς ὁ Σωκράτης λέγοι προσέχων, ἔτι δὲ φυλαττόμενος αὐτός τι φθέγγεσθαι καὶ νομίζων τῇ σιωπῇ σωφροσύνης δόξαν περιβάλλεσθαι, τότε ὁ Σωκράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν παῦσαι τούτου, Θαυμαστὸν γάρ, ἔφη, τί ποτε οἱ βουλόμενοι κιθαρίζειν ἢ αὐλεῖν ἢ ἱππεύειν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι πειρῶνται ὥς συνεχέστατα ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ καθ' ἑαυτούς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάντα ποιοῦντες καὶ ὑπομένοντες ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ποιεῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἀξιόλογοι γενόμενοι· τῶν δὲ βουλομένων δυνατῶν γενέσθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν τὰ πολιτικά νομίζουσι τινες ἄνευ παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτόματοι ἐξαίφνης δυνατοὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔσεσθαι. [4.2.7] καίτοι γε τοσούτῳ ταῦτα ἐκείνων δυσκατεργαστότερα φαίνεται, ὅσῳ περ πλείονων περὶ ταῦτα πραγματευομένων ἐλάττους οἱ κατεργαζόμενοι γίνονται. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἐπιμελείας δέονται πλείονος καὶ ἰσχυροτέρας οἱ τούτων ἐφίεμενοι ἢ οἱ ἐκείνων. [4.2.8] κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀκούοντος Εὐθυδήμου τοιούτους λόγους ἔλεγε Σωκράτης· ὥς δ' ἦισθετο αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότερον ὑπομένοντα, ὅτε διαλέγοιτο, καὶ προθυμότερον ἀκούοντα, μόνος ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ἡνιοποιεῖον, παρακαθεζομένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Εὐθυδήμου, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, τῷ ὄντι, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἀκούω, πολλὰ γράμματα συνῆχας τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν γεγονέναι; καὶ ὁ Ε=θύδημος, Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· καὶ ἔτι γε συνάγω, ἕως ἂν κτήσωμαι

ὥς ἂν δύνωμαι πλεῖστα. [4.2.9] Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀγαμαί γέ σου, διότι οὐκ ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου προείλου θησαυροὺς κεκτηῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφίας· δηλὸν γὰρ ὅτι νομίζεις ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲν βελτίους ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰς δὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν γνώμας ἀρετῇ πλουτίζειν τοὺς κεκτημένους. καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος ἔχαιρεν ἀκούων ταῦτα, νομίζων δοκεῖν τῷ Σωκράτει ὀρθῶς μετιέναι τὴν σοφίαν. ὁ δὲ καταμαθὼν αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα τῷ ἐπαίνῳ τούτῳ, [4.2.10] Τί δὲ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, συλλέγεις τὰ γράμματα; ἐπὶ δὲ διεσιώπησεν ὁ Εὐθύδημος σκοπῶν ὅ τι ἀποκρίναιτο, πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἄρα μὴ ἱατρός; ἔφη· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἱατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγράμματα. καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρχιτέκτων βούλει γενέσθαι; γνωμονικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ. Οὐκουν ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴ γεωμέτρης ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἔφη, γενέσθαι ἀγαθός, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος; Οὐδὲ γεωμέτρης, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀστρολόγος, ἔφη, βούλει γενέσθαι; ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἡρνεῖτο, Ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥαψωιδός; ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ τὰ Ὀμήρου σέ φασιν ἔπη πάντα κεκτηῖσθαι. Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη· τοὺς γάρ τοι ῥαψωιδοὺς οἶδα τὰ μὲν ἔπη ἀκριβοῦντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάννυ ἡλιθίους ὄντας. [4.2.11] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Οὐ δῆπου, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐφίεσαι, δι' ἣν ἄνθρωποι πολιτικοὶ γίνονται καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ καὶ ἄρχειν ἱκανοὶ καὶ ὠφέλιμοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς; καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τ&#

[4.3.1] Τὸ μὲν οὖν λεκτικούς καὶ πρακτικούς καὶ μηχανικούς γίνεσθαι τοὺς συνόντας οὐκ ἔσπευδεν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τούτων ὦιτο χρῆναι σωφροσύνην αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. τοὺς γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ταῦτα δυναμένους ἀδικωτέρους τε καὶ δυνατωτέρους κακουργεῖν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι. [4.3.2] πρῶτον μὲν δὴ περὶ θεοὺς ἐπειρᾶτο σώφρονας ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλους οὕτως ὁμιλοῦντι παραγενόμενοι διηγοῦντο· ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύδημον τοιαύδε διελέγετο, παρεγενόμην. [4.3.3] Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ἥδη ποτέ σοι ἐπῆλθεν ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὥς ἐπιμελῶς οἱ θεοὶ ὦν οἱ ἄνθρωποι δέονται κατεσκευάκασιν; καὶ ὅς, Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔμοιγε. Ἀλλ' οἶσθά γ', ἔφη, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν φωτὸς δεόμεθα, ὃ ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὃ γ' εἰ μὴ εἵχομεν, ὅμοιοι τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἂν ἦμεν ἐνεκά γε τῶν ἡμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀναπαύσεώς γε δεόμενοις ἡμῖν νύκτα παρέχουσι κάλλιστον ἀναπαιτήριον. Πάννυ γ', ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο χάριτος ἄξιον. [4.3.4] Οὐκοῦν

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν ἥλιος φωτεινὸς ὢν τὰς τε ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῖν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα σαφηνίζει, ἡ δὲ νύξ διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὴ εἶναι ἀσαφεστέρα ἐστίν, ἄστρα ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἀνέφηναν, ἃ ἡμῖν τῆς νυκτὸς τὰς ὥρας ἐμφανίζει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ ὧν δεόμεθα πράττομεν; Ἔστι ταῦτα, ἔφη. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἢ γε σελήνη οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μηνὸς τὰ μέρη φανερὰ ἡμῖν ποιεῖ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [4.3.5] Τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα, ταύτην ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόναι καὶ ὥρας ἀρμοστούσας πρὸς τοῦτο παρέχειν, αἱ ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον ὧν δεόμεθα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εὐφραινόμεθα; Πάνυ, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα φιλάνθρωπα. [4.3.6] Τὸ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ ἡμῖν παρέχειν οὕτω πολλοῦ ἄξιον, ὥστε συμφύειν τε καὶ συναύξειν τῇ γῇ καὶ ταῖς ὥραις πάντα τὰ χρήσιμα ἡμῖν, συντρέφειν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς καὶ μιγνύμενον πᾶσι τοῖς τρέφουσιν ἡμᾶς εὐκατεργαστότερα τε καὶ ὠφελιμώτερα καὶ ἡδίων ποιεῖν αὐτά, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλείστου δεόμεθα τούτου, ἀφθονέστατον αὐτὸ παρέχειν ἡμῖν; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, προνοητικόν. [4.3.7] Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ πορίσαι ἡμῖν, ἐπίκουρον μὲν ψύχους, ἐπίκουρον δὲ σκότους, συνεργὸν δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τέχνην καὶ πάντα ὅσα ὠφελείας ἔνεκα ἄνθρωποι κατασκευάζονται; ὥς γὰρ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἄνευ πυρὸς ἄνθρωποι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων κατασκευάζονται. Ὑπερβάλλει, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο φιλάνθρωπαι. [4.3.8] Τὸ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον, ἐπειδὴ ἐν χειμῶνι τράπηται, προσιέναι τὰ μὲν ἀδρύνοντα, τὰ δὲ ξηραίνοντα, ὧν καιρὸς διελήλυθε, καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον μηκέτι ἐγγυτέρω προσιέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι φυλαττόμενον μή τι ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος θερμαίνων βλάβῃ, καὶ ὅταν αὖ πάλιν ἀπιὼν γένηται ἔνθα καὶ ἡμῖν δηλὸν ἐστίν ὅτι, εἰ προσωτέρω ἅπεισιν, ἀποπαγησόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους, πάλιν αὖ τρέπεσθαι καὶ προσχωρεῖν, καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι ἔνθα ὧν μάλιστ' <ἂν> ἡμᾶς ὠφελοίη; Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα παντάπασιν ἔοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἔνεκα γιγνομένοις. [4.3.9] Τὸ δ', ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτο φανερόν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ὑπενέγκαιμεν οὔτε τὸ καῦμα οὔτε τὸ ψῦχος, εἰ ἐξαπίνης γίγνοιτο, οὕτω μὲν κατὰ μικρὸν προσιέναι τὸν ἥλιον, οὕτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπιέναι, ὥστε λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ ἰσχυρότατα καθισταμένους; Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ἤδη τοῦτο σκοπῶ, εἰ ἄρα τί ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργον ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ἐμποδίζει με, ὅτι καὶ τὰλλα ζῶια τούτων μετέχει. [4.3.10] Οὐ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, φανερόν ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων ἔνεκα

γίνεται τε καὶ ἀνατρέφεται; τί γὰρ ἄλλο ζῶιον αἰγῶν τε καὶ οἰῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύει ὅσα ἄνθρωποι; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ, πλείω <ἢ> τῶν φυτῶν· τρέφονται γοῦν καὶ χρηματίζονται οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ ἀπ' ἐκείνων· πολὺ δὲ γένος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένοις εἰς τροφήν οὐ χρῆται, ἀπὸ δὲ βοσκημάτων γάλακτι καὶ τυρῶι καὶ κρέασι τρεφόμενοι ζῶσι· πάντες δὲ τιθασεύοντες καὶ δαμάζοντες τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ζώων εἰς τε πόλεμον καὶ εἰς ἄλλα πολλὰ συνεργοὺς χρῶνται. Ὅμογνωμονῶ σοι καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη· ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πολὺ ἰσχυρότερα ἡμῶν οὕτως ὑποχείρια γινόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὥστε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὃ τι ἂν βούλωνται. [4.3.11] Τὸ δ', ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ ὠφέλιμα, διαφέροντα δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐστί, προσθεῖναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσθήσεις ἀρμοττοῦσας πρὸς ἕκαστα, δι' ὧν ἀπολαύομεν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τὸ δὲ καὶ λογισμὸν ἡμῖν ἐμφῦσαι, ὥι περὶ ὧν αἰσθανόμεθα λογιζόμενοι τε καὶ μνημονεύοντες καταμανθάνομεν ὅπῃ ἕκαστα συμφέρει, καὶ πολλὰ μηχανώμεθα, δι' ὧν τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀλεξόμεθα· [4.3.12] τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐρμηνείαν δοῦναι, δι' ἧς πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταδίδομέν τε ἀλλήλοις διδάσκοντες καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν καὶ νόμους τιθέμεθα καὶ πολιτεύομεθα; Παντάπασιν εἰκόασιν, ὧ Σώκρατες, οἱ θεοὶ πολλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι. Τὸ δὲ καί, ἥ ἀδυνατοῦμεν τὰ συμφέροντα προνοεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ταύτηι αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν συνεργεῖν, διὰ μαντικῆς τοῖς πυνθανομένοις φράζοντας τὰ ἀποβησόμενα καὶ διδάσκοντας ἥ ἂν ἄριστα γίγνοιτο; Σοὶ δ', ἔφη, ὧ Σώκρατες, εἰκόασιν ἔτι φιλικώτερον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις χρῆσθαι, εἴ γε μὴδὲ ἐπερωτῶμενοι ὑπὸ σοῦ προσημαίνουσί σοι ἅ τε χρῆ ποιεῖν καὶ ἅ μὴ. [4.3.13] Ὅτι δὲ γε ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ σὺ γνώσῃ, ἂν μὴ ἀναμένῃς ἕως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἴδῃς, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῆι σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρῶντι σέβεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐννόει δὲ ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ οὕτως ὑποδεικνύουσιν· οἳ τε γὰρ ἄλλοι ἡμῖν τὰγαθὰ διδόντες οὐδὲν τούτων εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἰόντες διδόασι, καὶ ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττων τε καὶ συνέχων, ἐν ᾧ πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἐστί, καὶ αἰ μὲν χρωμένοις ἀτριβῆ τε καὶ ὑγιᾶ καὶ ἀγήρατα παρέχων, θᾶττον δὲ νοήματος ὑπηρετοῦντα ἀναμαρτήτως, οὗτος τὰ μέγιστα μὲν πράττων ὁρᾶται, τάδε δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατος ἡμῖν ἐστί. [4.3.14] ἐννοεῖ δ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερὸς δοκῶν εἶναι Ἥλιος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἑαυτὸν ἀκριβῶς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλ', ἐάν τις αὐτὸν ἀναιδῶς ἐγχειρῇ

θεάσασθαι, τὴν ὄψιν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐρήσεις ἀφανεῖς ὄντας· κεραυνός τε γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀφίεται, δῆλον, καὶ ὅτι οἷς ἂν ἐντύχη πάντων κρατεῖ, ὁράται δ' οὕτ' ἐπιὼν οὕτ' ἐγκατασκήψας οὕτε ἀπιών· καὶ ἄνεμοι αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶνται, ἃ δὲ ποιοῦσι φανερά ἡμῖν ἐστι, καὶ προσιόντων αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχῇ, ἥ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχει, ὅτι μὲν βασιλεύει ἐν ἡμῖν, φανερόν, ὁράται δὲ οὐδ' αὐτή. ἃ χρὴ κατανοοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνοντα τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον. [4.3.15] Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀμελήσω τοῦ δαιμονίου, σαφῶς οἶδα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἄθυμῳ, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ τὰς τῶν θεῶν εὐεργεσίας οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ποτε ἀνθρώπων ἀξίαις χάρισιν ἀμείβεσθαι. [4.3.16] Ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο ἀθύμει, ἔφη, ὃ Εὐθύδημε· ὁραῖς γὰρ ὅτι ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεός, ὅταν τις αὐτὸν ἐπερωτᾷ πῶς ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χαρίζοιτο, ἀποκρίνεται· Νόμωι πόλεως· νόμος δὲ δήπου πανταχοῦ ἐστι κατὰ δύναμιν ἱεροῖς θεοῖς ἀρέσκεσθαι. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις κάλλιον καὶ εὐσεβέστερον τιμώῃ θεοὺς ἢ, ὥς αὐτοὶ κελεύουσιν, οὕτω ποιῶν; [4.3.17] ἀλλὰ χρὴ τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μηδὲν ὑφίεσθαι· ὅταν γάρ τις τοῦτο ποιῇ, φανερὸς δήπου ἐστὶ τότε οὐ τιμῶν θεοὺς. χρὴ οὖν μηδὲν ἐλλείποντα κατὰ δύναμιν τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ἐλπίζειν τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ. οὐ γάρ παρ' ἄλλων γ' ἂν τις μείζω ἐλπίζων σωφρονοίῃ ἢ παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελεῖν δυναμένων, οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ τοῦτοις ἀρέσκοι· ἀρέσκοι δὲ πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ὥς μάλιστα πείθοιτο αὐτοῖς; [4.3.18] τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ λέγων τε καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῶν εὐσεβεστέρους τε καὶ σωφρονεστέρους τοὺς συνόντας παρεσκεύαζεν.

[4.4.1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου γε οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο ἦν εἶχε γνώμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργωι ἀπεδείκνυτο, ἰδία τε πᾶσι νομίμως τε καὶ ὠφελίμως χρώμενος καὶ κοινῇ ἄρχουσί τε ἃ οἱ νόμοι προστάττειν πειθόμενος καὶ κατὰ πόλιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις οὕτως ὥστε διάδηλος εἶναι παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους εὐτακτῶν, [4.4.2] καὶ ὅτε ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ψηφίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἠναντιώθη τοιαύτῃ ὁρμῇ τοῦ δήμου ἦν οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀνθρωπον ὑπομεῖναι· [4.4.3] καὶ ὅτε οἱ τριᾶκοντα προσέταπτον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τι, οὐκ ἐπέιθετο· τοῖς τε γὰρ νέοις ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτῶν μὴ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ προσταξάντων ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγαγεῖν

τινα ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, μόνος οὐκ ἐπέισθη, διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ προστάττεσθαι· [4.4.4] καὶ ὅτε τὴν ὑπὸ Μελήτου γραφὴν ἔφευγε, τῶν ἄλλων εἰωθότων ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις πρὸς χάριν τε τοῖς δικασταῖς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν καὶ δεῖσθαι παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλῶν πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφιεμένων, ἐκεῖνος οὐδὲν ἠθέλησε τῶν εἰωθότων ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ῥαιδίως ἂν ἀφεθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τούτων ἐποίησε, προεῖλετο μᾶλλον τοῖς νόμοις ἐμμένων ἀποθανεῖν ἢ παρανομῶν ζῆν. [4.4.5] καὶ ἔλεγε δὲ οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους μὲν πολλάκις, οἷδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς Ἰππίαν τὸν Ἥλειον περὶ τοῦ δικαίου τοιάδε διαλεχθέντα. διὰ χρόνου γὰρ ἀφικόμενος ὁ Ἰππίας Ἀθήναζε παρεγένετο τῷ Σωκράτει λέγοντι πρὸς τινας, ὡς θαυμαστὸν εἶη τό, εἰ μὲν τις βούλοιτο σκυτέα διδάξασθαι τινα ἢ τέκτονα ἢ χαλκέα ἢ ἱππέα, μὴ ἀπορεῖν ὅποι ἂν πέμψας τούτου τύχοι, [φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ ἵππον καὶ βούν τῷ βουλομένῳ δικαίους ποιήσασθαι πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι τῶν διδασκόντων·] ἐὰν δὲ τις βούληται ἢ αὐτὸς μαθεῖν τὸ δίκαιον ἢ υἱὸν ἢ οἰκέτην διδάξασθαι, μὴ εἰδέναι ὅποι ἂν ἐλθὼν τύχοι τούτου. [4.4.6] καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰππίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὥσπερ ἐπισκώπτων αὐτόν, Ὑετὶ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐκεῖνα τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις ἃ ἐγὼ πάλαι ποτέ σου ἤκουσα; καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ὁ δὲ γε τούτου δεινότερον, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰππία, οὐ μόνον ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγω, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν· σὺ δ' ἴσως διὰ τὸ πολυμαθὴς εἶναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδέποτε τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις. Ἀμέλει, ἔφη, πειρῶμαι καινόν τι λέγειν ἀεὶ. [4.4.7] Πότερον, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπίστασαι; οἷον περὶ γραμμάτων ἐὰν τις ἔρηται σε, πόσα καὶ ποῖα Σωκράτους ἐστίν, ἄλλα μὲν πρότερον, ἄλλα δὲ νῦν πειρᾶι λέγειν; ἢ περὶ ἀριθμῶν τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν εἰ τὰ δις πέντε δέκα ἐστίν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ νῦν ἢ καὶ πρότερον ἀποκρίνεις; Περὶ μὲν τούτων, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥσπερ σύ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγω· περὶ μέντοι τοῦ δικαίου πάνν οἶμαι νῦν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, πρὸς ἃ οὔτε σὺ οὔτ' ἂν ἄλλος οὐδεὶς δύναται· ἀντειπεῖν. [4.4.8] Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, μέγα λέγεις ἀγαθὸν ἡύρηκέναι, εἰ παύσσονται μὲν οἱ δικασταὶ δίχα ψηφιζόμενοι, παύσσονται δ' οἱ πολῖται περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιλέγοντές τε καὶ ἀντιδικοῦντες καὶ στασιάζοντες, παύσσονται δ' αἱ πόλεις διαφερόμεναι περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολεμοῦσαι. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἂν ἀπολειφθεῖν σου πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τηλικοῦτον ἀγαθὸν ἡύρηκός. [4.4.9] Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἀκούσῃ, πρίν γ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀποφῆνῃ, ὅ τι νομίζεις τὸ δίκαιον

εἶναι. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων καταγελαῖς ἐρωτῶν μὲν καὶ ἐλέγχων πάντας, αὐτὸς δ' οὐδενὶ θέλων ὑπέχειν λόγον οὐδὲ γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ οὐδενός. [4.4.10] Τί δέ, ὦ Ἰππία; ἔφη, οὐκ ἤισθησαι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἂν δοκεῖ μοι δίκαια εἶναι οὐδὲν παύομαι ἀποδεικνύμενος; Καὶ ποῖος δὴ σοι, ἔφη, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐστίν; Εἰ δὲ μὴ λόγῳ, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀποδείκνυμαι· ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀξιοτεκμαρτότερον τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον εἶναι; Πολύ γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη· δίκαια μὲν γὰρ λέγοντες πολλοὶ ἄδικοι ποιοῦσι, δίκαια δὲ πράττων οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἄδικος εἴη. [4.4.11] Ἦισθησαι οὖν πώποτε μου ἢ ψευδομαρτυροῦντος ἢ συκοφαντοῦντος ἢ φίλους ἢ πόλιν εἰς στάσιν ἐμβάλλοντος ἢ ἄλλο τι ἄδικον πράττοντος; Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπέχεσθαι οὐ δίκαιον ἡγήη; Δῆλος εἶ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ νῦν διαφεύγειν ἐγχειρῶν τὸ ἀποδείκνυσθαι γνώμην, ὃ τι νομίζεις τὸ δίκαιον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πράττουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι, ἀλλ' ἂν μὴ πράττουσι, ταῦτα λέγεις. [4.4.12] Ἀλλ' ὥμην ἔγωγ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἀδικεῖν ἱκανὸν δικαιοσύνης ἐπίδειγμα εἶναι. εἰ δέ σοι μὴ δοκεῖ, σκέψαι ἐὰν τότε σοι μᾶλλον ἀρέσκηι· φημί γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι. Ἄρα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι; [4.4.13] Ἐγώ γε, ἔφη. Οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαί σου ὅποιον νόμιμον ἢ ποῖον δίκαιον λέγεις. Νόμους δὲ πόλεως, ἔφη, γινώσκεις; Ἐγώ γε, ἔφη. Καὶ τίνας τούτους νομίζεις; Ἄ οἱ πολῖται, ἔφη, συνθέμενοι ἅ τε δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὧν ἀπέχεσθαι ἐγράψαντο. Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, νόμιμος μὲν ἂν εἴη ὁ κατὰ ταῦτα πολιτευόμενος, ἄνομος δὲ ὁ ταῦτα παραβαίνων; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ δίκαια μὲν ἂν πράττοι ὁ τούτοις πειθόμενος, ἄδικοι δ' ὁ τούτοις ἀπειθῶν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τὰ δίκαια πράττων δίκαιος, ὁ δὲ τὰ ἄδικοι ἄδικος; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Ὁ μὲν ἄρα νόμιμος δίκαιός ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἄνομος ἄδικος. [4.4.14] καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας, Νόμους δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πῶς ἂν τις ἡγήσαιο σπουδαῖον πρᾶγμα εἶναι ἢ τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς, οὓς γε πολλάκις αὐτοὶ οἱ θέμενοι ἀποδοκιμάσαντες μετατίθενται; Καὶ γὰρ πόλεμον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πολλάκις ἀράμεναι πόλεις πάλιν εἰρήνην ποιοῦνται. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Διάφορον οὖν τι οἶει ποιεῖν, ἔφη, τοὺς τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους φαυλίζων, ὅτι καταλυθεῖεν ἂν οἱ νόμοι, ἢ εἰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτακτοῦντας ψέγοις, ὅτι γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη; ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ταῖς πατρίσι προθύμως βοηθοῦντας μέμφη; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. [4.4.15] Λυκοῦργον δὲ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καταμεμάθηκας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν διάφορον τῶν ἄλλων

πόλεων τὴν Σπάρτην ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλιστα ἐνειργάσατο αὐτῇ; τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι, οἵτινες ἂν τοῖς πολίταις αἰτιώτατοι ᾖσι τοῦ τοῖς νόμοις πείθεσθαι, οὗτοι ἄριστοί εἰσι, καὶ πόλις, ἐν ἣι μάλιστα οἱ πολῖται τοῖς νόμοις πείθονται, ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε ἄριστα διάγει καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνυπόστατός ἐστιν; [4.4.16] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁμόνοιά γε μέγιστόν τε ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶναι καὶ πλειστάκις ἐν αὐταῖς αἱ τε γερουσίαι καὶ οἱ ἄριστοι ἄνδρες παρακελεύονται τοῖς πολίταις ὁμονοεῖν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι νόμος κεῖται τοὺς πολίτας ὁμνύναι ὁμονοήσειν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμνύουσι τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον· οἶμαι δ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι οὐχ ὅπως τοὺς αὐτοὺς χοροὺς κρίνωσιν οἱ πολῖται, οὐδ' ὅπως τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐλητὰς ἐπαινῶσιν, οὐδ' ὅπως τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιητὰς αἰρῶνται, οὐδ' ἵνα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡδωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς νόμοις πείθωνται. τούτοις γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμμενόντων, αἱ πόλεις ἰσχυρόταταί τε καὶ εὐδαιμονέσταται γίνονται· ἄνευ δὲ ὁμονομίας οὗτ' ἂν πόλις εὖ πολιτευθεῖη οὗτ' οἶκος καλῶς οἰκηθεῖη. [4.4.17] ἰδίαι δὲ πῶς μὲν ἂν τις ἦττον ὑπὸ πόλεως ζημιῶτο, πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον τιμῶτο, ἢ εἰ τοῖς νόμοις πείθοιτο; πῶς δ' ἂν ἦττον ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἡττῶτο ἢ πῶς ἂν μᾶλλον νικῶη; τίνοι δ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον πιστεύσειε παρακαταθέσθαι ἢ χρήματα ἢ υἱοὺς ἢ θυγατέρας; τίνα δ' ἂν ἡ πόλις ὅλη ἀξιοπιστότερον ἡγήσαιτο τοῦ νομίμου; παρὰ τίνος δ' ἂν μᾶλλον τῶν δικαίων τύχοιεν ἢ γονεῖς ἢ οἰκεῖοι ἢ οἰκέται ἢ φίλοι ἢ πολῖται ἢ ξένοι; τίνοι δ' ἂν μᾶλλον πολέμιοι πιστεύσειαν ἢ ἀνοχὰς ἢ σπονδὰς ἢ συνθήκας περὶ εἰρήνης; τίνοι δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ νομίμῳ σύμμαχοι ἐθέλοιεν γίνεσθαι; τῷ δ' ἂν μᾶλλον οἱ σύμμαχοι πιστεύσειαν ἢ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ φρουραρχίαν ἢ πόλεις; τίνα δ' ἂν τις εὐεργετήσας ὑπολάβοι χάριν κομιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν νόμιμον; ἢ τίνα μᾶλλον ἂν τις εὐεργετήσειεν ἢ παρ' οὗ χάριν ἀπολήψεσθαι νομίζει; τῷ δ' ἂν τις βούλοιο μᾶλλον φίλος εἶναι ἢ τῷ τοιούτῳ, ἢ τῷ ἦττον ἐχθρός; τῷ δ' ἂν τις ἦττον πολεμήσειεν ἢ ὧι μάλιστα μὲν φίλος εἶναι βούλοιο, ἥκιστα δ' ἐχθρός, καὶ ὧι πλεῖστοι μὲν φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι βούλουντο εἶναι, ἐλάχιστοι δ' ἐχθροὶ καὶ πολέμιοι; [4.4.18] ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὧ Ἰππία, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποδείκνυμαι νόμιμόν τε καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι· σὺ δ' εἰ τάναντία γινώσκεις, δίδασκε. καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας, Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὧ Σώκρατες, οὐ μοι δοκῶ τάναντία γινώσκειν οἷς εἴρηκας περὶ τοῦ δικαίου. [4.4.19] Ἀγράφους δέ τινας οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὧ Ἰππία, νόμους; Τούς γ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώραι κατὰ ταῦτα

νομιζομένους. Ἐχοις ἂν οὖν εἰπεῖν, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι αὐτοὺς ἔθεντο; Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, οἳ γε οὔτε συνελθεῖν ἅπαντες ἂν δυνηθεῖεν οὔτε ὁμόφωνοί εἰσι; Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις τεθεικέναι τοὺς νόμους τούτους; Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, θεοὺς οἶμαι τοὺς νόμους τούτους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις θεῖναι· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται θεοὺς σέβειν. [4.4.20] Οὐκοῦν καὶ γονέας τιμᾶν πανταχοῦ νομίζεται; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ μήτε γονέας παισὶ μίγνυσθαι μήτε παῖδας γονεῦσιν; Οὐκέτι μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗτος θεοῦ νόμος εἶναι. Τί δὴ; ἔφη. Ὅτι, ἔφη, αἰσθάνομαί τινας παραβαίνοντας αὐτόν. [4.4.21] Καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά, ἔφη, παρανομοῦσιν· ἀλλὰ δίκην γέ τοι διδόασιν οἱ παραβαίνοντες τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κειμένους νόμους, ἦν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ διαφυγεῖν, ὥσπερ τοὺς ὑπ' ἀνδράπων κειμένους νόμους ἔνιοι παραβαίνοντες διαφεύγουσι τὸ δίκην διδόναι, οἳ μὲν λανθάνοντες, οἳ δὲ βιαζόμενοι. [4.4.22] Καὶ ποῖαν, ἔφη, δίκην, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ δύνανται διαφεύγειν γονεῖς τε παισὶ καὶ παῖδες γονεῦσι μιγνύμενοι; Τὴν μεγίστην νῆ Δί', ἔφη· τί γὰρ ἂν μεῖζον πάθοιεν ἄνθρωποι τεκνοποιούμενοι τοῦ κακῶς τεκνοποιεῖσθαι; [4.4.23] Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, κακῶς οὗτοι τεκνοποιοῦνται, οὓς γε οὐδὲν κωλύει ἀγαθοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἐξ ἀγαθῶν παιδοποιεῖσθαι; Ὅτι νῆ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μόνον ἀγαθοὺς δεῖ τοὺς ἐξ ἀλλήλων παιδοποιουμένους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζόντας τοῖς σώμασιν. ἢ δοκεῖ σοι ὅμοια τὰ σπέρματα εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τοῖς τῶν μήπω ἀκμαζόντων ἢ τῶν παρηκμακότων; Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ εἰκὸς ὅμοια εἶναι. Πότερα οὖν, ἔφη, βελτίῳ; Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη, τὰ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων. Τὰ τῶν μὴ ἀκμαζόντων ἄρα οὐ σπουδαῖα; Οὐκ εἰκὸς μὰ Δί', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν οὕτω γε οὐ δεῖ παιδοποιεῖσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν οἳ γε οὕτω παιδοποιούμενοι ὥς οὐ δεῖ παιδοποιῶνται; Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη. Τίνες οὖν ἄλλοι, ἔφη, κακῶς ἂν παιδοποιῶντο, εἴ γε μὴ οὗτοι; Ὅμογνωμονῶ σοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο. [4.4.24] Τί δέ; τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας ἀντευεργετῆν οὐ πανταχοῦ νόμιμόν ἐστι; Νόμιμον, ἔφη· παραβαίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. Οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ τοῦτο παραβαίνοντες δίκην διδόασι, φίλων μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἔρημοι γιγνόμενοι, τοὺς δὲ μισοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγκαζόμενοι διώκειν; ἢ οὐχ οἳ μὲν εὖ ποιοῦντες τοὺς χρωμένους ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαθοὶ φίλοι εἰσίν, οἳ δὲ μὴ ἀντευεργετοῦντες τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀχαριστίαν μισοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ μάλιστα λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι τούτους μάλιστα διώκουσι; Νῆ τὸν Δί', ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, θεοῖς

ταῦτα πάντα ἔοικε· τὸ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὰς τιμωρίας ἔχειν βελτίονος ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον νομοθέτου δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. [4.4.25] Πότερον οὖν, ὦ Ἰππία, τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγῆι τὰ δίκαια νομοθετεῖν ἢ ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων; Οὐκ ἄλλα μὰ Δί', ἔφη· σχολῇ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλος γέ τις τὰ δίκαια νομοθετήσκειν, εἰ μὴ θεός. Καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄρα, ὦ Ἰππία, τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιόν τε καὶ νόμιμον εἶναι ἀρέσκει.

Τοιαῦτα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων δικαιότερους ἐποίει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας.

[4.5.1] Ὡς δὲ καὶ πρακτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνόντας ἑαυτῷ, νῦν αὖ τοῦτο λέξω. νομίζων γὰρ ἐγκράτειαν ὑπάρχειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῷ μέλλοντι καλὸν τι πράξειν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς φανερός ἦν τοῖς συνοῦσιν ἡσκηκῶς αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἔπειτα διαλεγόμενος προετρέπετο πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς συνόντας πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν. [4.5.2] ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν χρησίμων αὐτός τε διετέλει μεμνημένος καὶ τοὺς συνόντας πάντας ὑπομιμνήσκων· οἶδα δέ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς Εὐθύδημον περὶ ἐγκρατείας τοιάδε διαλεχθέντα· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ἄρα καλὸν καὶ μεγαλεῖον νομίζεις εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πόλει κτῆμα ἐλευθερίαν; Ὡς οἷόν τέ γε μάλιστα, ἔφη. [4.5.3] Ὅστις οὖν ἄρχεται ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν καὶ διὰ ταύτας μὴ δύναται πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα, νομίζεις τοῦτον ἐλεύθερον εἶναι; Ἦκιστα, ἔφη. Ἴσως γὰρ ἐλευθέριον φαίνεται σοι τὸ πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα, εἴτα τὸ ἔχειν τοὺς κωλύοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἀνελεύθερον νομίζεις; [4.5.4] Παντάπασι γ', ἔφη. Παντάπασι ἄρα σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς ἀνελεύθεροι εἶναι; Νῆ τὸν Δί' εἰκότως. Πότερα δέ σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς κωλύεσθαι μόνον τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν ἢ καὶ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τὰ αἰσχιστα ποιεῖν; Οὐδὲν ἥττον ἔμοιγ', ἔφη, δοκοῦσι ταῦτα ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἢ ἐκεῖνα κωλύεσθαι. [4.5.5] Ποίους δέ τινας δεσπότης ἡγῆσι τοὺς τὰ μὲν ἄριστα κωλύοντας, τὰ δὲ κάκιστα ἀναγκάζοντας; Ὡς δυνατόν νῆ Δί', ἔφη, κακίστους. Δουλείαν δὲ ποῖαν κακίστην νομίζεις εἶναι; Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, τὴν παρὰ τοῖς κακίστοις δεσπότηαι. Τὴν κακίστην ἄρα δουλείαν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς δουλεύουσιν; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη. [4.5.6] Σοφίαν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀπείργουσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἀκρασία εἰς τοῦναντίον αὐτοὺς ἐμβάλλειν; ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι προσέχειν τε τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι καὶ καταμανθάνειν αὐτὰ κωλύειν, ἀφέλκουσα ἐπὶ τὰ ἡδέα, καὶ πολλάκις αἰσθανομένους τῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἐκπλήξασα ποιεῖν τὸ χεῖρον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος αἰρεῖσθαι; Γίγνεται τοῦτ', ἔφη. [4.5.7]

Σωφροσύνης δέ, ὃ Εὐθύδημε, τίτιν ἂν φαίμεν ἦττον ἢ τῷ ἀκρατεῖ προσήκειν; αὐτὰ γὰρ δήπου τὰ ἐναντία σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀκρασίας ἔργα ἐστίν. Ὁμολογῶ καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὧν προσήκει οἷτι τι κωλυτικώτερον εἶναι ἀκρασίας; Οὐκ οὖν ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ὠφελούντων τὰ βλάπτοντα προαιρεῖσθαι ποιούντος καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀμελεῖν πείθοντος καὶ τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι τὰ ἐναντία ποιεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες οἷτι τι ἀνθρώπῳ κάκιον εἶναι; Οὐδέν, ἔφη. [4.5.8] Οὐκοῦν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ τὴν ἀκρασίαν εἰκὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίαν εἶναι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ αἴτιον εἰκὸς ἄριστον εἶναι; Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφη. Ἔοικεν ἄρ', ἔφη, ὃ Εὐθύδημε, ἄριστον ἀνθρώπῳ ἐγκράτεια εἶναι; Εἰκότως γάρ, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες. [4.5.9] Ἐκεῖνο δέ, ὃ Εὐθύδημε, ἤδη πρόποτε ἐνεθυμήθης; Ποῖον; ἔφη. Ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡδέα, ἐφ' ἅπερ μόνον δοκεῖ ἡ ἀκρασία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄγειν, αὐτὴ μὲν οὐ δύναται ἄγειν, ἡ δ' ἐγκράτεια πάντων μάλιστα ἡδεσθαι ποιεῖ. Πῶς; ἔφη. Ἡ μὲν ἀκρασία οὐκ ἐῷσα καρτερεῖν οὔτε λιμὸν οὔτε δίψος οὔτε ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν οὔτε ἀγρυπνίαν, δι' ὧν μόνων ἔστιν ἡδέως μὲν φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι, ἡδέως δ' ἀναπαύσασθαι τε καὶ κοιμηθῆναι, περιμείναντας καὶ ἀνασχομένους, ἕως ἂν ταῦτα ὡς ἐνὶ ἡδιστα γένηται, κωλύει τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις τε καὶ συνεχεστάτοις ἀξιολόγως ἡδεσθαι· ἡ δ' ἐγκράτεια μόνη ποιοῦσα καρτερεῖν τὰ εἰρημένα μόνη καὶ ἡδεσθαι ποιεῖ ἀξίως μνήμης ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις. Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, ἀληθῆ λέγεις. [4.5.10] Ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦ μαθεῖν τι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τοιούτων τινός, δι' ὧν ἂν τις καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα καλῶς διοικήσειε καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον καλῶς οἰκονομήσειε καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει ὠφέλιμος γένοιτο καὶ ἐχθρῶν κρατήσειεν, ἀφ' ὧν οὐ μόνον ὠφέλειαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδοναὶ μέγιστα γίνονται, οἱ μὲν ἐγκρατεῖς ἀπολαύουσι πράττοντες αὐτά, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς οὐδενὸς μετέχουσι. τῷ γὰρ ἂν ἦττον φήσαιμεν τῶν τοιούτων προσήκειν, ἢ ὧι ἥκιστα ἔξεστι ταῦτα πράττειν, κατεχομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰς ἐγγυτάτω ἡδονάς; [4.5.11] καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Δοκεῖς μοι, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, λέγειν ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἦττονι τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν ἀμπαν οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς προσήκει. Τί γὰρ διαφέρει, ἔφη, ὃ Εὐθύδημε, ἄνθρωπος ἀκρατῆς θηρίου τοῦ ἀμαθεστάτου; ὅστις γὰρ τὰ μὲν κράτιστα μὴ σκοπεῖ, τὰ ἡδιστα δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ζητεῖ ποιεῖν, τί ἂν διαφέροι τῶν ἀφρονεστάτων βοσκημάτων; ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐγκρατέσι μόνοις ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν τὰ

κράτιστα τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀπέχεσθαι. [4.5.12] καὶ οὕτως ἔφη ἀρίστους τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεστάτους ἄνδρας γίγνεσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι δυνατωτάτους· ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι ὀνομασθῆναι ἐκ τοῦ συνιόντας κοινῇ βουλευέσθαι διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ πράγματα. δεῖν οὖν πειρᾶσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτο ἑαυτὸν ἑτοιμον παρασκευάζειν καὶ τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ γίγνεσθαι ἄνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἡγεμονικωτάτους καὶ διαλεκτικωτάτους.

[4.6.1] Ὡς δὲ καὶ διαλεκτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνόντας, πειράσομαι καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν. Σωκράτης γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν ἐξηγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι· τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδότας οὐδὲν ἔφη θαυμαστὸν εἶναι αὐτοὺς τε σφάλλεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους σφάλλειν· ὧν ἕνεκα σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς συνοῦσι, τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων, οὐδέποτε· ἔληγε. πάντα μὲν οὖν ἥι διωρίζετο πολὺ ἔργον ἂν εἴη διεξελθεῖν· ἐν ὅσοις δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπισκέψεως δηλώσειν οἶμαι, τοσαῦτα λέξω. [4.6.2] πρῶτον δὲ περὶ εὐσεβείας ὧδέ πως ἐσκόπει· Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ποῖόν τι νομίζεις εὐσέβειαν εἶναι; καὶ ὅς, Κάλιστον νῆ Δί', ἔφη. Ἐχεις οὖν εἰπεῖν ὁποῖός τις ὁ εὐσεβῆς ἐστίν; Ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὁ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν. Ἐξεστι δὲ ὃν ἂν τις βούληται τρόπον τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν; Οὐκ ἀλλὰ νόμοι εἰσὶ καθ' οὓς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν. [4.6.3] Οὐκοῦν ὁ τοὺς νόμους τούτους εἰδὼς εἰδείη ἂν ὡς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν; Οἶμαι ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν ὁ εἰδὼς ὡς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν οὐκ ἄλλως οἶεται δεῖν τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ ὡς οἶδεν; Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Ἀλλως δέ τις θεοὺς τιμᾷ ἢ ὡς οἶεται δεῖν; [4.6.4] Οὐκ οἶμαι, ἔφη. Ὁ ἄρα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νόμιμα εἰδὼς νομίμως ἂν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν ὃ γε νομίμως τιμῶν ὡς δεῖ τιμᾷ; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Ὁ δέ γε ὡς δεῖ τιμῶν εὐσεβῆς ἐστι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ὁ ἄρα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νόμιμα εἰδὼς ὀρθῶς ἂν ἡμῖν εὐσεβῆς ὠρισμένος εἴη; Ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ.

[4.6.5] Ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄρα ἔξεστιν ὃν ἂν τις τρόπον βούληται χρῆσθαι; Οὐκ ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτους [ὁ εἰδὼς ἅ] ἐστι νόμιμα καθ' ἃ δεῖ [πως] ἀλλήλοις χρῆσθαι [, νόμιμος ἂν εἴη]. Οὐκοῦν οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα χρώμενοι ἀλλήλοις ὡς δεῖ χρῶνται; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν οἱ γε ὡς δεῖ χρώμενοι καλῶς χρῶνται; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν οἱ γε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καλῶς χρώμενοι καλῶς πράττουσι τὰ ἀνθρώπεια

πράγματα; Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν οἱ τοῖς νόμοις πειθόμενοι δίκαια οὗτοι ποιοῦσι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [4.6.6] Δίκαια δὲ ἔφη, οἴσθα ὅποια καλεῖται; Ἄ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα ποιοῦντες ἃ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσι δίκαιά τε ποιοῦσι καὶ ἃ δεῖ; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν οἷ γε τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες δίκαιοί εἰσιν; Οἷομαι ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Οἶε οὖν τινας πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μὴ εἰδότας ἃ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν; Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Εἰδότας δὲ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν οἶε τινὰς οἴεσθαι δεῖν μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν; Οὐκ οἶμαι, ἔφη. Οἶδας δέ τινας ἄλλα ποιοῦντας ἢ ἃ οἴονται δεῖν; Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπους νόμιμα εἰδότες οὗτοι τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦσι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν οἷ γε τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες δίκαιοί εἰσι; Τίνες γὰρ ἄλλοι; ἔφη. Ὅρθῶς ἂν ποτε ἄρα ὀριζόμεθα ὀριζόμενοι δικαίους εἶναι τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπους νόμιμα; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη.

[4.6.7] Σοφίαν δὲ τί ἂν φήσαιμεν εἶναι; εἰπέ μοι, πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ σοφοί, ἃ ἐπίστανται, ταῦτα σοφοί εἶναι, ἢ εἰσὶ τινες ἃ μὴ ἐπίστανται σοφοί; Ἄ ἐπίστανται δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη· πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ἃ γε μὴ ἐπίσταιτο, ταῦτα σοφὸς εἴη; Ἄρ' οὖν οἱ σοφοί ἐπιστήμηι σοφοί εἰσι; Τίνι γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, ἄλλωι τις εἴη σοφός, εἰ γε μὴ ἐπιστήμηι; Ἄλλο δέ τι σοφίαν οἶε εἶναι ἢ ὧι σοφοί εἰσιν; Οὐκ ἔγωγε. Ἐπιστήμη ἄρα σοφία ἐστίν; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. Ἄρ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατόν εἶναι τὰ ὄντα πάντα ἐπίστασθαι; Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί' ἔμοιγε πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτῶν. Πάντα μὲν ἄρα σοφὸν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἄνθρωπον εἶναι; Μὰ Δί' οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη. Ὁ ἄρα ἐπίσταται ἕκαστος, τοῦτο καὶ σοφός ἐστιν; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

[4.6.8] Ἄρ' οὖν, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, καὶ τὰγαθὸν οὕτω ζητητέον ἐστί; Πῶς; ἔφη. Δοκεῖ σοι τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν ὠφέλιμον εἶναι; Οὐκ ἔμοιγε. Τί δέ; τὸ ἄλλωι ὠφέλιμον οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐνίοτε ἄλλωι βλαβερόν εἶναι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ἄλλο δ' ἂν τι φαίης ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὠφέλιμον; Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Τὸ ἄρα ὠφέλιμον ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν ὅτῳ ἂν ὠφέλιμον ᾖ; Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη.

[4.6.9] Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἔχοιμεν ἂν πως ἄλλως εἰπεῖν; †ἦ, εἰ ἔστιν, ὀνομάζεις† καλὸν ἢ σῶμα ἢ σκεῦος ἢ ἄλλ' ὅτιοῦν, ὃ οἴσθα πρὸς πάντα καλὸν ὄν; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν, πρὸς ὃ ἂν ἕκαστον χρήσιμον ᾖ, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐκάστωι καλῶς ἔχει χρῆσθαι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τί ἐστὶν ἕκαστον ἢ πρὸς ὃ ἐκάστωι καλῶς ἔχει χρῆσθαι; Οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν ἄλλο, ἔφη. Τὸ χρήσιμον ἄρα καλὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς ὃ ἂν ᾖ χρήσιμον; Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη.

[4.6.10] Ανδρείαν δέ, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, ἄρα τῶν καλῶν νομίζεις εἶναι; Κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ', ἔφη. Χρήσιμον ἄρα οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα νομίζεις τὴν ἀνδρείαν; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα μὲν οὖν. Ἄρ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τε καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτά; Ἦκιστά γ', ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα μὴ φοβούμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι τί ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀνδρεῖοί εἰσι; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πολλοὶ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω γε τῶν τε μαινομένων καὶ τῶν δειλῶν ἀνδρεῖοι εἴεν. Τί δέ οἱ καὶ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δεδοικότες; Ἔτι γε νῆ Δί' ἤττον, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα ὄντας ἀνδρείους ἡγῆι εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δειλοὺς; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. [4.6.11] Ἀθοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζεις ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτοῖς καλῶς χρῆσθαι; Οὐκ ἀλλὰ τούτους, ἔφη. Κακοὺς δὲ ἄρα τοὺς οἴους τούτοις κακῶς χρῆσθαι; Τίνας γὰρ ἄλλους; ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν ἕκαστοι χρῶνται ὡς οἴονται δεῖν; Πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως; ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι καλῶς χρῆσθαι ἴσασιν ὡς δεῖ χρῆσθαι; Οὐ δῆπου γε, ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα εἰδότες ὡς δεῖ χρῆσθαι, οὗτοι καὶ δύνανται; Μόνοι γ', ἔφη. Τί δέ; οἱ μὴ διημαρτηκότες ἄρα κακῶς χρῶνται τοῖς τοιούτοις; Οὐκ οἶομαι, ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα κακῶς χρώμενοι διημαρτήκασιν; Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. Οἱ μὲν ἄρα ἐπιστάμενοι τοῖς δεινοῖς τε καὶ ἐπικινδύνους καλῶς χρῆσθαι ἀνδρεῖοί εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ διαμαρτάνοντες τούτου δειλοί; Ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη.

[4.6.12] Βασιλείαν δὲ καὶ τυραννίδα ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, διαφέρειν δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐνόμιζε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκόντων τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατὰ νόμους τῶν πόλεων ἀρχὴν βασιλείαν ἡγεῖτο, τὴν δὲ ἀκόντων τε καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμους, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὁ ἀρχῶν βούλοιτο, τυραννίδα. καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἐκ τῶν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιτελούντων αἱ ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, ταύτην μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὅπου δ' ἐκ τιμημάτων, πλουτοκρατίαν, ὅπου δ' ἐκ πάντων, δημοκρατίαν.

[4.6.13] Εἰ δέ τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγοι μηδὲν ἔχον σαφὲς λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἄνευ ἀποδείξεως ἤτοι σοφώτερον φάσκων εἶναι ὃν αὐτὸς λέγοι ἢ πολιτικώτερον ἢ ἀνδρειότερον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπανῆγεν ἂν πάντα τὸν λόγον ὧδέ πως· [4.6.14] Φῆις σὺ ἀμείνω πολίτην εἶναι ὃν σὺ ἐπαινεῖς ἢ ὃν ἐγώ; Φημὶ γὰρ οὖν. Τί οὖν οὐκ ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ἐπεσκεψάμεθα, τί ἐστὶν ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου; Ποιῶμεν τοῦτο. Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν χρημάτων διοικήσει κρατοίῃ ἂν ὁ χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν ποιῶν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Ἐν δέ γε

πολέμῳ ὁ καθυπερτέραν τῶν ἀντιπάλων; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Ἐν δὲ πρεσβείαι ἄρ' ὅς ἂν φίλους ἀντὶ πολεμίων παρασκευάζῃ; Εἰκός γε. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν δημηγορίαι ὁ στάσεις τε παύων καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐμποίων; Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ. οὕτω δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπαναγομένων καὶ τοῖς ἀντιλέγουσιν αὐτοῖς φανερόν ἐγίγνετο τάληθές. [4.6.15] ὁπότε δὲ αὐτός τι τῷ λόγῳ διεξίει, διὰ τῶν μάλιστα ὁμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο, νομίζων ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι λόγου. τοιγαροῦν πολὺ μάλιστα ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα, ὅτε λέγοι, τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὁμολογοῦντας παρεῖχε. ἔφη δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ ἀναθεῖναι τὸ ἀσφαλῆ ῥήτορα εἶναι, ὡς ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν ὄντα διὰ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄγειν τοὺς λόγους.

[4.7.1] Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο Σωκράτης πρὸς τοὺς ὁμιλοῦντας αὐτῷ, δοκεῖ μοι δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων εἶναι· ὅτι δὲ καὶ αὐτάρκεις ἐν ταῖς προσηκούσαις πράξεσιν αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐπεμελεῖτο, νῦν τοῦτο λέξω. πάντων μὲν γὰρ ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα μάλιστα ἔμελεν αὐτῷ εἰδέναι ὅτου τις ἐπιστήμων εἴη τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ· ὧν δὲ προσήκει ἀνδρὶ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ εἰδέναι, ὅ τι μὲν αὐτὸς εἰδεῖν, πάντων προθυμότατα ἐδίδασκεν· ὅτου δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπειρότερος εἴη, πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἤγεν αὐτούς. [4.7.2] ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρι ὅτου δέοι ἔμπειρον εἶναι ἐκάστου πράγματος τὸν ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένον. αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔφη δεῖν μαθάνειν, ἕως ἱκανός τις γένοιτο, εἴ ποτε δεήσειε, γῆν μέτρῳ ὀρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῦναι ἢ διανεῖμαι ἢ ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι· οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο ῥαίδιον εἶναι μαθεῖν ὥστε τὸν προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν τῇ μετρήσει ἅμα τὴν τε γῆν ὁπόση ἐστὶν εἰδέναι καὶ ὡς μετρεῖται ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι. [4.7.3] τὸ δὲ μέχρι τῶν δυσσυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεωμετρίαν μαθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν. ὅ τι μὲν γὰρ ὠφελοῖται ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔφη ὁρᾶν· καίτοι οὐκ ἄπειρός γε αὐτῶν ἦν· ἔφη δὲ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ εἶναι ἀνθρώπου βίον κατατρίβειν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τε καὶ ὠφελίμων μαθημάτων ἀποκωλύειν. [4.7.4] ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γιγνώσκειν ἔνεκα πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἢ νυκτὸς ἢ μηνὸς ἢ ἐνιαυτοῦ πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίους χρῆσθαι, τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγιγνώσκοντας· καὶ ταῦτα δὲ ῥαίδια εἶναι μαθεῖν παρά τε νυκτοθηρῶν καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν οἷς ἐπιμελὲς ταῦτα εἰδέναι. [4.7.5] τὸ δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν

μανθάνειν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περιφορᾷ ὄντα, καὶ τοὺς πλάνητάς τε καὶ ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας γνῶναι, καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς περιόδους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ζητοῦντας κατατρίβεσθαι, ἰσχυρῶς ἀπέτρεπεν. ὠφέλειαν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐν τούτοις ἔφη ὄραν· καίτοι οὐδὲ τούτων γε ἀνήκοος ἦν· ἔφη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἱκανὰ εἶναι κατατρίβειν ἀνθρώπου βίον καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων ἀποκωλύειν. [4.7.6] ὅλως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων, ἧ ἕκαστα ὁ θεὸς μηχανᾶται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὔτε γὰρ εὐρετὰ ἀνθρώποις αὐτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι οὔτε χαρίζεσθαι θεοῖς ἂν ἡγεῖτο τὸν ζητοῦντα ἃ ἐκεῖνοι σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν. κινδυνεῦσαι δ' ἂν ἔφη καὶ παραφρονῆσαι τὸν ταῦτα μεριμνῶντα οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ Ἀναξαγόρας παρεφρόνησεν ὁ μέγιστον φρονήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τὰς τῶν θεῶν μηχανὰς ἐξηγεῖσθαι. [4.7.7] ἐκεῖνος γὰρ λέγων μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι πῦρ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἡγνώνει ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ραιδίως καθορῶσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἥλιον οὐ δύνανται ἀντιβλέπειν, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου καταλαμπόμενοι τὰ χρώματα μελάντερα ἔχουσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐ· ἡγνώνει δὲ καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων ἄνευ μὲν ἡλίου αὐγῆς οὐδὲν δύναται καλῶς αὔξεσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς θερμαινόμενα πάντα ἀπόλλυται· φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἥλιον λίθον διάπυρον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἡγνώνει, ὅτι λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὦν οὔτε λάμπει οὔτε πολὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος πάντα τὸν χρόνον πάντων λαμπρότατος ὦν διαμένει. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ λογισμοὺς μανθάνειν. [4.7.8] καὶ τούτων δὲ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε φυλάττεσθαι τὴν μάταιον πραγματείαν, μέχρι δὲ τοῦ ὠφελίμου πάντα καὶ αὐτὸς συνεσκόπει καὶ συνδιεξήκει τοῖς συνοῦσι. [4.7.9] προέτρεπε δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ὑγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς συνόντας παρὰ τε τῶν εἰδότην μανθάνοντας ὅσα ἐνδέχοιτο, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἕκαστον προσέχοντα διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, τί βρῶμα ἢ τί πῶμα ἢ ποῖος πόνος συμφέροι αὐτῷ, καὶ πῶς τούτοις χρώμενος ὑγιεινότητ' ἂν διάγοι· τοῦ γὰρ οὕτω προσέχοντος ἑαυτῷ ἔργον ἔφη εἶναι εὐρεῖν ἱατρὸν τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν συμφέροντα αὐτῷ μᾶλλον διαγιγνώσκοντα [αὐτοῦ].

[4.7.10] Εἰ δέ τις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν ὠφελεῖσθαι βούλοιο, συνεβούλευε μαντικῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸν γὰρ εἰδότα δι' ὧν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σημαίνουσιν οὐδέποτε ἔρημον ἔφη γίγνεσθαι συμβουλευῆς θεῶν.

[4.8.1] Εἰ δέ τις, ὅτι φάσκοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἑαυτῷ προσημαίνειν ἃ τε δέοι καὶ ἃ μὴ δέοι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν

κατεγνώσθη θάνατος, οἶεται αὐτὸν ἐλέγχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου
ψευδόμενον, ἐννοησάτω πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι οὕτως ἤδη τότε πόρρω τῆς
ἡλικίας ἦν, ὥστ', εἰ καὶ μὴ τότε, οὐκ ἂν πολλῶι ὕστερον τελευτῆσαι
τὸν βίον· εἶτα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀχθεινότατόν τε τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ᾧ πάντες
τὴν διάνοιαν μειοῦνται ἀπέλιπεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν
ρώμην ἐπιδειξάμενος εὐκλειαν προσεκτέησας, τὴν τε δίκην πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἀληθέστατα καὶ ἐλευθεριώτατα καὶ δικαιοτάτα εἰπὼν καὶ
τὴν κατὰ γνώσιν τοῦ θανάτου πραότατα καὶ ἀνδρωδέστατα ἐνέγκας.
[4.8.2] ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ οὐδένα πῶ τῶν μνημονευομένων ἀνθρώπων
κάλλιον θάνατον ἐνεγκεῖν. ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν
κρίσιν τριάκοντα ἡμέρας βιώναι διὰ τὸ Δῆλια μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς
εἶναι, τὸν δὲ νόμον μηδένα ἔαν δημοσίαι ἀποθνήσκουσιν ἕως ἂν ἡ
θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, καὶ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἅπασιν τοῖς
συνήθεσι φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον διαβιούς ἢ τὸν
ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον· καίτοι τὸν ἔμπροσθεν γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων
μάλιστα ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ τῷ εὐθύμως τε καὶ εὐκόλως ζῆν. [4.8.3] καὶ
πῶς ἂν τις κάλλιον ἢ οὕτως ἀποθάνοι; ἢ ποῖος ἂν εἴη θάνατος
καλλίων ἢ ὃν κάλλιστά τις ἀποθάνοι; ποῖος δ' ἂν γένοιτο θάνατος
εὐδαιμονέστερος τοῦ καλλίστου; ἢ ποῖος θεοφιλέστερος τοῦ
εὐδαιμονεστάτου; [4.8.4] λέξω δὲ καὶ ἃ Ἑρμογένους τοῦ Ἰππονίκου
ἤκουσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔφη γάρ, ἥδη Μελήτου γεγραμμένου αὐτὸν τὴν
γραφὴν, αὐτὸς ἀκούων αὐτοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τῆς δίκης
διαλεγομένου λέγειν αὐτῷ ὥς χρὴ σκοπεῖν ὅ τι ἀπολογήσεται. τὸν δὲ
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι τοῦτο μελετῶν
διαβεβωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὅπως, εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὅτι οὐδὲν
ἄλλο ποιῶν διαγεγένηται ἢ διασκοπῶν μὲν τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα,
πράττων δὲ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπεχόμενος, ἥνπερ νομίζοι
καλλίστην μελέτην ἀπολογίας εἶναι. [4.8.5] αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰπεῖν· Οὐχ
ὁρᾷς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δικασταὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη μηδὲν
ἀδικοῦντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδικοῦντας
ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ νῆ τὸν Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, ἥδη μου
ἐπιχειροῦντος φροντίσαι τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἀπολογίας
ἠναντιώθη τὸ δαιμόνιον. [4.8.6] καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν· Θαυμαστὰ λέγεις.
τὸν δέ, Θαυμάζεις, φάναι, εἰ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμὲ
τελευτᾶν τὸν βίον ἤδη; οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου
ἐγὼ οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἂν οὔτε βέλτιον οὔθ' ἥδιον ἐμαυτοῖο
βεβιωκέναι; ἄριστα μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι ζῆν τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπιμελομένους

τοῦ ὡς βελτίστους γίνεσθαι, ἥδιστα δὲ τοὺς μάλιστα αἰσθανομένους ὅτι βελτίους γίνονται. [4.8.7] ἃ ἐγὼ μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ χρόνου ἡισθανόμην ἐμαυτῷ συμβαίνοντα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους παραθεωρῶν ἐμαυτὸν οὕτω διατετέλεκα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ γιγνώσκων· καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ φίλοι οὕτως ἔχοντες περὶ ἐμοῦ διατελοῦσιν, οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐμέ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους φιλοῦντες οὕτως ἂν εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους, ἀλλὰ διόπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν οἶονται ἐμοὶ συνόντες βέλτιστοι γίνεσθαι. [4.8.8] εἰ δὲ βιώσομαι πλείω χρόνον, ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἔσται τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ἀκούειν ἥττον καὶ διανοεῖσθαι χεῖρον καὶ δυσμαθέστερον ἀποβαίνειν καὶ ἐπιλησμονέστερον, καὶ ὦν πρότερον βελτίων ἦν, τούτων χεῖρω γίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ μὴν ταῦτά γε μὴ αἰσθανομένωι μὲν ἀβίωτος ἂν εἴη ὁ βίος, αἰσθανόμενον δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη χεῖρόν τε καὶ ἀηδέστερον ζῆν; [4.8.9] ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γε ἀδίκως ἀποθανοῦμαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδικῶς ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνουσιν αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἀδικεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἐστὶ, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως ὀτιοῦν ποιεῖν; ἐμοὶ δὲ τί αἰσχρὸν τὸ ἐτέρους μὴ δύνασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια μῆτε γνῶσαι μῆτε ποιῆσαι; [4.8.10] ὁρῶ δ' ἐγῶγε καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν προγεγονότων ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις οὐχ ὁμοίαν καταλειπομένην τῶν τε ἀδικησάντων καὶ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων. οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐγὼ ἐπιμελείας τεύξομαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἐὰν νῦν ἀποθάνω, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνουσιν· οἶδα γὰρ ἀεὶ μαρτυρήσεσθαι μοι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἡδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ χεῖρω ἐποίησα, βελτίους δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπειρώμην ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ συνόντας. τοιαῦτα μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τε διελέχθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους. [4.8.11] τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην γιγνώσκόντων, οἷός ἦν, οἱ ἀρετῆς ἐφιέμενοι πάντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν διατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ὠφελιμώτατον ὄντα πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ, τοιοῦτος ὦν οἶον ἐγὼ διήγημαι, εὐσεβῆς μὲν οὕτως ὥστε μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ποιεῖν, δίκαιος δὲ ὥστε βλάπτειν μὲν μηδὲ μικρὸν μηδένα, ὠφελεῖν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ ἐγκρατῆς δὲ ὥστε μηδέποτε προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ἥδιον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίονος, φρόνιμος δὲ ὥστε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν κρίνων τὰ βελτίω καὶ τὰ χεῖρω μηδὲ ἄλλου προσδεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκης εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων γνῶσιν, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ διορίσασθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως δοκιμάσαι τε καὶ ἁμαρτάνοντα ἐλέγξαι καὶ προτρέψασθαι ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ

καλοκαγαθίαν, ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἷος ἂν εἴη ἄριστός τε ἀνὴρ καὶ
εὐδαιμονέστατος. εἰ δέ τωι μὴ ἀρέσκει ταῦτα, παραβάλλων τὸ ἄλλων
ἦθος πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτω κρινέτω.

OECONOMICUS - Οἰκονομικός

Κεφάλαιον α΄

[1] Ἦκουσα δέ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ οἰκονομίας τοιάδε διαλεγομένου·

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἄρα γε ἡ οἰκονομία ἐπιστήμης τινὸς ὀνομά ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ἡ ἰατρικὴ καὶ ἡ χαλκευτικὴ καὶ ἡ τεκτονικὴ;

Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

[2] Ἦ καὶ ὥσπερ τούτων τῶν τεχνῶν ἔχοιμεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργον ἐκάστης, οὕτω καὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας δυναίμεθ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργον αὐτῆς ἐστι;

Δοκεῖ γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἰκονόμου ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι εὖ οἰκεῖν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον.

[3] Ἦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλου δὲ οἶκον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἐπιτρέποι τις αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο, εἰ βούλοιτο, εὖ οἰκεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεκτονικὴν ἐπιστάμενος ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ ἄλλῳ δύναίτο ἐργάζεσθαι ὅ τι περ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ὁ οἰκονομικός γ' ἂν ὡσαύτως.

Ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες.

[4] Ἔστιν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τύχοι χρήματα ἔχων, τὸν ἄλλου οἶκον οἰκονομοῦντα ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκοδομοῦντα μισθοφορεῖν;

Νῆ Δία καὶ πολὺν γε μισθόν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, φέροιτ' ἂν, εἰ δύναίτο οἶκον παραλαβὼν τελεῖν τε ὅσα δεῖ καὶ περιουσίαν ποιῶν αὐξεῖν τὸν οἶκον.

[5] Οἶκος δὲ δὴ τί δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εἶναι; ἄρα ὅπερ οἰκία, ἥ καὶ ὅσα τις ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας κέκτηται, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου ταῦτά ἐστιν;

Ἔμοι γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, δοκεῖ, καὶ εἰ μὴδ' ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει εἷη τῷ κεκτημένῳ, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου εἶναι ὅσα τις κέκτηται.

[6] Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐχθροὺς κέκτηνται τινες;

Νῆ Δία καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἔνιοι.

Ἦ καὶ κτήματα αὐτῶν φήσομεν εἶναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς;

Γελοῖον μεντὰν εἶη, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, εἰ ὁ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐξῶν προσέτι καὶ μισθὸν τούτου φέροι.

[7] Ὅτι τοι ἡμῖν ἐδόκει οἶκος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι ὅπερ κτῆσις.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὅ τι γέ τις ἀγαθὸν κέκτηται· οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ εἴ τι κακόν, τοῦτο κτῆμα ἐγὼ καλῶ.

Σὺ δ' ἔοικας τὰ ἐκάστωι ὠφέλιμα κτήματα καλεῖν.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· τὰ δέ γε βλάπτοντα ζημίαν ἔγωγε νομίζω μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα.

[8] Κἂν ἄρα γέ τις ἵππον πριάμενος μὴ ἐπίσθηται αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταπίπτων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ λαμβάνη, οὐ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἐστὶν ὁ ἵππος;

Οὐκ, εἴπερ τὰ χρήματά γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν.

Οὐδ' ἄρα γε ἡ γῆ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐστὶ χρήματα, ὅστις οὕτως ἐργάζεται αὐτὴν ὥστε ζημιοῦσθαι ἐργαζόμενος.

Οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ μέντοι χρήματά ἐστιν, εἴπερ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρέφειν πεινῆν παρασκευάζει.

[9] Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ὡσαύτως, εἴ τις διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι προβάτοις χρῆσθαι ζημιοῖτο, οὐδὲ τὰ πρόβατα χρήματα τούτῳ εἶη ἄν;

Οὐκουν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Σὺ ἄρα, ὥς ἔοικε, τὰ μὲν ὠφελοῦντα χρήματα ἡγῆι, τὰ δὲ βλάπτοντα οὐ χρήματα.

Οὕτως.

[10] Ταῦτά ἄρα ὄντα τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ χρῆσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις χρήματά ἐστι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ οὐ χρήματα· ὥσπερ γε αὐλοὶ τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ ἀξίως λόγου αὐλεῖν χρήματά εἰσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄχρηστοι λίθοι.

Εἰ μὴ ἀποδιδόιτό γε αὐτοῦς.

[11] Τοῦτ' ἄρα φαίνεται ἡμῖν, ἀποδιδόμενοις μὲν οἱ αὐλοὶ χρήματα, μὴ ἀποδιδόμενοις δὲ ἀλλὰ κεκτημένοις οὖν, τοῖς μὴ ἐπισταμένους αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι.

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν χωρεῖ, ἐπεὶ περ εἴρηται τὰ ὠφελοῦντα χρήματα εἶναι. μὴ πωλούμενοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ χρήματά εἰσιν οἱ αὐλοί· οὐδὲν γὰρ χρήσιμοί εἰσι· πωλούμενοι δὲ χρήματα.

[12] Πρὸς ταῦτα δ' ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἄν ἐπίσθηταί γε πωλεῖν. εἰ δὲ πωλοῖη αὖ πρὸς τοῦτο ὧι μὴ ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ πωλούμενοί εἰσι χρήματα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον.

Λέγειν ἔοικας, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸ ἀργύριον ἐστὶ χρήματα, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ.

[13] Καὶ σὺ δέ μοι δοκεῖς οὕτω συνομολογεῖν, ἀφ' ὧν τις ὠφελεῖσθαι δύναται, χρήματα εἶναι. εἰ γοῦν τις χρῶιτο τῷ ἀργυρίῳ

ὥστε πριάμενος οἶον ἐταίραν διὰ ταύτην κάκιον μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἔχει, κάκιον δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, κάκιον δὲ τὸν οἶκον, πῶς ἂν ἔτι τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμον εἴη;

Οὐδαμῶς, εἰ μὴ πέρ γε καὶ τὸν ὑοσκύαμον καλούμενον χρήματα εἶναι φήσομεν, ὅφ' οὗ οἱ φαγόντες παραπληγες γίνονται.

[14] Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταται αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, οὕτω πόρρω ἀπωθείσθω, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, ὥστε μηδὲ χρήματα εἶναι. οἱ δὲ φίλοι, ἂν τις ἐπίστηται αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι ὥστε ὠφελεῖσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τί φήσομεν αὐτοὺς εἶναι;

Χρήματα νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ πολύ γε μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς βούς, ἂν ὠφελιμώτεροί γε ὦσι τῶν βοῶν.

[15] Καὶ οἱ ἐχθροί γε ἄρα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον χρήματά εἰσι τῷ δυναμένῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὠφελεῖσθαι.

Ἔμοι γοῦν δοκεῖ.

Οἰκονόμου ἄρα ἐστὶν ἀγαθοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπίστασθαι χρῆσθαι ὥστε ὠφελεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

Ἰσχυρότατά γε.

Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, ὅσοι μὲν δὴ οἵκοι ἰδιωτῶν ηὔξημένοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ πολέμου, ὅσοι δὲ τυράννων.

[16] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν καλῶς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· ἐκεῖνο δ' ἡμῖν τί φαίνεται, ὅποταν ὀρῶμέν τινας ἐπιστήμας μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἀφ' ὧν δύνανται ἐργαζόμενοι αὐξεῖν τοὺς οἴκους, αἰσθανώμεθα δὲ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα μὴ θέλοντας ποιεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὀρῶμεν ἀνωφελεῖς οὕσας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιστήμας; ἄλλο τι ἢ τούτοις αὐτοῖς οὔτε αἱ ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά εἰσιν οὔτε τὰ κτήματα;

[17] Περὶ δούλων μοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιχειρεῖς, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, διαλέγεσθαι; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ εὐπατριδῶν ἐνίων γε δοκούντων εἶναι, οὓς ἐγὼ ὀρῶ τοὺς μὲν πολεμικάς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικάς ἐπιστήμας ἔχοντας, ταύτας δὲ οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ἐργάζεσθαι, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ οἶμαι, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι δεσπότης οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

[18] Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, δεσπότης οὐκ ἔχοιεν, εἰ εὐχόμενοι εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν βουλόμενοι ἀφ' ὧν <ἂν> ἔχοιεν ἀγαθὰ ἔπειτα κωλύονται ποιεῖν ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων; Καὶ τίνες δὴ οὗτοί εἰσιν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἀφανεῖς ὄντες ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν;

[19] Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἀφανεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φανεροί. καὶ ὅτι πονηρότατοί γέ εἰσιν οὐδὲ σὲ λανθάνουσιν, εἴπερ πονηρίαν γε νομίζεις ἀργίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ μαλακίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀμέλειαν. [20] καὶ ἄλλαι δ' εἰσὶν ἀπατηλαί τινες δέσπονται προσποιούμεναι ἡδοναί εἶναι, κυβεῖαι τε καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίας, αἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξαπατηθεῖσι καταφανεῖς γίνονται ὅτι λῦπαι ἄρα ἦσαν ἡδοναῖς περιπεπεμμέναι, αἱ διακωλύουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὠφελίμων ἔργων κρατοῦσαι.

[21] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐργάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ κωλύονται ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ σφοδρῶς πρὸς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἔχουσι καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδους· ὅμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους κατατρίβουσι καὶ ἀμηχανίαις συνέχονται.

[22] Δοῦλοι γάρ εἰσι καὶ οὔτοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ πάνυ γε χαλεπῶν δεσποτῶν, οἱ μὲν λιχνειῶν, οἱ δὲ λαγνειῶν, οἱ δὲ οἰνοφλυγιῶν, οἱ δὲ φιλοτιμιῶν τινῶν μώρων καὶ δαπανηρῶν, ἃ οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἄρχει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὧν ἂν ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὥστ' ἕως μὲν ἂν ὀρῶσιν ἡβῶντας αὐτοὺς καὶ δυναμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀναγκάζουσι φέρειν ἃ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐργάσωνται καὶ τελεῖν εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀδυνάτους αἰσθῶνται ὄντας ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀπολείπουσι τούτους κακῶς γηράσκειν, ἄλλοις δ' αὖ πειρῶνται δούλοις χρῆσθαι. [23] ἀλλὰ δεῖ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐχ ἡττον διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ὅπλοις πειρωμένους καταδουλοῦσθαι. πολέμιοι μὲν οὖν ἤδη ὅταν καλοὶ κάγαθοι ὄντες καταδουλώσωνταί τινας, πολλοὺς δὴ βελτίους ἠνάγκασαν εἶναι σωφρονίσαντες, καὶ ῥᾷον βιοτεύειν τὸν λιοπὸν χρόνον ἐποίησαν· αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται δέσπονται αἰκίζόμεναι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τοὺς οἴκους οὐποτε λήγουσιν, ἔστ' ἂν ἄρχωσιν αὐτῶν.

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Ὁ οὖν Κριτόβουλος ἐκ τούτων ὧδέ πως εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀρκούντως πάνυ μοι δοκῶ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀκηκοέναι· αὐτὸς δ' ἐμαυτὸν ἐξετάζων δοκῶ μοι εὐρίσκειν ἐπιεικῶς τῶν τοιούτων ἐγκρατῆ ὄντα, ὥστ' εἴ μοι συμβουλευοῖς ὅ τι ἂν ποιῶν αὖξοιμι τὸν οἶκον, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ ὑπὸ γε τούτων ὧν σὺ δεσποινῶν καλεῖς κωλύεσθαι· ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν συμβούλευε ὅ τι ἔχεις ἀγαθόν· ἢ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἱκανῶς πλουτεῖν καὶ οὐδὲν

δοκοῦμέν σοι προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων;

[2] Οὐκουν ἔγωγε, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγεις, οὐδέν μοι δοκῶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς πλουτεῖν· σὺ μέντοι, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖς πένεσθαι, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πάνυ οἰκτίρω σε ἐγώ.

[3] Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος γελάσας εἶπε· Καὶ πόσον ἂν πρὸς τῶν θεῶν οἶει, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, εὐρεῖν τὰ σὰ κτήματα πωλούμενα, πόσον δὲ τὰ ἐμά;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἀγαθοῦ ὦνητοῦ ἐπιτύχοιμι, εὐρεῖν ἂν μοι σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντα πάνυ ραιδίως πέντε μνᾶς· τὰ μέντοι σὰ ἀκριβῶς οἶδα ὅτι πλέον ἂν εὖροι ἢ ἑκατονταπλασίονα τούτου.

[4] Κάιτα οὕτως ἐγνωκῶς σὺ μὲν οὐχ ἡγῆσι προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων, ἐμὲ δὲ οἰκτίρεις ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ;

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμά, ἔφη, ἱκανά ἐστιν ἐμοὶ παρέχειν τὰ ἐμοὶ ἀρκοῦντα· εἰς δὲ τὸ σὸν σχῆμα ὃ σὺ περιβέβλησαι καὶ τὴν σὴν δόξαν, οὐδ' εἰ τρὶς ὅσα νῦν κέκτησαι προσγένοιτό σοι, οὐδ' ὥς ἂν ἱκανά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι σοι.

[5] Πῶς δὴ τοῦτ'; ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

Ἀπεφήνατο ὁ Σωκράτης· Ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁρῶ σοι ἀνάγκην οὖσαν θύειν πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα, ἢ οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους οἶμαί σε ἂν ἀνασχεσθαι· ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι, καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἔπειτα δὲ πολίτας δειπνίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἶναι. [6] ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἤδη σοι προστάττουσαν μεγάλα τελεῖν, ἵπποτροφίας τε καὶ χορηγίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ προστατείας, ἂν δὲ δὴ πόλεμος γένηται, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τριηραρχίας [μισθοὺς] καὶ εἰσφοράς τοσαύτας σοι προστάξουσιν ὅσας σὺ οὐ ραιδίως ὑποίσεις. ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐνδεῶς δόξης τι τούτων ποιεῖν, οἶδ' ὅτι σε τιμωρήσονται Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ εἰ τὰ αὐτῶν λάβοιεν κλέπτοντα. [7] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁρῶ σε οἰόμενον πλουτεῖν, καὶ ἀμελῶς μὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μηχανᾶσθαι χρήματα, παιδικοῖς δὲ πράγμασι προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν, ὥσπερ ἐξόν σοι. ὦν ἔνεκα οἰκτίρω σε μὴ τι ἀνήκεστον κακὸν πάθῃς καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καταστῇς. [8] καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἴ τι καὶ προσδεηθῇν, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ γινώσκεις ὥς εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἐπαρκέσειαν ἂν ὥστε πάνυ μικρὰ πορίσαντες κατακλύσειαν ἂν ἀφθονίᾳ τὴν ἐμὴν δίαιταν· οἱ δὲ σοὶ φίλοι πολὺ ἀρκοῦντα σοῦ μᾶλλον ἔχοντες τῇ ἐαυτῶν

κατασκευῇ ἢ σὺ τῇ σῇ ὅμως ὥς παρὰ σοῦ ὠφελησόμενοι ἀποβλέπουσι.

[9] Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ τούτοις, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν· ἀλλ' ὥρα σοι προστατεύειν ἐμοῦ, ὅπως μὴ τῷ ὄντι οἰκτρὸς γένωμαι.

Ακούσας οὖν ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπε· Καὶ οὐ θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖς, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, τοῦτο σαυτῷ ποιεῖν, ὅτι ὀλίγωι μὲν πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐγὼ ἔφην πλουτεῖν, ἐγέλασας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὥς οὐδὲ εἰδότες ὅ τι εἴη πλοῦτος, καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἐπαύσω πρὶν ἐξήλεγξάς με καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἐποίησας μὴδὲ ἑκατοστὸν μέρος τῶν σῶν κεκτηῖσθαι, νῦν δὲ κελεύεις προστατεύειν μέ σου καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἂν μὴ παντάπασι νῦν ἀληθῶς πένης γένοιτο;

[10] Ὅρῳ γάρ σε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐν τι πλουτηρὸν ἔργον ἐπιστάμενον περιουσίαν ποιεῖν. τὸν οὖν ἀπ' ὀλίγων περιποιῶντα ἐλπίζω ἀπὸ πολλῶν γ' ἂν πάνυ ραϊδίως πολλὴν περιουσίαν ποιῆσαι.

[11] Οὐκ οὐκ μέμνησαι ἀρτίως ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὅτε οὐδ' ἀναγρύζειν μοι ἐξουσίαν ἐποίησας, λέγων ὅτι τῷ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ ἵπποις χρῆσθαι οὐκ εἴη χρήματα οἱ ἵπποι οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ τὰ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ἀργύριον οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲ ἐν ὅτῳ τις μὴ ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι; εἰσὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ πρόσοδοι ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐμὲ δὲ πῶς τινὶ τούτων οἶει ἂν ἐπιστηθῆναι χρῆσθαι, ὥς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲν πώποτε· ἐγένετο τούτων;

[12] Ἀλλ' ἐδόκει ἡμῖν, καὶ εἰ μὴ χρήματά τις τύχοι ἔχων, ὅμως εἶναι τις ἐπιστήμη οἰκονομίας, τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ σὲ ἐπίστασθαι;

Ὅπερ νῆ Δία καὶ αὐλεῖν ἂν κωλύσειεν ἄνθρωπον ἐπίστασθαι, εἰ μήτε αὐτὸς πώποτε κτήσαιο αὐλοῦς μήτε ἄλλος αὐτῷ παράσχοι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθάνειν· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἔχει περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας. [13] οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ὄργανα χρήματα ἐκεκτήμην, ὥστε μαθάνειν, οὔτε ἄλλος πώποτε μοι παρέσχε τὰ αὐτοῦ διοικεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ νυνὶ ἐθέλεις παρέχειν. οἱ δὲ δήπου τὸ πρῶτον μαθάνοντες κιθαρίζουσιν καὶ τὰς λύρας λυμαίνονται· καὶ ἐγὼ δὴ εἰ ἐπιχειρήσαιμι ἐν τῷ σῷ οἴκῳ μαθάνειν οἰκονομεῖν, ἴσως ἂν καταλυμηνάμην ἂν σου τὸν οἶκον.

[14] Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπε· Προθύμως γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀποφεύγειν μοι πειρᾶι μὴδὲν με συνωφελῆσαι εἰς τὸ ῥαῖον ὑποφέρειν τὰ ἐμοὶ ἀναγκαῖα πράγματα.

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχω καὶ πάνυ προθύμως ἐξηγήσομαί σοι. [15] οἶμαι δ' ἂν καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐλθόντος

σου καὶ μὴ ὄντος παρ' ἐμοί, εἰ ἄλλοσε ἡγησάμην ὀπόθεν σοι εἶη λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμέμφου μοι, καὶ εἰ ὕδωρ παρ' ἐμοῦ αἰτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων ἄλλοσε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡγαγον, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτό μοι ἐμέμφου, καὶ εἰ βουλομένου μουσικὴν μαθεῖν σοι παρ' ἐμοῦ δείξαίμιν σοι πολὺ δεινότερους ἐμοῦ περὶ μουσικὴν καὶ σοι χάριν <ἂν> εἰδότας, εἰ ἐθέλοις παρ' αὐτῶν μαθάνειν, τί ἂν ἔτι μοι ταῦτα ποιοῦντι μέμφοιο;

Οὐδὲν ἂν δικαίως γε, ὦ Σώκρατες.

[16] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν σοι δείξω, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅσα νῦν λιπαρεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ μαθάνειν πολὺ ἄλλους ἐμοῦ δεινότερους [τούς] περὶ ταῦτα. ὁμολογῶ δὲ μεμεληκέναι μοι οἵτινες ἕκαστα ἐπιστημονέστατοί εἰσι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. [17] καταμαθὼν γάρ ποτε ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν πάνυ ἀπόρους ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πάνυ πλουσίους, ἀπεθαύμασα, καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπισκέψεως ὃ τι εἶη τοῦτο. καὶ ἡῦρον ἐπισκοπῶν πάνυ οἰκείως ταῦτα γινόμενα. [18] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰκῆι ταῦτα πράττοντας ζημιουμένους ἐώρων, τοὺς δὲ γνώμῃ συντεταμένῃ ἐπιμελουμένους καὶ θάπτον καὶ ῥᾶιον καὶ κερδαλεώτερον κατέγων πράττοντας. παρ' ὧν ἂν καὶ σὲ οἶμαι, εἰ βούλοιο, μαθόντα, εἰ σοι ὁ θεὸς μὴ ἐναντιοῖτο, πάνυ ἂν δεινὸν χρηματιστὴν γενέσθαι.

Κεφάλαιον γ'

[1] Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπε· Νῦν τοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ σε οὐκέτι ἀφήσω, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὶν ἂν μοι ἃ ὑπέσχησαι ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων τουτωνὶ ἀποδείξῃς.

Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἂν σοι ἀποδεικνύω πρῶτον μὲν οἰκίας τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀχρήστους οἰκοδομοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ πολὺ ἐλάττονος πάντα ἐχούσας ὅσα δεῖ, ἢ δόξω ἐν τί σοι τοῦτο τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἔργων ἐπιδεικνύναι;

Καὶ πάνυ γ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

[2] Τί δ' ἂν τὸ τούτου ἀκόλουθον μετὰ τοῦτό σοι ἐπιδεικνύω, τοὺς μὲν πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα κεκτημένους ἐπιπλα, καὶ τούτοις, ὅταν δέωνται, μὴ ἔχοντας χρῆσθαι μηδὲ εἰδότας εἰ σῶά ἐστιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνιωμένους, πολλὰ δὲ ἀνιώντας τοὺς οἰκέτας· τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν πλέον ἀλλὰ καὶ μείονα τούτων κεκτημένους ἔχοντας εὐθὺς ἔτοιμα [ὅταν] ὧν ἂν δέωνται χρῆσθαι.

[3] Ἄλλο τι οὖν τούτων ἐστίν, ὦ Σώκρατες, αἴτιον ἢ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν

ὅπου ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον καταβέβληται, τοῖς δὲ ἐν χώραι ἕκαστα τεταγμένα κεῖται;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· καὶ οὐδ' ἐν χώραι γ' ἐν ἧι ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἐνθα προσήκει, ἕκαστα διατέτακται.

Λέγειν τί μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο, ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τῶν οἰκονομικῶν.

[4] Τί οὖν, ἂν σοι, ἔφη, καὶ οἰκέτας αὖ ἐπιδεικνύω ἐνθα μὲν πάντας ὥς εἰπεῖν δεδεμένους, καὶ τούτους θαμινὰ ἀποδιδράσκοντας, ἐνθα δὲ λελυμένους καὶ ἐθέλοντάς τε ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ παραμένειν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτό σοι δόξω ἀξιοθέατον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἔργον ἐπιδεικνύναι;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ σφόδρα γε.

[5] Ἄν δὲ καὶ παραπλησίους γεωργίας γεωργοῦντας, τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλέναι φάσκοντας ὑπὸ γεωργίας καὶ ἀποροῦντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφθόνως καὶ καλῶς πάντα ἔχοντας ὅσων δέονται ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος. ἴσως γὰρ ἀναλίσκουσιν οὐκ εἰς ἃ δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἃ βλάβην φέρει αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ οἴκῳ.

[6] Εἰσὶ μὲν τινες ἴσως, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τοιοῦτοι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τούτους λέγω, ἀλλ' οἱ οὐδ' εἰς τάναγκαῖα ἔχουσι δαπανᾶν, γεωργεῖν φάσκοντες.

Καὶ τί ἂν εἴη τούτου αἴτιον, ὦ Σώκρατες;

Ἐγὼ σε ἄξω καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· σὺ δὲ θεώμενος δῆπου καταμαθήσῃ.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ἂν δύνωμαί γε.

[7] Οὐκοῦν χρή θεώμενον σαυτοῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι εἰ γνώσῃ. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ σὲ σύννοϊδα ἐπὶ μὲν κωμωιδῶν θέαν καὶ πάνυ πρῶι ἀνιστάμενον καὶ πάνυ μακρὰν ὁδὸν βαδίζοντα καὶ ἐμὲ ἀναπείθοντα προθύμως συνθεᾶσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν με πώποτε ἔργον παρεκάλεσας.

Οὐκοῦν γελοῖός σοι φαίνομαι εἶναι, ὦ Σώκρατες.

[8] Σαυτῷ δὲ πολὺ νῆ Δί', ἔφη, γελοιότερος. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἵππικῆς σοι ἐπιδεικνύω τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐληλυθότας, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἵππικὴν καὶ πάνυ εὐπόρους ὄντας καὶ ἅμα ἀγαλλομένους ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει;

Οὐκοῦν τούτους μὲν καὶ ἐγὼ ὀρῶ καὶ οἶδα ἐκατέρους, καὶ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τῶν κερδαινόντων γίγνομαι.

[9] Θεᾷ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἤπερ τοὺς τραγικοὺς τε καὶ κωμικοὺς, οὐχ ὅπως ποιητῆς οἶμαι γέννηι, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡσθίης ἰδὼν τι ἢ ἀκούσας· καὶ

ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως οὕτως ὀρθῶς ἔχει [οὐ γὰρ ποιητὴς βούλει γενέσθαι], ἵππικῇ δ' ἀναγκαζόμενος χρῆσθαι οὐ μῶρος οἶει εἶναι εἰ μὴ σκοπεῖς ὅπως μὴ ιδιώτης ἔσει τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἵππων ἀγαθῶν εἰς τε τὴν χρῆσιν καὶ κερδαλέων εἰς πώλησιν ὄντων;

[10] Πωλοδαμνεῖν με κελεύεις, ὦ Σώκρατες;

Οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ γεωργοὺς ἐκ παιδίων ὠνούμενον κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ' εἶναι τινές μοι δοκοῦσιν ἡλικία καὶ ἵππων καὶ ἀνθρώπων, αἱ εὐθύς τε χρήσιμοί εἰσι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδιδόασιν. ἔχω δ' ἐπιδείξαι καὶ γυναιξὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς τοὺς μὲν οὕτω χρωμένους ὥστε συνεργοὺς ἔχειν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ συναύξειν τοὺς οἴκους, τοὺς δὲ ἦ ὅτι πλεῖστον λυμαίνονται.

[11] Καὶ τούτου πότερα χρή, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν ἄνδρα αἰτιᾶσθαι ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα;

Πρόβατον μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἂν κακῶς ἔχη, τὸν νομέα αἰτιώμεθα, καὶ ἵππος ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἂν κακουργῇ, τὸν ἵπέα κακίζομεν· τῆς δὲ γυναικός, εἰ μὲν διδασκομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάγαθὰ κακοποιεῖ, ἴσως δικαίως ἂν ἡ γυνὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοι· εἰ δὲ μὴ διδάσκων τὰ καλὰ κάγαθὰ ἀνεπιστήμονι τούτων χρῶιτο, ἄρ' οὐ δικαίως ἂν ὁ ἀνὴρ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοι; [12] πάντως δ', ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε (φίλοι γὰρ ἐσμεν οἱ παρόντες) ἀπαληθεῦσαι δεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἔστιν ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ τῶν σπουδαίων πλείῳ ἐπιτρέπεις ἢ τῇ γυναικί;

Οὐδενί, ἔφη.

Ἔστι δὲ ὅτῳ ἐλάττονα διαλέγῃ ἢ τῇ γυναικί;

Εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ πολλοῖς γε, ἔφη.

[13] Ἔγῃμας δὲ αὐτὴν παῖδα νέαν μάλιστα καὶ ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλάχιστα ἑωρακυῖαν καὶ ἀκηκουῖαν;

Μάλιστα.

Οὐκοῦν πολὺ θαυμαστότερον εἴ τι ὦν δεῖ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἐπίστατο ἢ εἰ ἐξαμαρτάνοι.

[14] Οἷς δὲ σὺ λέγεις ἀγαθὰς εἶναι γυναῖκας, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἢ αὐτοὶ ταύτας ἐπαίδευσαν;

Οὐδὲν οἶον τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι. συστήσω δέ σοι ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀσπασίαν, ἢ ἐπιστημονέστερον ἐμοῦ σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιδείξει. [15] νομίζω δὲ γυναῖκα κοινωνὸν ἀγαθὴν οἴκου οὔσαν πάννυ ἀντίρροπον εἶναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἔρχεται μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν διὰ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράξεων τὰ κτήματα ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, δαπανᾶται δὲ διὰ τῶν

τῆς γυναικὸς ταμιευμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εὖ μὲν τούτων γιγνομένων αὖξονται οἱ οἴκοι, κακῶς δὲ τούτων πραττομένων οἱ οἴκοι μειοῦνται. [16] οἶμαι δέ σοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοὺς ἀξίως λόγου ἐκάστην ἐργαζομένους ἔχειν ἂν ἐπιδειξαί σοι, εἰ τι προσδεῖσθαι νομίζεις.

Κεφάλαιον δ΄

[1] Ἀλλὰ πάσας μὲν τί σε δεῖ ἐπιδεικνύναι, ὦ Σώκρατες; ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὔτε γὰρ κτήσασθαι πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν ἐργάτας ῥαίδιον οἴους δεῖ, οὔτε ἔμπειρον γενέσθαι αὐτῶν οἷόν τε, ἀλλ’ αἱ δοκοῦσι κάλλισται τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐμοὶ πρόποι ἂν μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένῳ, ταύτας μοι καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιδείκνυε καὶ τοὺς πράττοντας αὐτάς, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὅ τι δύνασαι συνωφέλει εἰς ταῦτα διδάσκων.

[2] Ἀλλὰ καλῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις, ὦ Κριτόβουλε. καὶ γὰρ αἱ γε βανασικαὶ καλούμεναι καὶ ἐπίρρητοὶ εἰσι καὶ εἰκότως μέντοι πάνυ ἀδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. καταλυμαίνονται γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν τε ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων, ἀναγκάζουσαι καθῆσθαι καὶ σκιατραφεῖσθαι, ἔνιαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς πῦρ ἡμερεῦειν. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων θηλυνομένων καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ πολὺ ἄρρωστότεραι γίνονται. [3] καὶ ἀσχολίας δὲ μάλιστα ἔχουσι καὶ φίλων καὶ πόλεως συνεπιμελεῖσθαι αἱ βανασικαὶ καλούμεναι. ὥστε οἱ τοιοῦτοι δοκοῦσι κακοὶ καὶ φίλοις χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀλεξητῆρες εἶναι. καὶ ἐν ἐνίαις μὲν τῶν πόλεων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐπολέμοις δοκούσαις εἶναι, οὐδ’ ἔξεστι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ βανασικὰς τέχνας ἐργάζεσθαι.

[4] Ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ ποίαις συμβουλευεῖς, ὦ Σώκρατες, χρῆσθαι;

Ἄρ’, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι; ἐκεῖνον γὰρ φασιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἡγούμενον εἶναι ἐπιμελήμασι γεωργίαν τε καὶ τὴν πολεμικὴν τέχνην τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπε·

[5] Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, πιστεύεις, ὦ Σώκρατες, βασιλέα τὸν Περσῶν γεωργίας τι συνεπιμελεῖσθαι;

Ὡδ’ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπισκοποῦντες, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἴσως ἂν καταμάθοιμεν εἴ τι συνεπιμελεῖται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅτι ἐξ ὁπόσων περ ἔθνων λαμβάνει <τι>, τέταχε τῷ ἄρχοντι ἐκάστωι εἰς ὁπόσους δεῖ διδόναι τροφὴν ἱππέας καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ γερροφόρους,

οἵτινες τῶν τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀρχομένων ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται κρατεῖν καὶ ἂν πολέμιοι ἐπίωσιν, [6] ἀρήξουσιν τῇ χώρῃ, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων φύλακας ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι τρέφει· καὶ τὴν μὲν τροφήν τοῖς φρουροῖς δίδωσιν ὁ ἄρχων ὧι τοῦτο προστέτακται, βασιλεὺς δὲ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξέτασιν ποιεῖται τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ὠπλίσθαι προστέτακται, καὶ πάντας ἅμα συνάγων πλὴν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσιν ἔνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλεῖται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οἴκησιν αὐτὸς ἐφορᾷ, τοὺς δὲ πρόσω ἀποικοῦντας πιστοὺς πέμπει ἐπισκοπεῖν· [7] καὶ οἱ μὲν ἂν φαίνονται τῶν φρουράρχων καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ τῶν σατραπῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸν τεταγμένον ἔκπλεων ἔχοντες, καὶ τούτους δοκίμοις ἵπποις τε καὶ ὅπλοις κατεσκευασμένους παρέχωσι, τούτους μὴν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς αὖξει καὶ δώροις μεγάλους καταπλουτίζει, οὓς δ' ἂν εὖρηι τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ καταμελοῦντας τῶν φρουραρχῶν ἢ κατακερδαίνοντας, τούτους χαλεπῶς κολάζει καὶ παύων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄλλους ἐπιμελητὰς καθίστησι. τῶν μὲν δὴ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ταῦτα ποιῶν δοκεῖ ἡμῖν ἀναμφιλόγως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [8] ἔτι δὲ ὀπόσῃ μὲν τῆς χώρας διελαύνων ἐφορᾷ αὐτός, καὶ δοκιμάζει, ὀπόσῃ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐφορᾷ, πέμπων πιστοὺς ἐπισκοπεῖται. καὶ οὓς μὲν ἂν αἰσθάνηται τῶν ἀρχόντων συνοικουμένην τε τὴν χώραν παρεχομένους καὶ ἐνεργὸν οὔσαν τὴν γῆν καὶ πλήρη δένδρων τε ὧν ἐκάστη φέρει καὶ καρπῶν, τούτοις μὲν χώραν τε ἄλλην προστίθῃσι καὶ δώροις κοσμεῖ καὶ ἔδραις ἐντίμοις γεραίρει, οἷς δ' ἂν ὀραὶ ἀργὸν τε τὴν χώραν οὔσαν καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον ἢ διὰ χαλεπότητα ἢ δι' ὕβριν ἢ δι' ἀμέλειαν, τούτους δὲ κολάζων καὶ παύων τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄρχοντας ἄλλους καθίστησι. [9] ταῦτα ποιῶν δοκεῖ ἥττον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὕτως ἢ γῆ ἐνεργὸς ἔσται ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἢ ὅπως εὖ φυλάσσεται ὑπὸ τῶν φρουρούντων; καὶ εἰσὶ δ' αὐτῷ οἱ ἄρχοντες διατεταγμένοι ἐφ' ἐκάτερον οὐχ οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν κατοικούντων τε καὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν, καὶ δασμοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἐκλέγουσιν, οἱ δ' ἄρχουσι τῶν ὠπλισμένων <τε καὶ τῶν> φρουρῶν. [10] κἂν μὲν ὁ φρούραρχος μὴ ἱκανῶς τῇ χώρῃ ἀρήγῃ, ὁ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἄρχων καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιμελούμενος κατηγορεῖ τοῦ φρουράρχου, ὅτι οὐ δύνανται ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν, ἂν δὲ παρέχοντος τοῦ φρουράρχου εἰρήνην τοῖς ἔργοις ὁ ἄρχων ὀλιγάνθρωπόν τε παρέχεται καὶ ἀργὸν τὴν χώραν, τούτου αὖ κατηγορεῖ ὁ φρούραρχος. [11] καὶ γὰρ σχεδὸν τι οἱ κακῶς τὴν χώραν ἐργαζόμενοι οὔτε τοὺς φρουροὺς τρέφουσιν

οὕτε τοὺς δασμοὺς δύνανται ἀποδιδόναι. ὅπου δ' ἂν σατράπης καθιστῇται, οὗτος ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐπιμελεῖται.

[12] Ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖ βασιλεὺς, ὧ Σώκτατες, οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἦττον τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

[13] Ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν ὁπόσαις τε χώραις ἐνοικεῖ καὶ εἰς ὁπόσας ἐπιστρέφεται, ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων ὅπως κῆποι τε ἔσονται, οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι, πάντων καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν μεστοὶ ὅσα ἢ γῆ φύειν θέλει, καὶ ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα διατρίβει, ὅταν μὴ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους ἐξείργῃ.

[14] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἀνάγκη τοίνυν, ὧ Σώκτατες, ἐνθα γε διατρίβει αὐτός, καὶ ὅπως ὥς κάλλιστα κατεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται οἱ παράδεισοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δένδρεσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καλοῖς ὅσα ἢ γῆ φύει.

[15] Φασὶ δέ τινες, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὧ Κριτόβουλε, καὶ ὅταν δῶρα διδῶι ὁ βασιλεὺς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰσκαλεῖν τοὺς πολέμωι ἀγθοὺς γεγονότας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὄφελος πολλὰ ἀροῦν, εἰ μὴ εἶεν οἱ ἀρήξοντες. δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς κατασκευάζοντας τὰς χώρας ἄριστα καὶ ἐνεργοὺς ποιοῦντας, λέγοντα ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν οἱ ἄλκιμοι δύναιντο ζῆν, εἰ μὴ εἶεν οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι. [16] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κῦρος ποτε, ὅσπερ εὐδοκιμώτατος δὴ βασιλεὺς γεγένηται, εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δῶρα κεκλημένοις ὅτι αὐτὸς ἂν δικαίως τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δῶρα λαμβάνοι· κατασκευάζειν τε γὰρ ἄριστος εἶναι ἔφη χώραν καὶ ἀρήγειν τοῖς κατεσκευασμένοις.

[17] Κῦρος μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὧ Σώκτατες, καὶ ἐπηγάλλετο οὐδὲν ἦττον, εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγεν, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιεῖν καὶ κατασκευάζειν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμικῷ εἶναι.

[18] Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, Κῦρος γε, εἰ ἐβίωσεν, ἄριστος ἂν δοκεῖ ἄρχων γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτου τεκμήρια ἄλλα τε πολλὰ παρέσχηται καὶ ὁπότε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπορεύετο μαχούμενος, παρὰ μὲν Κύρου οὐδεὶς λέγεται αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς βασιλέα, παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως πολλαὶ μυριάδες πρὸς Κῦρον. [19] ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἡγοῦμαι μέγα τεκμήριον ἄρχοντος ἀρετῆς εἶναι, ὧ ἂν ἐκόντες πείθωνται καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς παραμένειν ἐθέλωσιν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι ζῶντί τε συνεμάχοντο καὶ ἀποθανόντι συναπέθανον πάντες περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν μαχόμενοι πλὴν Ἀριαίου· Ἀριαῖος δ' ἔτυχεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι τεταγμένος. [20] οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ Κῦρος λέγεται Λυσάνδρῳ, ὅτε ἦλθεν ἄγων αὐτῷ τὰ

παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δῶρα, ἄλλα τε φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, ὥς αὐτὸς ἔφη ὁ Λύσανδρος ξένῳ ποτὲ τινι ἐν Μεγάροις διηγούμενος, καὶ τὸν ἐν Σάρδεσι παράδεισον ἐπιδεικνύναι αὐτὸν ἔφη. [21] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Λύσανδρος ὥς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δένδρα εἶη, δι' ἴσου δὲ τὰ πεφυτευμένα, ὀρθοὶ δὲ οἱ στίχοι τῶν δένδρων, εὐγώνια δὲ πάντα καλῶς εἶη, ὅσμαι δὲ πολλαὶ καὶ ἡδεῖαι συμπαρομαρτοῖεν αὐτοῖς περιπατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα θαυμάζων εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ὦ Κῦρε, πάντα μὲν <ταῦτα> θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγαμαι τοῦ καταμετρήσαντός σοι καὶ διατάξαντος ἕκαστα τούτων· [22] ἀκούσαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κῦρον ἡσθῆναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν· Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὦ Λύσανδρε, ἐγὼ πάντα καὶ διεμέτρησα καὶ διέταξα, ἔστι δ' αὐτῶν, φάναι, ἃ καὶ ἐφύτευσα αὐτός. [23] καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔφη, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἰδὼν τῶν τε ἱματίων τὸ κάλλος ὧν εἶχε καὶ τῆς ὀσμῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψελίων τὸ κάλλος καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου οὗ εἶχεν, εἰπεῖν· Τί λέγεις, φάναι, ὦ Κῦρε; ἢ γὰρ σὺ ταῖς σαῖς χερσὶ τούτων τι ἐφύτευσας; [24] καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀποκρίνασθαι· Θαυμάζεις τοῦτο, [ἔφη.] ὦ Λύσανδρε; ὁμνυμί σοι τὸν Μίθρην, ὅταν περ ὑγιαίνω, μηπώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἰδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν ἢ αἰεὶ ἐν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος. [25] καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἔφη ὁ Λύσανδρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα δεξιώσασθαι τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπεῖν· Δικαίως μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κῦρε, εὐδαίμων εἶναι· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.

Κεφάλαιον ε'

[1] Ταῦτα δέ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐγὼ διηγούμενα, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ μακάριοι δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι. ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια αὐτῆς εἶναι ἅμα τε ἡδυπάθειά τις καὶ οἴκου αὔξησις καὶ σωμάτων ἄσκησις εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ὅσα ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ προσήκει. [2] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν ζῶσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ταῦτα ἡ γῆ φέρει ἐργαζομένοις, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν τοίνυν ἡδυπαθοῦσι, προσεπιφέρει· [3] ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοις κοσμοῦσι βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ οἷς αὐτοὶ κοσμοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ ἡδίστων ὁσμῶν καὶ θεαμάτων παρέχει· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φύει, τὰ δὲ τρέφει· καὶ γὰρ ἡ προβατευτική τέχνη συνῆπται τῇ γεωργίᾳ, ὥστε ἔχειν καὶ θεοὺς ἐξαρέσκεσθαι θύοντας καὶ αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι. [4] παρέχουσα δ' ἀφθονώτατα τάγαθὰ οὐκ ἔαι ταῦτα μετὰ μαλακίας λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ ψύχη τε χειμῶνος καὶ θάληθ' ἔθιζει καρτερεῖν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν

αὐτουργοὺς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γυμνάζουσα ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς προστίθῃσι, τοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ γεωργοῦντας ἀνδρίζει πρῶι τε ἐγείρουσα καὶ πορεύεσθαι σφοδρῶς ἀναγκάζουσα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει αἰὲν ὥραι αἰ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰσίν. [5] ἔπειτα ἂν τε σὺν ἵππῳ ἀρήγειν τις τῇ πόλει βούληται, τὸν ἵππον ἱκανωτάτῃ ἢ γεωργία συντρέφειν, ἂν τε πεζῇ, σφοδρὸν τὸ σῶμα παρέχει· θήρῃς τε ἐπιφιλοπονεῖσθαι συνεπαίρει τι ἢ γῇ καὶ κυσὶν εὐπέτειαν τροφῆς παρέχουσα καὶ θηρία συμπαρατρέφουσα. [6] ὠφελοῦμενοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι καὶ αἱ κύνες ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἀντωφελοῦσι τὸν χρόνον, ὁ μὲν ἵππος πρῶι τε κομίζων τὸν κηδόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν παρέχων ὧς ἀπιέναι, αἱ δὲ κύνες τὰ τε θηρία ἀπερύκουσαι ἀπὸ λύμης καρπῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν συμπαρέχουσαι. [7] παρορμαῖ δέ τι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρήγειν σὺν ὅπλοις τῇ χώρῃ καὶ ἢ γῇ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοὺς καρποὺς τρέφουσα τῷ κρατοῦντι λαμβάνειν. [8] καὶ δραμεῖν δὲ καὶ βαλεῖν καὶ πηδῆσαι τίς ἱκανωτέρους τέχνῃ γεωργίας παρέχεται; τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις πλείω τέχνῃ ἀντιχαρίζεται; τίς δὲ ἥδιον τὸν ἐπιμελόμενον δέχεται προτείνουσα προσιόντι λαβεῖν ὅ τι χρήζει; τίς δὲ ξένους ἀφθονώτερον δέχεται; [9] χειμάσαι δὲ πυρὶ ἀφθόνῳ καὶ θερμοῖς λουτροῖς ποῦ πλείων εὐμάρεια ἢ ἐν χώρῳ τῷ; ποῦ δὲ ἥδιον θερίσαι ὕδασι τε καὶ πνεύμασι καὶ σκιαῖς ἢ κατ' ἀγρόν; [10] τίς δὲ ἄλλῃ θεοῖς ἀπαρχὰς πρεπωδεστέρας παρέχει ἢ εορτὰς πληρεστέρας ἀποδεικνύει; τίς δὲ οἰκέταις προσφιλεστέρα ἢ γυναικὶ ἡδίων ἢ τέκνοις ποθεινότερα ἢ φίλοις εὐχαριστοτέρα; [11] ἐμοὶ μὲν θαυμαστὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι εἴ τις ἐλεύθερος ἄνθρωπος ἢ κτῆμά τι τούτου ἥδιον κέκτηται ἢ ἐπιμέλειαν ἡδῶ τινὰ ταύτης ἠύρηκεν ἢ ὠφελιμωτέραν εἰς τὸν βίον. [12] ἔτι δὲ ἢ γῇ θεὸς οὕσα τοὺς δυναμένους καταμανθάνειν καὶ δικαιοσύνην διδάσκει· τοὺς γὰρ ἄριστα θεραπεύοντας αὐτὴν πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ἀντιποιεῖ. [13] ἐὰν δ' ἄρα καὶ ὑπὸ πλήθους ποτὲ στρατευμάτων τῶν ἔργων στερηθῶσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ σφοδρῶς καὶ ἀνδρικῶς παιδευόμενοι, οὗτοι εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα, ἂν μὴ θεὸς ἀποκωλύῃ, δύνανται ἰόντες εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀποκωλυόντων λαμβάνειν ἀφ' ὧν θρέψονται. πολλάκις δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερόν ἐστι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τὴν τροφήν μαστεύειν ἢ σὺν τοῖς γεωργικοῖς ὀργάνοις. [14] συμπαιδεύει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἢ γεωργία. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν ἀνθρώποις δεῖ ἰέναι, τῆς τε γῆς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶν ἢ ἐργασία. [15]

τὸν οὖν μέλλοντα εὖ γεωργήσῃν δεῖ τοὺς ἐργαστῆρας καὶ προθύμους παρασκευάζειν καὶ πείθεσθαι θέλοντας· τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἄγοντα ταῦτα δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι δωρούμενόν τε τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ κολάζοντα τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. [16] καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι δὲ πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἥττον δεῖ τοῖς ἐργάταις τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις· καὶ ἐλπίδων δὲ ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἥττον οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων δέονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅπως μένειν ἐθέλωσι. [17] καλῶς δὲ κάκεῖνος εἶπεν ὃς ἔφη τὴν γεωργίαν τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν εἶναι. εὖ μὲν γὰρ φερομένης τῆς γεωργίας ἔρρωνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι ἅπασαι, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἀναγκασθῇ ἢ γῇ χερσεύειν, ἀποσβέννυνται καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι σχεδόν τι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.

[18] Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔμοιγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλῶς δοκεῖς λέγειν· ὅτι δὲ τῆς γεωργικῆς τὰ πλεῖστά ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ ἀδύνατα προνοῆσαι <δῆλον> καὶ γὰρ χάλασαι καὶ πάχναι ἐνίστε καὶ αὐχοὶ καὶ ὄμβροι ἐξαίσιοι καὶ ἐρυσίβαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλάκις τὰ καλῶς ἐγνωσμένα καὶ πεποιημένα ἀφαιροῦνται· καὶ πρόβατα δ' ἐνίστε κάλλιστα τεθραμμένα νόσος ἐλθοῦσα κάκιστα ἀπώλεσεν.

[19] Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ὦμην ἐγωγέ σε, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ οὐδὲν ἥττόν εἰσι κύριοι τῶν ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ ἔργων ἢ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὁρᾷς, οἶμαι, πρὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἐξαρεσκομένους τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπερωτῶντας θυσίαις καὶ οἰωνοῖς ὃ τι τε χρὴ ποιεῖν καὶ ὃ τι μή· [20] περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργικῶν πράξεων ἥττον οἶει δεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς ἰλάσκεσθαι; εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ σῶφρονες καὶ ὑπὲρ ὕγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καρπῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ προβάτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων γε δὴ τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσιν.

Κεφάλαιον ς'

[1] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν κελεύων πειρᾶσθαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἄρχεσθαι παντὸς ἔργου, ὥς τῶν θεῶν κυρίων ὄντων οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν εἰρηνικῶν ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πειρασόμεθα οὕτω ποιεῖν. σὺ δ' ἡμῖν ἔνθεν λέγων περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀπέλιπες, πειρῶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα διεκπεραίνειν, ὥς καὶ νῦν μοι δοκῶ ἀκηκοῶς ὅσα εἶπες μᾶλλον τι ἢ δι' ὁρᾶν ἢ πρόσθεν ὃ τι χρὴ ποιοῦντα βιοτεύειν.

[2] Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄρα, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπανεέλθοιμεν ὅσα συνομολογοῦντες διεληλύθαμεν, ἴν', ἂν πως δυνώμεθα, πειραθῶμεν οὕτω καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διεξιέναι συνομολογοῦντες;

[3] Ἦδὺν γοῦν ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὥσπερ καὶ χρημάτων κοινωνήσαντας ἀναμφιλόγως διελθεῖν, οὕτω καὶ λόγον κοινωνοῦντας περὶ ὧν ἂν διαλεγώμεθα συνομολογοῦντας διεξιέναι.

[4] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιστήμης μὲν τινος ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ὄνομα εἶναι ἡ οἰκονομία, ἡ δὲ ἐπιστήμη αὕτη ἐφαίνετο ἢ οἴκους δύνανται αὔξειν ἄνθρωποι, οἶκος δ' ἡμῖν ἐφαίνετο ὅπερ κτῆσις ἡ σύμπασα, κτῆσιν δὲ τοῦτο ἔφαμεν εἶναι ὃ τι ἐκάστωι εἴη ὠφέλιμον εἰς τὸν βίον, ὠφέλιμα δὲ ὄντα ἠύρισκετο πάντα ὁπόσοις τις ἐπίσταιτο χρῆσθαι. [5] πάσας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπιστήμας οὔτε μαθεῖν οἶόν τε ἡμῖν ἐδόκει, συναπεδοκιμάζομέν τε ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς βανανυσικὰς καλουμένας τέχνας, ὅτι καὶ τὰ σώματα καταλυμαίνεσθαι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καταγνύουσι. [6] τεκμήριον δὲ σαφέστατον γενέσθαι ἂν τούτου ἔφαμεν, εἰ πολεμίων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἰόντων διακαθίσας τις τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας χωρὶς ἐκατέρους ἐπερωτῶη πότερα δοκεῖ ἀρήγειν τῇ χώρῃ ἢ ὑφεμένους τῆς γῆς τὰ τεῖχη διαφυλάττειν. [7] οὕτως γὰρ ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ γῆν ἔχοντας ὠιόμεθ' ἂν ψηφίζεσθαι ἀρήγειν, τοὺς δὲ τεχνίτας μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πεπαίδευνται καθῆσθαι μήτε πονοῦντας μήτε κινδυνεύοντας. [8] ἐδοκιμάσαμεν δὲ ἀνδρὶ καλῶι τε κάγαθῶι ἐργασίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμην κρατίστην γεωργίαν, ἀφ' ἧς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἄνθρωποι πορίζονται. [9] αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐργασία μαθεῖν τε ράϊστη ἐδόκει εἶναι καὶ ἡδίστη ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ τὰ σώματα κάλλιστα τε καὶ εὐρωστότατα παρέχεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἥκιστα ἀσχολίαν παρέχειν φυλῶν τε καὶ πόλεων συνεπιμελεῖσθαι. [10] συμπαροξύνειν δέ τι ἐδόκει ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀλκίμους εἶναι ἡ γεωργία ἔξω τῶν ἐρυμάτων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φύουσά τε καὶ τρέφουσα τοὺς ἐργαζομένους. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ εὐδοξοτάτη εἶναι πρὸς τῶν πόλεων αὕτη ἡ βιοτεία, ὅτι καὶ πολίτας ἀρίστους καὶ εὐνουστάτους παρέχεσθαι δοκεῖ τῷ κοινῶι.

[11] Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος· Ὅτι μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἡδιστον ἀπὸ γεωργίας τὸν βίον ποιεῖσθαι πάνυ μοι δοκῶ πεπεῖσθαι ἱκανῶς· ὅτι δὲ ἔφησθα καταμαθεῖν τὰ αἷτια τῶν τε οὕτω γεωγρούντων ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἀφθόνως ἔχειν ὧν δέονται καὶ τῶν οὕτως ἐργαζομένων ὥς μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γεωργίαν, καὶ ταῦτ' <ἂν> μοι δοκῶ ἡδέως ἐκάτερα ἀκούειν σου, ὅπως ἂ μὲν ἀγαθὰ

ἐστι ποιῶμεν, ἃ δὲ βλαβερὰ μὴ ποιῶμεν.

[12] Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἂν σοι ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσωμαι ὡς συνεγενόμην ποτὲ ἀνδρί, ὃς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ ὄντι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐφ' οἷς τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα δικαίως ἐστὶν ὁ καλεῖται καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ;

Πάνυ ἂν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, βουλοίμην ἂν οὕτως ἀκούειν, ὡς καὶ ἔγωγε ἐρῶ τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος ἄξιος γενέσθαι.

[13] Λέξω τοίνυν σοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὡς καὶ ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν αὐτοῦ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς τέκτονας, χαλκέας, ἀγαθοὺς, ζωγράφους ἀγαθοὺς, ἀνδριαντοποιοὺς, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, πάνυ ὀλίγος μοι χρόνος ἐγένετο ἱκανὸς περιελθεῖν τε καὶ θεάσασθαι τὰ δεδοκιμασμένα καλὰ ἔργα αὐτοῖς εἶναι. [14] ὅπως δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐπισκεψαίμην, τί ποτε ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦτ' ἀξιοῖντο καλεῖσθαι, πάνυ μοι ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπεθύμει αὐτῶν τινι συγγενέσθαι. [15] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι προσέκειτο τὸ καλὸς τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ὅντινα ἴδοιμι καλόν, τούτῳι προσήκειν καὶ ἐπειρώμην καταμανθάνειν εἴ που ἴδοιμι προσηρημένον τῷ καλῷ τὸ ἀγαθόν. [16] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄρα εἶχεν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐνίους ἐδόκουν καταμανθάνειν τῶν καλῶν τὰς μορφὰς πάνυ μοχθηροὺς ὄντας τὰς ψυχὰς. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι ἀφέμενον τῆς καλῆς ὕψεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινα ἐλθεῖν τῶν καλουμένων καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν. [17] ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν Ἰσχόμαχον ἤκουον πρὸς πάντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ ἀστῶν καλόν τε καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἔδοξέ μοι τούτῳι πειραθῆναι συγγενέσθαι.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Ἰδὼν οὖν ποτε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου στοᾷ καθήμενον, ἐπεὶ μοι ἔδοξε σχολάζειν, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ καὶ παρακαθιζόμενος εἶπον· Τί, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, οὐ μάλα εἰθωὺς σχολάζειν κάθησαι; ἐπεὶ τά γε πλεῖστα ἢ πράττοντά τι ὁρῶ σε ἢ οὐ πάνυ σχολάζοντα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

[2] Οὐδὲ ἂν γε νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἑώρας, εἰ μὴ ξένους τινὰς συνεθέμην ἀναμένειν ἐνθάδε.

Ὅταν δὲ μὴ πράττης τι τοιοῦτον, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ποῦ διατρίβεις καὶ τί ποιεῖς; ἐγὼ γάρ τοι πάνυ βούλομαί σου πυθέσθαι τί ποτε πράττων καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς κέκλησαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔνδον γε διατρίβεις οὐδὲ τοιαύτη σου ἡ ἔξις τοῦ σώματος καταφαίνεται.

[3] Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ τί ποιῶν καλὸς κάγαθος κέκλησαι, καὶ ἦσθεις, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ ἔδοξεν, εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ὅταν σοι διαλέγωνται περὶ ἐμοῦ τινες καλοῦσί με τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα οὐκ οἶδα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὅταν γέ με εἰς ἀντίδοσιν καλῶνται τριηραρχίας ἢ χορηγίας, οὐδεὶς, ἔφη, ζητεῖ τὸν καλὸν τε κάγαθόν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς, ἔφη, ὀνομάζοντές με Ἰσχόμαχον πατρόθεν προσκαλοῦνται. ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ με ἐπήρου, οὐδαμῶς ἔνδον διατρίβω. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔφη, τά γε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου πάνυ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ γυνὴ ἐστὶν ἱκανὴ διοικεῖν.

[4] Ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφην, ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, πάνυ ἂν ἡδέως σου πυθοίμην, πότερα αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναῖκα ὥστε εἶναι οἷαν δεῖ ἢ ἐπισταμένην ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς διοικεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτῇ.

[5] Καὶ τί ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισταμένην αὐτὴν παρέλαβον, ἢ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δ' ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔξη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄψοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἔροιτο; [6] οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπητόν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἦλθεν ἐπισταμένη ἔρια παραλαβοῦσα ἱμάτιον ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἑωρακυῖα ὡς ἔργα ταλάσια θεραπαίνας δίδοται; ἐπεὶ τά γε ἀμφὶ γαστέρα, ἔφη, πάνυ καλῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἦλθε πεπαιδευμένη· ὅπερ μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ παίδευμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί.

[7] Τὰ δ' ἄλλα, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, αὐτὸς ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναῖκα ὥστε ἱκανὴν εἶναι ὣν προσήκει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐ πρὶν γε καὶ ἔθυσα καὶ ηὐξάμην ἐμέ τε τυγχάνειν διδάσκοντα καὶ ἐκείνην μανθάνουσαν τὰ βέλτιστα ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν.

[8] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σοι συνέθυε καὶ συνηύχετο ταῦτά ταῦτα;

Καὶ μάλα γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἥ πολλὰ ὑπὸ ἰσχνουμένη μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς γενέσθαι οἷαν δεῖ, καὶ εὐδελος ἦν ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελήσει τῶν διδασκομένων.

[9] Πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τί πρῶτον διδάσκειν ἤρχου αὐτὴν, διηγοῦ μοι· ὡς ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἂν ἡδὴ σου διηγούμενου ἀκούοιμι ἢ εἰ μοι γυμνικὸν ἢ ἵππικὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν κάλλιστον διηγοῖο.

[10] καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος ἀπεκρίνατο· Τί δ'; ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι χειροθήης ἦν καὶ ἐτετιθάσεντο ὥστε διαλέγεσθαι, ἡρόμην αὐτὴν

ὧδέ πως· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ γύναι, ἄρα ἤδη κατενόησας τίνος ποτὲ ἔνεκα ἐγὼ τε σὲ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ἔδοσάν σε ἐμοί;

[11] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀπορία ἦν μεθ' ὅτου ἄλλου ἐκαθεύδομεν ἄν, οἷδ' ὅτι καὶ σοὶ καταφανὲς τοῦτ' ἐστί. βουλευόμενος δ' ἔγωγε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ τίν' ἂν κοινωνὸν βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν, ἐγὼ τε σὲ ἐξελεξάμην καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς, ὡς εἰκόασιν, ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐμέ.

[12] τέκνα μὲν οὖν ἂν θεός ποτε διδῶι ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, τότε βουλευσόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν ὅπως ὅτι βέλτιστα παιδεύσομεν αὐτά· κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, συμμάχων καὶ γηροβοσκῶν ὅτι βελτίστων τυγχάνειν·

[13] νῦν δὲ δὴ οἶκος ἡμῖν ὅδε κοινός ἐστιν. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ὅσα μοι ἔστιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποφαίνω, σύ τε ὅσα ἡνέγκω πάντα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κατέθηκας. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, πότερος ἄρα ἀριθμῶι πλείω συμβέβληται ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ὁπότερος ἂν ἡμῶν βελτίων κοινωνὸς ᾖ, οὗτος τὰ πλείονος ἄξια συμβάλλεται.

[14] Ἀπεκρίνατο δέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ γυνή· Τί δ' ἂν ἐγὼ σοι, ἔφη, δυναίμην συμπρᾶξαι; τίς δὲ ἡ ἐμὴ δύναμις; ἀλλ' ἐν σοὶ πάντα ἐστίν· ἐμὸν δ' ἔφησεν ἡ μήτηρ ἔργον εἶναι σωφρονεῖν.

[15] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὦ γύναι, καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἀλλὰ σωφρόνων τοί ἐστι καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς οὕτω ποιεῖν, ὅπως τά τε ὄντα ὡς βέλτιστα ἔξει καὶ ἄλλα ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ δικαίου προσγενήσεται.

[16] Καὶ τί δή, ἔφη, ὀρᾷς, ἡ γυνή, ὃ τι ἂν ἐγὼ, ποιούσα συναύξοιμι τὸν οἶκον;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἃ τε οἱ θεοὶ ἔφυσάν σε δύνασθαι καὶ ὁ νόμος συνεπαινεῖ, ταῦτα πειρῶ ὡς βέλτιστα ποιεῖν.

[17] Καὶ τί δή ταῦτ' ἐστιν; ἔφη ἐκεῖνη.

Οἶμαι μὲν ἔγωγε, ἔφην, οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἄξια, εἰ μὴ πέρ γε καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ σμήνει ἡγεμῶν μέλιττα ἐπ' ἐλαχίστου ἀξίοις ἔργοις ἐφέστηκεν. [18] ἐμοὶ γάρ τοι, ἔφη φάναι, καὶ οἱ θεοί, ὦ γύναι, δοκοῦσι πολὺ διεσκευμένως μάλιστα τὸ ζεῦγος τοῦτο συντεθεικέναι ὃ καλεῖται θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν, ὅπως ὅτι ὠφελιμώτατον ᾖ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν. [19] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μὴ ἐκλιπεῖν ζώων γένη τοῦτο τὸ ζεῦγος κεῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων τεκνοποιούμενον, ἔπειτα τὸ γηροβοσκὸς κεκτῆσθαι ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ζεύγους τοῖς γοῦν ἀνθρώποις πορίζεται· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἡ δίαίτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ

ὥσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσιν ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, ἀλλὰ στεγῶν δεῖται δῆλον ὅτι. [20] δεῖ μέντοι τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀνθρώποις ἔξιν ὅ τι εἰσφέρωσιν εἰς τὸ στεγνὸν τοῦ ἐργασομένου τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ἐργασίας. καὶ γὰρ νεατὸς καὶ σπόρος καὶ φυτεία καὶ νομαὶ ὑπαίθρια ταῦτα πάντα ἔργα ἐστίν· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια γίγνεται. [21] δεῖ δ' αὖ, ἐπειδὴν ταῦτα εἰσενεχθῇ εἰς τὸ στεγνόν, καὶ τοῦ σώσοντος ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ ἐργασομένου δ' ἃ τῶν στεγνῶν ἔργα δεόμενά ἐστι. στεγνῶν δὲ δεῖται καὶ ἡ τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων παιδοτροφία, στεγνῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ σιτοποιαὶ δέονται· ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἐσθῆτος ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐργασία. [22] ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα καὶ ἔργων καὶ ἐπιμελείας δεῖται τὰ τε ἔνδον καὶ τὰ ἔξω, καὶ τὴν φύσιν, φάναι, εὐθὺς παρεσκεύασεν ὁ θεός, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὴν μὲν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔνδον ἔργα καὶ ἐπιμελήματα, <τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω>. [23] ῥίγη μὲν γὰρ καὶ θάλλη καὶ ὁδοιπορίας καὶ στρατείας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μᾶλλον δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν κατεσκεύασεν· ὥστε τὰ ἔξω ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ἔργα· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ ἦττον τὸ σῶμα δυνατὸν πρὸς ταῦτα φύσας τὰ ἔνδον ἔργα αὐτῇ, φάναι ἔφη, προστάξαι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ θεός. [24] εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἐνέφυσε καὶ προσέταξε τὴν τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων τροφήν, καὶ τοῦ στέργειν τὰ νεογνά βρέφη πλέον αὐτῇ ἐδάσατο ἢ τῷ ἀνδρί. [25] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τὰ εἰσενεχθέντα τῇ γυναικὶ προσέταξε, γινώσκων ὁ θεὸς ὅτι πρὸς τὸ φυλάττειν οὐ κάκιόν ἐστι φοβερὰν εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν πλέον μέρος καὶ τοῦ φόβου ἐδάσατο τῇ γυναικὶ ἢ τῷ ἀνδρί. εἰδὼς δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἀρήγειν αὐτὴν δεήσει, ἐάν τις ἀδικῇ, τὸν τὰ ἔξω ἔργα ἔχοντα, τούτῳ αὐτὴν πλέον μέρος τοῦ θράσους ἐδάσατο. [26] ὅτι δ' ἀμφοτέρους δεῖ καὶ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, τὴν μνήμην καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέροις κατέθηκεν. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις διελεῖν πότερα τὸ ἔθνος τὸ θῆλου ἢ τὸ ἄρρεν τούτων πλεονεκτεῖ. [27] καὶ τὸ ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ εἶναι ὧν δεῖ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέροις κατέθηκε, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ὁπότερος ἂν ᾖ βελτίων, εἴθ' ὁ ἀνὴρ εἴθ' ἡ γυνή, τοῦτον καὶ πλέον φέρεσθαι τούτου τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. [28] διὰ δὲ τὴν φύσιν μὴ πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρων εὖ πεφυκέναι, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δέονται μᾶλλον ἀλλήλων καὶ τὸ ζεῦγος ὠφελιμώτερον ἑαυτῷ γεγένηται, ἃ τὸ ἕτερον ἐλλείπεται τὸ ἕτερον δυνάμενον. [29] ταῦτα δέ, ἔφη, δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὧ γύναι, εἰδότας, ἃ ἐκατέρῳ ἡμῶν προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστα τὰ προσήκοντα ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. [30] συνεπαινεῖ δέ, ἔφη φάναι, καὶ ὁ νόμος αὐτά,

συζευγνὺς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα· καὶ κοινωνοὺς ὥσπερ τῶν τέκνων ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νόμος <τοῦ οἴκου> κοινωνοὺς καθίστησι. καὶ καλὰ δὲ εἶναι ὁ νόμος ἀποδείκνυσιν <ἃ> καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἔφυσεν ἐκάτερον μᾶλλον δύνασθαι. τῇ μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ θυραυλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ αἵσχιον ἔνδον μένειν ἢ τῶν ἔξω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [31] εἰ δέ τις παρ' ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔφυσε ποιεῖ, ἴσως τι καὶ ἀτακτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λήθει καὶ δίκην δίδωσιν ἀμελῶν τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἢ πράττων τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργα. [32] δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ἔφην, καὶ ἡ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμῶν τοιαῦτα ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προστεταγμένα διαπονεῖσθαι.

Καὶ ποῖα δὴ, ἔφη ἐκείνη, ἔργα ἔχουσα ἡ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμῶν ἐξομοιοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις οἷς ἐμὲ δεῖ πράττειν;

[33] Ὅτι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐκείνη γε ἐν τῷ σμῇνι μένουσα οὐκ ἔαι ἀργοὺς τὰς μελίττας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἄς μὲν δεῖ ἔξω ἐργάζεσθαι ἐκπέμπει ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, καὶ ἃ ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκάστη εἰσφέρει οἶδέ τε καὶ δέχεται, καὶ σῶιζει ταῦτα ἔστ' ἂν δέηι χρῆσθαι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἡ ὥρα τοῦ χρῆσθαι ἦκη, διανέμει τὸ δίκαιον ἐκάστῃ. [34] καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔνδον δ' ἐξυφαινομένοις κηρίοις ἐφέστηκεν, ὡς καλῶς καὶ ταχέως ὑφαίνεται, καὶ τοῦ γιγνομένου τόκου ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς ἐκτρέφεται· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἐκτραφῇ καὶ ἀξιοεργοὶ οἱ νεοττοὶ γένωνται, ἀποικίζει αὐτοὺς σὺν τῶν ἐπιγόνων τινὶ ἡγεμόνι.

[35] Ἥ καὶ ἐμὲ οὖν, ἔφη ἡ γυνή, δεῖσει ταῦτα ποιεῖν;

Δεῖσει μέντοι σε, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἔνδον τε μένειν καὶ οἷς μὲν ἂν ἔξω τὸ ἔργον ἢ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτους συνεκπέμπειν, οἷς δ' ἂν ἔνδον ἔργον ἐργαστέον, [36] τούτων σοὶ ἐπιστατητέον, καὶ τά τε εἰσφερόμενα ἀποδεκτέον καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν αὐτῶν δέηι δαπανᾶν σοὶ διανεμητέον, ἃ δ' ἂν περιττεύειν δέηι, προνοητέον καὶ φυλακτέον ὅπως μὴ ἡ εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κειμένη δαπάνη εἰς τὸν μῆνα δαπανᾶται. καὶ ὅταν ἔρια εἰσενεχθῇ σοι, ἐπιμελητέον ὅπως οἷς δεῖ ἱμάτια γίγνηται. καὶ ὁ γε ξηρὸς σῖτος ὅπως καλῶς ἐδώδιμος γίγνηται ἐπιμελητέον. [37] ἐν μέντοι τῶν σοὶ προσηκόντων, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐπιμελημάτων ἴσως ἀχαριστότερον δόξει εἶναι, ὅτι, ὅς ἂν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοὶ ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται.

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ἡ γυνή, ἐπιχαριτώτατον μὲν οὖν, ἂν μέλλωσί γε οἱ καλῶς θεραπευθέντες χάριν εἶσεσθαι καὶ εὐνούστεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἔσεσθαι.

[38] Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος, ἀγασθεὶς αὐτῆς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν

εἶπον· Ἄρά γε, ὦ γύναι, διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς προνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ σμήνει ἡγεμόνος αἱ μέλιτται οὕτω διατίθενται πρὸς αὐτήν, ὥστε, ὅταν ἐκεῖνη ἐκλίπη, οὐδεμία οἶται τῶν μελιττῶν ἀπολειπτέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπονται πᾶσαι;

[39] Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο· Θαυμάζοιμ' ἄν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ πρὸς σὲ μᾶλλον τείνοι τὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔργα ἢ πρὸς ἐμέ. ἡ γὰρ ἐμὴ φυλακὴ τῶν ἔνδον καὶ διανομὴ γελοία τις ἄν, οἶμαι, φαίνοιτο, εἰ μὴ σύγε ἐπιμελοῖτο ὅπως ἔξωθέν τι εἰσφέροιτο.

[40] Γελοία δ' αὖ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἡ ἐμὴ εἰσφορὰ φαίνοيت' ἄν, εἰ μὴ εἴη ὅστις τὰ εἰσενεχθέντα σώιζοι. οὐχ ὁραῖς, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἱ εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν λεγόμενοι ὥς οἰκτίρονται, ὅτι μάτην πονεῖν δοκοῦσι;

Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ἡ γυνή, καὶ γὰρ τλήμονές εἰσιν, εἰ τοῦτό γε ποιοῦσιν.

[41] Ἄλλαι δέ τοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἴδιαι ἐπιμέλειαι, ὦ γύναι, ἡδεῖαί σοι γίνονται, ὅποταν ἀνεπιστήμονα ταλασίας λαβοῦσα ἐπιστήμονα ποιήσης καὶ διπλασίου σοι ἀξία γένηται, καὶ ὅποταν ἀνεπιστήμονα ταμείας καὶ διακονίας παραλαβοῦσα ἐπιστήμονα καὶ πιστὴν καὶ διακονικὴν ποιησαμένη παντὸς ἀξίαν ἔχῃς, καὶ ὅποταν τοὺς μὲν σώφρονάς τε καὶ ὠφελίμους τῷ σῶι οἴκῳ ἐξῇ σοι εὖ ποιῆσαι, ἐὰν δέ τις πονηρὸς φαίνεται, ἐξῇ σοι κολάσαι· [42] τὸ δὲ πάντων ἡδιστον, ἐὰν βελτίων ἐμοῦ φανῇς, καὶ ἐμὲ σὸν θεράποντα ποιήσῃ, καὶ μὴ δέῃ σε φοβεῖσθαι μὴ προιούσης τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτιμότερα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ γένῃ, ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃς ὅτι πρεσβυτέρα γιγνομένη ὅσῳ ἂν καὶ ἐμοὶ κοινωνὸς καὶ παισὶν οἴκου φύλαξ ἀμείνων γίγνηι, τοσοῦτω καὶ τιμωτέρα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἔσει. [43] τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τε κάγαθά, ἐγὼ ἔφην, οὐ διὰ τὰς ὥραιότητας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς εἰς τὸν βίον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαύξεται. τοιαῦτα μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, δοκῶ μεμνησθαι αὐτῇ τὰ πρῶτα διαλεχθεῖς.

Κεφάλαιον η'

[1] Ἡ καὶ ἐπέγνωσ τι, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐκ τούτων αὐτὴν κεκινημένην μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ δηχθεῖσάν γε οἶδα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρυθριάσασαν σφόδρα ὅτι τῶν εἰσενεχθέντων τι αἰτήσαντος ἐμοῦ οὐκ εἶχε μοι δοῦναι. [2] καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι ἰδὼν ἀχθεσθεῖσαν αὐτὴν εἶπον· Μηδέν τι, ἔφην, ἀθυμήσης, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχεις δοῦναι ὃ σε αἰτῶν τυγχάνω. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πενία αὕτη σαφής, τὸ δεόμενόν τινος

μη ἔχειν χρῆσθαι· ἀλυποτέρα δὲ αὕτη ἢ ἔνδεια, τὸ ζητοῦντά τι μη δύνασθαι λαβεῖν, ἢ τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδὲ ζητεῖν εἰδότα ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, τούτων οὐ σὺ αἰτία, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τάξας σοι παρέδωκα ὅπου χρὴ ἕκαστα κεῖσθαι, ὅπως εἰδῆς ὅπου τε δεῖ τιθέναι καὶ ὁπόθεν λαμβάνειν. [3] ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὃ γύναι, οὐτ' εὐχρηστον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις ὡς τάξις. καὶ γὰρ χορὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενός ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ποιῶσιν ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ ἕκαστος, ταραχὴ τις φαίνεται καὶ θεᾶσθαι ἀτερπές, ὅταν δὲ τεταγμένως ποιῶσι καὶ φθέγγωνται, ἅμα οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀξιάκουστοι. [4] καὶ στρατιὰ γε, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὃ γύναι, ἄτακτος μὲν οὔσα ταραχωδέστατον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίους εὐχειρωτότατον, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ἀκλεέστατον ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀχρηστότατον, ὄνος ὁμοῦ, ὀπλίτης, σκευοφόρος, ψιλός, ἱππεύς, ἅμαξα – πῶς γὰρ ἂν πορευθεῖσαν, <ἐάν> ἔχοντες οὕτως ἐπικωλύσωσιν ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν βαδίζων τὸν τρέχοντα, ὁ δὲ τρέχων τὸν ἐστηκότα, ἢ δὲ ἅμαξα τὸν ἱππέα, ὁ δὲ ὄνος τὴν ἅμαξαν, ὁ δὲ σκευοφόρος τὸν ὀπλίτην; [5] εἰ δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι δέοι, πῶς ἂν οὕτως ἔχοντες μαχέσαιντο; οἷς γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπιόντας φεύγειν, οὗτοι ἱκανοὶ εἰσι φεύγοντες καταπατῆσαι τοὺς ὅπλα ἔχοντας –, [6] τεταγμένη δὲ στρατιὰ κάλλιστον μὲν ἰδεῖν τοῖς φίλοις, δυσχερέστατον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίους. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν φίλος ἡδέως θεάσαιτο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς ἐν τάξει πορευομένους, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειεν ἱππέας κατὰ τάξεις ἐλαύνοντας, τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν πολέμιος φοβηθεῖ ἰδὼν διηυκρινημένους ὀπλίτας, ἱππέας, πελταστάς, τοξότας, σφενδονήτας, καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τεταγμένως ἐπομένους; [7] ἀλλὰ καὶ πορευομένων ἐν τάξει, κἂν πολλαὶ μυριάδες ὦσιν, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ εἷς ἕκαστος καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάντες πορεύονται· εἰς γὰρ τὸ κενούμενον ἀεὶ <οἱ> ὀπισθεν ἐπέρχονται. [8] καὶ τριήρης δέ τοι ἢ σεσαγμένη ἀνθρώπων διὰ τί ἄλλο φοβερὸν ἐστὶ πολεμίους ἢ φίλοις ἀξιοθέατον ἢ ὅτι ταχὺ πλεῖ; διὰ τί δὲ ἄλλο ἄλυποι ἀλλήλοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἢ διότι ἐν τάξει μὲν κάθηνται, ἐν τάξει δὲ προνεύουσιν, ἐν τάξει δ' ἀναπίπτουσιν, ἐν τάξει δ' ἐμβαίνουσι καὶ ἐκβαίνουσιν; [9] ἢ δ' ἀταξία ὁμοίων τί μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι οἷόνπερ εἰ γεωργὸς ὁμοῦ ἐμβάλοι κριθᾶς καὶ πυροῦς καὶ ὄσπρια, κἄπειτα, ὅποτε δέοι ἢ μάξης ἢ ἄρτου ἢ ὕψου, διαλέγειν δέοι αὐτῶι ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβόντα διηυκρινημένοις χρῆσθαι. [10] καὶ σὺ οὖν, ὃ γύναι, <εἰ> τοῦ μὲν τάραχου τούτου μὴ δέοιο, βούλοιο δ' ἀκριβῶς διοικεῖν τὰ ὄντα εἰδέναι καὶ τῶν ὄντων εὐπόρως λαμβάνουσα ὅτῳ ἂν δέῃ χρῆσθαι,

καὶ ἐμοί, ἐάν τι αἰτῶ, ἐν χάριτι διδόναι, χώραν τε δοκιμασώμεθα τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκάστοις ἔχειν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ θέντες διδάξωμεν τὴν διάκονον λαμβάνειν τε ἐντεῦθεν καὶ κατατιθέναι πάλιν εἰς ταύτην· καὶ οὕτως εἰσόμεθα τὰ τε σῶα ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ· ἢ γὰρ χώρα αὐτὴ τὸ μὴ ὄν ποθήσει, καὶ <τὸ> δεόμενον θεραπείας ἐξετάσει ἢ ὄψις, καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅπου ἕκαστόν ἐστι ταχὺ ἐγγχειριεῖ, ὥστε μὴ ἀπορεῖν χρῆσθαι. [11] καλλίστην δέ ποτε καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην ἔδοξα σκευῶν τάξιν ἰδεῖν, ὃ Σώκρατες, εἰσβάς ἐπὶ θεῶν εἰς τὸ μέγα πλοῖον τὸ Φοινικικόν. πλεῖστα γὰρ σκευὴ ἐν σμικροτάτῳ ἀγγεῖῳ διακεχωρισμένα ἐθεασάμην. [12] διὰ πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ δῆπου, ἔφη, ξυλίνων σκευῶν καὶ πλεκτῶν ὀρμίζεται ναὺς καὶ ἀνάγεται, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ τῶν κρεμαστῶν καλουμένων πλεῖ, πολλοῖς δὲ μηχανήμασιν ἀνθώπλισται πρὸς τὰ πολέμια πλοῖα, πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα τοῖς ἀνδράσι συμπεριάγει, πάντα δὲ σκευὴ ὅσοις οὐκ ἐν οἰκίᾳ χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι τῇ συσσιτίᾳ ἐκάστη κομίζει· γέμει δὲ παρὰ πάντα φορτίων ὅσα ναύκληρος κέρδους ἕνεκα ἄγεται. [13] καὶ ὅσα λέγω, ἔφη, ἐγώ, πάντα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι μείζονι χώρᾳ ἔκειτο ἢ ἐν δεκακλίνῳ στέγῃ συμμέτρῳ. καὶ οὕτω κείμενα ἕκαστα κατενόησα ὥς οὔτε ἄλληλα ἐμποδίζει οὔτε μαστευτοῦ δεῖται οὔτε ἀσυσκευάστᾳ ἐστὶν οὔτε δυσλύτως ἔχει, ὥστε διατριβὴν παρέχειν, ὅταν τῷ ταχὺ δέῃ χρῆσθαι. [14] τὸν δὲ τοῦ κυβερνήτου διάκονον, ὃς πρωιεὺς τῆς νεῶς καλεῖται, οὕτως ἡῦρον ἐπιστάμενον ἐκάστων τὴν χώραν ὥς καὶ ἀπὼν ἂν εἴποι ὅπου ἕκαστα κεῖται καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ὁ γράμματα ἐπιστάμενος εἴποι ἂν Σωκράτους καὶ ὅποσα γράμματα καὶ ὅπου ἕκαστον τέτακται. [15] εἶδον δέ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἐξετάζοντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ πάντα ὅποσοις ἄρα δεῖ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χρῆσθαι. θαυμάσας δέ, ἔφη, τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτοῦ ἠρόμην τί πράττοι.

Ὁ δ' εἶπεν· Ἐπισκοπῶ, ἔφη, ὃ ξένη, εἴ τι συμβαίνοι γίνεσθαι, πῶς κεῖται, ἔφη, τὰ ἐν τῇ νηί, ἢ εἴ τι ἀποστατεῖ ἢ εἴ δυστραπέλως τι σύγκειται. [16] οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ἐγχωρεῖ, ὅταν χειμάζῃ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὔτε μαστεύειν ὅτου ἂν δέῃ οὔτε δυστραπέλως ἔχον διδόναι. ἀπειλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ κολάζει τοὺς βλάκας. ἐὰν δὲ μόνον μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτάνοντας, πάνυ ἀγαπητόν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ πάνυ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντας, σώιζῃ, πολλὴ χάρις, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς. [17] ἐγὼ οὖν κατιδὼν ταύτην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς ἔλεγον τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι πάνυ ἂν ἡμῶν εἴη βλακικόν, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ μικροῖς οὔσι χώρας εὐρίσκουσι, καὶ σαλεύοντες ἰσχυρῶς ὁμῶς

σώιζουσι τὴν τάξιν, καὶ ὑπερφοβούμενοι ὅμως εὐρίσκουσι τὸ δέον λαμβάνειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ διηρημένων ἐκάστοις θηκῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μεγάλων καὶ βεβηκυίας τῆς οἰκίας ἐν δαπέδῳ, εἰ μὴ εὐρήσομεν καλὴν καὶ εὐεύρετον χώραν ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἂν πολλὴ ἡμῶν ἀσυνεσία εἴη; [18] ὥς μὲν δὴ ἀγαθὸν τετάχθαι σκευῶν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὥς ράδιον χώραν ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν εὐρεῖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ θεῖναι ὥς ἐκάστοις συμφέρει εἴρηται· [19] ὥς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐπειδὰν ὑποδήματα ἐφεξῆς κέηται, κἂν ὅποια ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ ἱμάτια κεχωρισμένα ἰδεῖν, κἂν ὅποια ᾖ, καλὸν δὲ στρώματα, καλὸν δὲ χαλκία, καλὸν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ τραπέζας, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ πάντων καταγελάσειεν ἂν μάλιστα οὐχ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀλλ' ὁ κομψός, [ὅτι] καὶ χύτρας [φησὶν] εὐρυθμον φαίνεσθαι εὐκρινῶς κειμένας – [20] τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἤδη που ἀπὸ τούτου ἅπαντα καλλίῳ φαίνεται κατὰ κόσμον κείμενα· χορὸς γὰρ σκευῶν ἕκαστα φαίνεται, καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ πάντων τούτων καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐκποδῶν ἐκάστου κειμένου· ὥσπερ καὶ κύκλιος χορὸς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς καλὸν θέαμά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ καλὸν καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνεται – [21] εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγω, ἔξεστιν, ἔφην, ὦ γύναι, καὶ πείραν λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν οὔτε τι ζημιωθέντας οὔτε τι πολλὰ πονήσαντας. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ ἀθυμῆσαι, ὦ γύναι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὥς χαλεπὸν εὐρεῖν τὸν μαθησόμενόν τε τὰς χώρας καὶ μεμνησόμενον καταχωρίζειν ἕκαστα. [22] ἴσμεν γὰρ δήπου ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἅπαντα ἔχει ἡ πᾶσα πόλις, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὁποῖον ἂν τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύσεις πριάμενόν τί σοι ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἀπορήσει, ἀλλὰ πᾶς εἰδὼς φανεῖται ὅποι χρὴ ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν ἕκαστα. τούτου μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἰτιὸν ἐστὶν ἢ ὅτι ἐν χώρᾳ κεῖται τεταγμένη. [23] ἄνθρωπον δέ γε ζητῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐνίοτε ἀντιζητοῦντα, πολλάκις ἂν τις πρότερον, πρὶν εὐρεῖν, ἀπείποι. καὶ τούτου αὖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο αἰτιὸν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τεταγμένον ὅπου ἕκαστον δεῖ ἀναμένειν. περὶ μὲν [γὰρ] δὴ τάξεως σκευῶν καὶ χρήσεως τοιαῦτα αὐτῇ διαλεχθεῖς δοκῶ μεμνήσθαι.

Κεφάλαιον θ'

[1] Καὶ τί δή; ἡ γυνὴ ἐδόκει σοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, πῶς τι ὑπακούειν ὧν σὺ ἐσπούδαζες διδάσκων;

Τί δέ, εἰ μὴ ὑπισχνεῖτό γε ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καὶ φανερά ᾗν ἡδομένη ἰσχυρῶς, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμχανίας εὐπορίαν τινὰ ἡύρηκυῖα, καὶ ἐδεῖτό μου ὥς τάχιστα ἥτις ἐλεγον διατάξει.

[2] Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, διέταξας αὐτῇ;

Τί δ', εἰ μὴ τῆς γε οἰκίας τὴν δύναμιν ἔδοξέ μοι πρῶτον ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτῇ. οὐ γὰρ ποικίλμασι κεκόσμηται, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήματα ὠικοδόμηται πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐσκεμμένα, ὅπως ἀγγεῖα ὡς συμφορώτατα ἢ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι· ὥστε αὐτὰ ἐκάλει τὰ πρέποντα εἶναι ἐν ἐκάστωι. [3] ὁ μὲν γὰρ θάλαμος ἐν ὀχυρῶι ὦν τὰ πλείστου ἄξια καὶ στρώματα καὶ σκεύη παρεκάλει, τὰ δὲ ξηρὰ τῶν στεγνῶν τὸν σῖτον, τὰ δὲ ψυχρεῖν τὸν οἶνον, τὰ δὲ φανὰ ὅσα φάους δεόμενα ἔργα τε καὶ σκεύη ἐστί. [4] καὶ διαιτητήρια δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπεδείκνυν αὐτῇ κεκαλλωπισμένα τοῦ μὲν θέρους ἔχειν ψυχρεῖν, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος ἄλειναι. καὶ σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπέδειξα αὐτῇ ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται, ὥστε εὐδῆλον εἶναι ὅτι χειμῶνος μὲν εὐήλιός ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐσκίος. [5] ἔδειξα δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν αὐτῇ, θύραι βαλανωτῇ ὠρισμένην ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος, ἵνα μήτε ἐκφέρηται ἐνδοθεν ὃ τι μὴ δεῖ μήτε τεκνοποιῶνται οἱ οἰκέται ἄνευ τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρηστοὶ παιδοποιησάμενοι εὐνούστεροι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ συζυγέντες εὐπορώτεροι πρὸς τὸ κακουργεῖν γίνονται. [6] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διήλθομεν, ἔφη, οὕτω δὴ ἤδη κατὰ φυλὰς διεκρίνομεν τὰ ἐπιπλα. ἡρχόμεθα δὲ πρῶτον, ἔφη, ἀθροίζοντες, οἷς ἀμφὶ θυσίας χρώμεθα. μετὰ ταῦτα κόσμον γυναικὸς τὸν εἰς ἐορτὰς διηροῦμεν, ἐσθῆτα ἀνδρὸς τὴν εἰς ἐορτὰς καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ στρώματα ἐν γυναικωνίτιδι, στρώματα ἐν ἀνδρωνίτιδι, ὑποδήματα γυναικεῖα, ὑποδήματα ἀνδρεῖα. [7] ὅπλων ἄλλη φυλὴ, ἄλλη ταλασιουργικῶν ὀργάνων, ἄλλη σιτοποικῶν, ἄλλη ὀψοποικῶν, ἄλλη τῶν ἀμφὶ λουτρόν, ἄλλη ἀμφὶ μάκτρας, ἄλλη ἀμφὶ τραπέζας. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διεχωρίσαμεν, οἷς τε ἀεὶ δεῖ χρῆσθαι καὶ τὰ θοινητικά. [8] χωρὶς δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ μῆνα δαπανώμενα ἀφείλομεν, δίχα δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπολελογισμένα κατέθεμεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἦττον λανθάνει ὅπως πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκβήσεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐχωρίσαμεν πάντα κατὰ φυλὰς τὰ ἐπιπλα, εἰς τὰς χώρας τὰς προσηκούσας ἕκαστα διηνέγκαμεν. [9] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὅσοις μὲν τῶν σκευῶν καθ' ἡμέραν χρῶνται οἱ οἰκέται, οἷον σιτοποικοῖς, ὀψοποικοῖς, ταλασιουργικοῖς, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον, ταῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρωμένοις δειξάντες ὅπου δεῖ τιθέναι, παρεδώκαμεν καὶ ἐπετάξαμεν σῶα παρέχειν· [10] ὅσοις δ' εἰς ἐορτὰς ἢ ξενοδοκίας χρώμεθα ἢ εἰς τὰς διὰ χρόνου πράξεις, ταῦτα δὲ τῇ ταμίαι παρεδώκαμεν, καὶ δειξάντες τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ

ἀπαριθμήσαντες καὶ γραψάμενοι ἕκαστα εἶπομεν αὐτῇ διδόναι τούτων ὅτῳ δέοι ἕκαστον, καὶ μεμνησθαι ὅ τι ἂν τῷ διδῶι, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσιν κατατιθέναι πάλιν ὅθενπερ ἂν ἕκαστα λαμβάνῃ.

[11] Τὴν δὲ ταμίαν ἐποιησάμεθα ἐπισκεψάμενοι ἥτις ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐγκρατεστάτη καὶ γαστρὸς καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ἀνδρῶν συνουσίας, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἢ τὸ μνημονικὸν μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἔχειν καὶ τὸ προνοεῖν μὴ τι κακὸν λάβῃ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμελοῦσα, καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως χαριζομένη τι ἡμῖν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀντιτιμῆσεται. [12] ἐδιδάσκομεν δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτ' εὐφραينوίμεθα, τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδιδόντες, καὶ εἴ τι λυπηρὸν εἴῃ, εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι δὲ συναυξεῖν τὸν οἶκον ἐπαιδεύομεν αὐτὴν, ἐπιγιγνώσκειν αὐτὴν ποιοῦντες καὶ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτῇ μεταδιδόντες. [13] καὶ δικαιοσύνην δ' αὐτῇ ἐνεποιούμεν τιμιωτέρους τιθέντες τοὺς δικαίους τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοντες πλουσιώτερον καὶ ἐλευθεριώτερον βιοτεύοντας τῶν ἀδίκων· καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρῃ κατετάττομεν. [14] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν εἶπον, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι πάντων τούτων οὐδὲν ὄφελος, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ ἐπιμελήσεται ὅπως διαμένῃ ἐκάστωι ἢ τάξιν. ἐδίδασκον δὲ αὐτὴν ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν οὐκ ἄρκεῖν δοκεῖ τοῖς πολίταις, ἂν νόμους καλοὺς γράψωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοφύλακας προσαιροῦνται, οἵτινες ἐπισκοποῦντες τὸν μὲν ποιοῦντα τὰ νόμιμα ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἂν δὲ τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ποιῇ, ζημιῶσι. [15] νομίσαι οὖν ἐκέλευον, ἔφη, τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν νομοφύλακα τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶναι, καὶ ἐξετάζειν δέ, ὅταν δόξῃ αὐτῇ, τὰ σκεύη, ὥσπερ ὁ φρούραρχος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐξετάζει, καὶ δοκιμάζειν εἰ καλῶς ἕκαστον ἔχει, ὥσπερ ἡ βουλή ἵππους καὶ ἱππείας δοκιμάζει, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ βασίλισσαν τὸν ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως, καὶ λοιδορεῖν καὶ κολάζειν τὸν τούτων δεόμενον. [16] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐδίδασκον αὐτὴν, ἔφη, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἄχθοιτο δικαίως, εἰ πλείω αὐτῇ πράγματα προστάττω ἢ τοῖς οἰκέταις περὶ τὰ κτήματα, ἐπιδεικνύων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις μέτεστι τῶν δεσποσύνων χρημάτων τοσοῦτον ὅσον φέρειν ἢ θεραπεύειν ἢ φυλάττειν, χρῆσθαι δὲ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἔξεστιν, ὅτῳ ἂν μὴ δῶι ὁ κύριος· δεσπότου δὲ ἅπαντ' ἐστὶν ἴσῳ ἂν βούληται ἕκαστα[†] χρῆσθαι. [17] ὅτῳ οὖν καὶ σωιζομένων μεγίστη ὄνησις καὶ φθειρομένων μεγίστη βλάβη, τούτῳ καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μάλιστα προσήκουσαν ἀπέφαινον.

[18] Τί οὖν; ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἡ γυνή πῶς σοι ὑπήκουε;

Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ εἶπέ γέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς γινώσκοιμι, εἰ οἰοίμην χαλεπὰ ἐπιτάττειν διδάσκων ὅτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν ὄντων. χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη φάναι, εἰ αὐτῇ ἐπέταττον ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ εἰ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεήσει τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν. [19] πεφυκέναι γὰρ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὥσπερ καὶ τέκνων τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κτημάτων ὅσα ἴδια ὄντα εὐφραίνει ἥδιον τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίζειν ἔφη εἶναι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν.

Κεφάλαιον ι'

[1] Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῷ ταῦτα, εἶπον· Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀνδρικήν γε ἐπιδεικνύεις τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς γυναικός.

Καὶ ἄλλα τοῖνυν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, θέλω σοι πάννυ μεγαλόφρονα αὐτῆς διηγῆσασθαι, ἃ μου ἅπαξ ἀκούσασα ταχὺ ἐπείθετο.

Τὰ ποῖα; ἔφην ἐγώ· λέγε· ὡς ἐμοὶ πολὺ ἥδιον ζώσης ἀρετὴν γυναικὸς καταμανθάνειν ἢ εἰ Ζεῦξις μοι καλὴν εἰκάσας γραφῇι γυναῖκα ἐπεδείκνυνεν.

[2] Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· Ἐγὼ τοῖνυν, ἔφη, ἰδὼν ποτε αὐτήν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐντετριμμένην πολλῶι μὲν ψιμυθίῳ, ὅπως λευκοτέρα ἔτι δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἦν, πολλῇι δ' ἐγγούσηι, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσαν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοίη εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει, [3] Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφην, ὦ γύναι, ποτέρως ἂν με κρίναις ἀξιοφίλητον μᾶλλον εἶναι χρημάτων κοινωνόν, εἴ σοι αὐτὰ τὰ ὄντα ἀποδεικνύοιμι, καὶ μήτε κομπάζοιμι ὡς πλείω τῶν ὄντων ἔστι μοι, μήτε ἀποκρυπτοίμην τι τῶν ὄντων μηδέν, ἢ εἰ πειρώμην σε ἐξαπατᾶν λέγων τε ὡς πλείω ἔστι μοι τῶν ὄντων, ἐπιδεικνύς τε ἀργύριον κίβδηλον [δηλοῖν σε] καὶ ὄρμους ὑποξύλους καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐξιτήλους φαῖν ἀληθινὰς εἶναι;

[4] Καὶ ὑπολαβοῦσα εὐθύς, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη· μὴ γένοιο σὺ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγωγέ σε δυνάμην, εἰ τοιοῦτος εἴης, ἀσπάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, συνεληλύθαμεν, ὦ γύναι, ὡς καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κοινωνήσοντες ἀλλήλοις;

Φασὶ γοῦν, ἔφη, οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

[5] Ποτέρως ἂν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ δοκοῖν εἶναι ἀξιοφίλητος μᾶλλον κοινωνός, εἴ σοι τὸ σῶμα πειρώμην παρέχειν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος ὅπως ὑγιαῖνόν τε καὶ ἐρρωμένον ἔσται, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ ὄντι εὐχρως σοι ἔσομαι, ἢ εἴ σοι μίλτωι ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπαλειφόμενος ἀνδρικέλῳ ἐπιδεικνύοιμί τε ἑμαυτὸν καὶ συνείην ἐξαπατῶν σε καὶ παρέχων ὁρᾶν καὶ ἄπτεσθαι μίλτου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἑμαυτοῦ χρωτός;

[6] Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη ἐκείνη, οὐτ' ἂν μίλτου ἀπτοίμην ἥδιον ἢ σοῦ οὐτ' ἂν ἀνδρικέλου χρῶμα ὁρώην ἥδιον ἢ τὸ σὸν οὐτ' ἂν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπαληλιμμένους ἥδιον ὁρώην τοὺς σοὺς ἢ ὑγιαίνοντας.

[7] Καὶ ἐμὲ τοίνυν νόμιζε, εἰπεῖν ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὃ γύναι, μήτε ψιμυθίου μήτε ἐγχύσης χρώματι ἡδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σῶϊ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐποίησαν ἵπποις μὲν ἵππους, βουσί δὲ βοὺς ἥδιστον, προβάτοις δὲ πρόβατα, οὕτω καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καθαρὸν οἶονται ἥδιστον εἶναι. [8] αἱ δ' ἀπάται αὗται τοὺς μὲν ἔξω πῶς δύναιнт' ἂν ἀνεξελέγκτως ἐξαπατᾶν, συνόντας δὲ ἀεὶ ἀνάγκη ἀλίσκεσθαι, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἐξαπατᾶν ἀλλήλους. ἢ γὰρ ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀλίσκονται ἐξανιστάμενοι πρὶν παρασκευάσασθαι ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδρώτος ἐλέγχονται ἢ ὑπὸ δακρύων βασανίζονται ἢ ὑπὸ λουτροῦ ἀληθινῶς κατωπτεύθησαν.

[9] Τί οὖν πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο;

Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ τοῦ <γε> λοιποῦ τοιοῦτον μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἔτι ἐπραγματεύσατο, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ πρεπόντως ἔχουσαν ἐπειρᾶτο ἑαυτὴν ἐπιδεικνύσαι. καὶ ἐμὲ μέντοι ἡρώτα εἴ τι ἔχοιμι συμβουλευσαι ὥς ἂν τῷ ὄντι καλὴ φαίνοιτο, ἀλλὰ μὴ μόνον δοκοίη. [10] καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ μὴ δουλικῶς ἀεὶ καθῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πειρᾶσθαι δεσποτικῶς πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἱστὸν προσσῆσαν ὅ τι μὲν βέλτιον ἄλλου ἐπίσταιτο ἐπιδιδάξαι, ὅ τι δὲ χεῖρον ἐπιμαθεῖν, ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ καὶ σιτοποιόν, παραστῆναι δὲ καὶ ἀπομετρούσῃ τῇ ταμίαι, περιελθεῖν δ' ἐπισκοπούμενην καὶ εἰ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει ἢ δεῖ ἕκαστα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδόκει μοι ἅμα ἐπιμέλεια εἶναι καὶ περίπατος. [11] ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἔφην εἶναι γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ δεῦσαι καὶ μάξαι καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ στρώματα ἀνασεῖσαι καὶ συνθεῖναι. γυμναζομένην δὲ ἔφην οὕτως ἂν καὶ ἐσθίειν ἥδιον καὶ ὑγιαίνειν μᾶλλον καὶ εὐχρωτέραν φαίνεσθαι τῇ ἀληθείαι. [12] καὶ ὧς δέ, ὅποτε ἀνταγωνίζεται διακόνῳ καθαρωτέρα οὖσα πρεπόντως τε μᾶλλον ἡμφιεσμένη, κινητικὸν γίγνεται ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅποτε τὸ

ἐκοῦσαν χαρίζεσθαι προσῆι ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀναγκαζομένην ὑπηρετεῖν. [13] αἱ δ' αἰεὶ καθήμεναι σεμνῶς πρὸς τὰς κεκοσμημένας καὶ ἐξαπατώσας κρίνεσθαι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτάς. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτως εὖ ἴσθι ἡ γυνὴ μου κατεσκευασμένη βιοτεύει ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἐδίδασκον αὐτήν καὶ ὥσπερ νῦν σοι λέγω.

Κεφάλαιον ια'

[1] Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐγὼ εἶπον· ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργων ἱκανῶς μοι δοκῶ ἀκηκοέναι τὴν πρώτην, καὶ ἄξιά γε πάνυ ἐπαίνου ἀμφοτέρων ὑμῶν. τὰ δ' αὖ σὰ ἔργα, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἤδη μοι λέγε, ἵνα σύ τε ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖς διηγησάμενος ἡσθηῖς καὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα τελέως διακούσας καὶ καταμαθὼν, ἂν δύνωμαι, πολλήν σοι χάριν εἰδῶ.

[2] Ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ πάνυ ἡδέως σοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, διηγήσομαι ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶν διατελῶ, ἵνα καὶ μεταρρυθμίσης με, ἐάν τί σοι δοκῶ μὴ καλῶς ποιεῖν.

[3] Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ, ἔφην, πῶς ἂν δικαίως μεταρρυθμισαίμι ἄνδρα ἀπειργασμένον καλόν τε καγαθόν, καὶ ταῦτα ὧν ἀνὴρ ὃς ἀδολεσχεῖν τε δοκῶ καὶ ἀερομετρεῖν καί, τὸ πάντων δὴ ἀνοητότατον δοκοῦν εἶναι ἔγκλημα, πένης καλοῦμαι; [4] καὶ πάνυ μεντᾶν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἦν ἐν πολλῇ ἀθυμία τῷ ἐπικλήματι τοιούτῳ, εἰ μὴ πρόωην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Νικίου τοῦ ῥέπλητύτου ἵππῳ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας αὐτῷ θεατάς, πολὺν δὲ λόγον ἐχόντων τινῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἥκουον· καὶ δῆτα ἡρόμην προσελθὼν τὸν ἱπποκόμον εἰ πολλὰ εἶη χρήματα τῷ ἵππῳ. [5] ὁ δὲ προσβλέψας με ὡς οὐδὲ ὑγιαίνοντα τῷ ἐρωτήματι εἶπε· Πῶς δ' ἂν ἵππῳ χρήματα γένοιτο; οὕτω δὲ ἐγὼ ἀνέκυψα ἀκούσας ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄρα θεμιτὸν καὶ πένητι ἵππῳ ἀγαθῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ τὴν ψυχὴν φύσει ἀγαθὴν ἔχοι. [6] ὡς οὖν θεμιτὸν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι διηγοῦ τελέως τὰ σὰ ἔργα, ἵνα, ὃ τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀκούων καταμαθεῖν, πειρῶμαι καὶ ἐγὼ σε ἀπὸ τῆς αὔριον ἡμέρας ἀρξάμενος μιμεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὴ ἐστίν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἡμέρα ὡς ἀρετῆς ἄρχεσθαι.

[7] Σὺ μὲν παίζεις, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμως σοι διηγήσομαι ἃ ἐγὼ ὅσον δύνωμαι πειρῶμαι ἐπιτηδεύων διαπερᾶν τὸν βίον. [8] ἐπεὶ γὰρ καταμεμαθηκέναι δοκῶ ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄνευ μὲν τοῦ γιγνώσκειν τε ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ταῦτα περαίνηται οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐποίησαν εὖ πράττειν, φρονίμοις δ' οὐσι καὶ

ἐπιμελέσι τοῖς μὲν διδόασιν εὐδαιμονεῖν, τοῖς δ' οὐ, οὕτω δὴ ἐγὼ ἄρχομαι μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύων, πειρῶμαι δὲ ποιεῖν ὡς ἂν θέμις ᾦ μοι εὐχομένῳ καὶ ὑγείας τυγχάνειν καὶ ρώμης σώματος καὶ τιμῆς ἐν πόλει καὶ εὐνοίας ἐν φίλοις καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καλῆς σωτηρίας καὶ πλούτου καλῶς αὐξομένου.

[9] Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ταῦτα· Μέλει γὰρ δὴ σοι, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅπως πλουτήης καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχων πολλὰ ἔχης πράγματα τούτων ἐπιμελόμενος;

Καὶ πάντῃ γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, μέλει μοι τούτων ὧν ἐρωτᾷς· ἡδὺ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ θεοὺς μεγαλείως τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους, ἂν τινος δέωνται, ἐπωφελεῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν μηδὲν <τὸ> κατ' ἐμὲ χρήμασιν ἀκόσμητον εἶναι.

[10] Καὶ γὰρ καλὰ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐστὶν ἃ σὺ λέγεις, καὶ δυνατοῦ γε ἰσχυρῶς ἀνδρός· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὅτε πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι οἳ οὐ δύνανται ζῆν ἄνευ τοῦ ἄλλων δεῖσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἂν δύνωνται τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρκοῦντα πορίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ δυνάμενοι μὴ μόνον τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον διοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιποιεῖν ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κοσμεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπικουφίζειν, πῶς τούτους οὐχὶ βαθεῖς τε καὶ ἐρρωμένους ἄνδρας χρή νομίσαι; [11] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπαινεῖν μὲν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, τοὺς τοιούτους πολλοὶ δυνάμεθα· σὺ δέ μοι λέξον, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀφ' ὧν περ ἦρξω, πῶς ὑγείας ἐπιμελεῖ; πῶς τῆς τοῦ σώματος ρώμης; πῶς θέμις εἶναι σοι καὶ ἐκ πολέμου καλῶς σώιζεσθαι; τῆς δὲ χρηματίσεως πέρι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἀρκέσει ἀκούειν.

[12] Ἀλλ' ἔστι μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὥς γε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀκόλουθα ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλήλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐσθίειν τις τὰ ἱκανὰ ἔχει, ἐκπονοῦντι μὲν ὀρθῶς μᾶλλον δοκεῖ μοι ἢ ὑγεία παραμένειν, ἐκπονοῦντι δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ρώμῃ προσγίγνεσθαι, ἀσκοῦντι δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κάλλιον σώιζεσθαι, ὀρθῶς δὲ ἐπιμελομένῳ καὶ μὴ καταμαλακιζομένῳ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐξέσθαι.

[13] Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἔπομαι, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅτι ἐκπονοῦντα φῆς καὶ ἐπιμελόμενον καὶ ἀσκοῦντα ἄνθρωπον μᾶλλον τυγχάνειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁποῖοι δὲ πόνῳ χρῆι πρὸς τὴν εὐεξίαν καὶ ρώμην καὶ ὅπως ἀσκεῖς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅπως ἐπιμελεῖ τοῦ περιουσίαν ποιεῖν ὡς καὶ φίλους ἐπωφελῖν καὶ πόλιν ἐπισχύειν, ταῦτα ἂν ἡδέως, ἔφην ἐγὼ, πυθοίμην.

[14] Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀνίστασθαι μὲν

ἐξ εὐνῆς εἶθισμαι ἡνίκ' <ἂν> ἔτι ἔνδον καταλαμβάνοιμι, εἴ τινα δεόμενος ἰδεῖν τυγχάνοιμι. κἂν μὲν τι κατὰ πόλιν δέῃ πράττειν, ταῦτα παργματευόμενος περιπάτωι τούτωι χρῶμαι· [15] ἂν δὲ μηδὲν ἀναγκαῖον ἦ κατὰ πόλιν, τὸν μὲν ἵππον ὁ παῖς προάγει εἰς ἀγρόν, ἐγὼ δὲ περιπάτωι χρῶμαι τῇ εἰς ἀγρόν ὁδῶι ἴσως ἄμεινον, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ξυστῶι περιπατοίην. [16] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἔλθω εἰς ἀγρόν, ἂν τέ μοι φυτεύοντες τυγχάνωσιν ἂν τε νειοποιούντες ἂν τε σπεύροντες ἂν τε καρπὸν προσκομίζοντες, ταῦτα ἐπισκεψάμενος ὅπως ἕκαστα γίγνεται, μεταρρυθμίζω, ἐὰν ἔχω τι βέλτιον τοῦ παρόντος. [17] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἵππασάμην ἵππασίαν ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι ὁμοιοτάτην ταῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναγκαίαις ἵππασίαις, οὔτε πλαγίου οὔτε κατάντους οὔτε τάφρου οὔτε ὀχετοῦ ἀπεχόμενος, ὡς μέντοι δυνατόν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐπιμέλομαι μὴ ἀποχωλεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον. [18] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα γένηται, ὁ παῖς ἐξαλίσσας τὸν ἵππον οἴκαδε ἀπάγει, ἅμα φέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ χώρου ἂν τι δεώμεθα εἰς ἄστυ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν βάδην τὰ δὲ ἀποδραμῶν οἴκαδε ἀπεστλεγγισάμην. εἴτα δὲ ἀριστῶ, ὃ Σώκρατες, ὅσα μῆτε κενὸς μῆτε ἄγαν πλήρης διημερεῦειν.

[19] Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀρεσκόντως γέ μοι ταῦτα ποιεῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνεσκευασμένοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε πρὸς τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν ῥώμην παρασκευάσμασι καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκήμασι καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πλούτου ἐπιμελείαις, ταῦτα πάντα ἀγαστά μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι. [20] καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὀρθῶς ἐκάστου τούτων ἐπιμελῆι ἱκανὰ τεκμήρια παρέχῃ· ὑγιαίνοντά τε γὰρ καὶ ἐρρωμένον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς σε ὀρῶμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱπικωτάτοις τε καὶ πλουσιωτάτοις λεγόμενόν σε ἐπιστάμεθα.

[21] Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ἔφην, ὃ Σώκρατες, ὑπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ συκοφαντοῦμαι, σὺ δ' ἴσως ὧιου με ἐρεῖν ὡς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καλὸς κάγαθός κέκλημαι.

[22] Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔμελλον δὲ ἐγὼ, ἔφην, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, τοῦτο ἐρήσεσθαι, εἴ τινα καὶ τούτου ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῇ, ὅπως δύνῃ λόγον διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ἂν τινί ποτε δέῃ.

Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι, ἔφην, ὃ Σώκρατες, αὐτὰ ταῦτα διατελεῖν μελετῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν ὅτι οὐδένα ἀδικῶ, εὖ δὲ ποιῶ πολλοὺς ὅσον ἂν δύνωμαι, κατηγορεῖν δὲ οὐ δοκῶ σοι μελετᾶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀδικοῦντας μὲν καὶ ἰδία πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταμανθάνων τινάς, εὖ δὲ ποιοῦντας οὐδένα;

[23] Ἄλλ' εἰ καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν τοιαῦτα μελετᾷς, τοῦτό μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἔτι, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, δήλωσον.

Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, παύομαι, ἔφη, λέγειν μελετῶν. ἡ γὰρ κατηγοροῦντός τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἢ ἀπολογουμένου ἀκούσας ἐλέγχειν πειρῶμαι, ἢ μέμφομαί τινα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἢ ἐπαινῶ, ἢ διαλλάττω τινὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πειρῶμενος διδάσκειν ὡς συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμίους, [24] <ἢ> ἐπιτιμῶμέν τινι στρατηγῶι συμπαρόντες, ἢ ἀπολογούμεθα ὑπὲρ του, εἴ τις ἀδίκως αἰτίαν ἔχει, ἢ κατηγοροῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἴ τις ἀδικῶς τιμᾶται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ βουλευόμενοι ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπιθυμῶμεν πράττειν, ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἃ δ' ἂν μὴ βουλῶμεθα πράττειν, ταῦτα μεμφόμεθα. [25] ἤδη δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ διειλημμένως πολλάκις ἐκρίθην ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι.

Ὑπὸ τοῦ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε; ἐμὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἐλάνθανεν.

Ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ἔφη.

Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀγωνίζεις;

Ὅταν μὲν ἀληθῆ λέγειν συμφέρη, πάνυ ἐπεικῶς· ὅταν δὲ ψευδῇ, τὸν ἥττω λόγον, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία οὐ δύναμαι κρείττω ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἴσως γάρ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τὸ ψεῦδος οὐ δύνασαι ἀληθὲς ποιεῖν.

Κεφάλαιον ιβ'

[1] Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, μὴ σε κατακωλύω, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀπιέναι ἤδη βουλόμενον.

Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι πρὶν <ἂν> παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λυθῇ.

[2] Νῆ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, φυλάττη γὰρ ἰσχυρῶς μὴ ἀποβάλης τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τὸ ἀνὴρ καλὸς κάγαθός κεκλησθαι. νῦν γὰρ πολλῶν σοι ἴσως ὄντων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων, ἐπεὶ συνέθου τοῖς ξένοις, ἀναμένεις αὐτούς, ἵνα μὴ ψεύσῃ.

Ἀλλὰ τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνά μοι ἀμελεῖται ἃ σὺ λέγεις· ἔχω γὰρ ἐπιτρόπους ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

[3] Πότερα δέ, ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅταν δεηθῇς ἐπιτρόπου, καταμαθὼν ἂν που ἦ ἐπιτροπευτικός ἀνὴρ, τοῦτον πειρᾷ ὠνεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ, ὅταν τέκτονος δεηθῇς, καταμαθὼν εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι ἂν που ἰδῇς τεκτονικόν, τοῦτον πειρᾷ κτᾶσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς παιδεύεις τοὺς

ἐπιτρόπους;

[4] Αὐτὸς νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, πειρῶμαι παιδεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις μέλλει ἀρκέσειν, ὅταν ἐγὼ ἀπῶ, ἀντ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιμελόμενος, τί αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖ ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ ἅπερ ἐγώ; εἴπερ γὰρ ἱκανὸς εἰμι τῶν ἔργων προστατεύειν, κἂν ἄλλον δήπου δυναίμην διδάξαι ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι.

[5] Οὐκοῦν εὖνοιαν πρῶτον, ἔφην ἐγώ, δεῖσει αὐτὸν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, εἰ μέλλει ἀρκέσειν ἀντὶ σοῦ παρών. ἄνευ γὰρ εὖνοίας τί ὄφελος καὶ ὁποίας τινὸς οὖν ἐπιτρόπου ἐπιστήμης γίγνεται;

Οὐδὲν μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τοι τὸ εὖνοεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειρῶμαι παιδεύειν.

[6] Καὶ πῶς, ἐγὼ ἔφην, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εὖνοιαν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς διδάσκεις ὄντινα ἂν βούληι;

Εὐεργετῶν νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὅταν τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ θεοὶ ἀφθονίαν διδῶσιν ἡμῖν.

[7] Τοῦτο οὖν λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι οἱ ἀπολαύοντες τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν εὖνοί σοι γίνονται καὶ ἀγαθὸν τί σε βούλονται πράττειν;

Τοῦτο γὰρ ὄργανον, ὃ Σώκρατες, εὖνοίας ἄριστον ὁρῶ ὄν.

[8] Ἄν δὲ δὴ εὖνους σοι γένηται, ἔφην, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἢ τούτου ἔνεκα ἱκανὸς ἔσται ἐπιτροπεύειν; οὐχ ὁραῖς ὅτι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς εὖνοι πάντες ὄντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωποι, πολλοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως αὐτοῖς ἔσται ταῦτα ἃ βούλονται εἶναι σφισι τὰ ἀγαθὰ;

[9] Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοιούτους ὅταν ἐπιτρόπους βούλωμαι καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διδάσκω.

[10] Πῶς, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν; τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἐγὼ παντάπασι οὐ διδασκτὸν ὦμην εἶναι, τὸ ἐπιμελεῖν ποιῆσαι.

Οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἐφεξῆς γε οὕτως οἷόν τε πάντας διδάξαι ἐπιμελεῖς εἶναι.

[11] Ποίους μὲν δὴ, ἐγὼ ἔφην, οἷόν τε; πάντως μοι σαφῶς τούτους διασήμηνον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, τοὺς οἴνου ἀκρατεῖς οὐκ ἂν δύναιο ἐπιμελεῖς ποιῆσαι· τὸ γὰρ μεθύειν λήθην ἐμποιεῖ πάντων τῶν πράττειν δεομένων.

[12] Οἱ οὖν τούτου ἀκρατεῖς μόνοι, ἐγὼ ἔφην, ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινές;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οἱ γε τοῦ ὕπνου· οὔτε γὰρ ἂν

αὐτὸς δύναιτο καθεύδων τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν οὔτε ἄλλους παρέχεσθαι.

[13] Τί οὖν; ἐγὼ ἔφην, οὗτοι αὖ μόνοι ἀδύνατοι ἡμῖν ἔσονται ταύτην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν διδαχθῆναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς πρὸς τούτοις;

Ἐμοιγέ τοι δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων δυσέρωτες ἀδύνατοι εἶναι διδαχθῆναι ἄλλου τινὸς μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ τούτου· [14] οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίδα οὐτ' ἐπιμέλειαν ἡδίονα ράϊδιον εὐρεῖν τῆς τῶν παιδικῶν ἐπιμελείας, οὐδὲ μὴν, ὅταν παρῇ τὸ πρακτέον, τιμωρίαν χαλεπωτέραν εὐπετές ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρωμένων κωλύεσθαι. ὑφίεμαι οὖν καὶ οὓς ἂν τοιούτους γνῶ ὄντας μὴδ' ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιμελητὰς τούτων τινὰς καθιστάναι.

[15] Τί δέ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἵτινες αὖ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχουσι τοῦ κερδαίνειν, ἢ καὶ οὗτοι ἀδύνατοί εἰσιν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων παιδεύεσθαι;

Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδαμῶς γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ εὐάγωγοί εἰσιν εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δεῖ ἢ δεῖξαι μόνον αὐτοῖς ὅτι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια.

[16] Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἰ ἐγκρατεῖς τέ εἰσιν ὧν σὺ κελεύεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖς εἶναι μετρίως ἔχουσι, πῶς ἐκδιδάσκεις ὧν σὺ βούλει ἐπιμελεῖς γίνεσθαι;

Ἀπλῶς, ἔφη, πάνυ, ὃ Σώκρατες. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελομένους ἴδω, καὶ ἐπαινῶ καὶ τιμᾶν πειρῶμαι αὐτούς, ὅταν δὲ ἀμελοῦντας, λέγειν τε πειρῶμαι καὶ ποιεῖν ὅποια δήξεται αὐτούς.

[17] Ἴθι, ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, καὶ τόδε μοι παρατραπόμενος τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν παιδευομένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δήλωσον περὶ τοῦ παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ οἶόν τέ ἐστὶν ἀμελῇ αὐτὸν ὄντα ἄλλους ποιεῖν ἐπιμελεῖς.

[18] Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδὲν γε μᾶλλον ἢ ἄμουσον ὄντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους μουσικούς ποιεῖν. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τοῦ διδασκάλου πονηρῶς τι ὑποδεικνύοντος καλῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν μαθεῖν, καὶ ἀμελεῖν γε ὑποδεικνύοντος τοῦ δεσπότητος χαλεπὸν ἐπιμελῇ θεράποντα γενέσθαι. [19] ὥς δὲ συντόμως εἰπεῖν, πονηροῦ μὲν δεσπότητος οἰκέτας οὐ δοκῶ χρηστοὺς καταμεμαθηκέναι· χρηστοῦ μέντοι πονηροὺς ἤδη εἶδον, οὐ μέντοι ἀζημίους γε. τὸν δὲ ἐπιμελητικούς βουλόμενον ποιήσασθαι τινὰς καὶ ἐφορατικὸν δεῖ εἶναι τῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν καὶ χάριν θέλοντα τῶν καλῶς τελουμένων ἀποδιδόναι τῷ αἰτίῳ, καὶ δίκην μὴ ὀκνοῦντα τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἀμελοῦντι.

[20] καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ βαρβάρου

λεγομένη ἀπόκρισις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς ἄρα ἵππου ἐπιτυχὼν ἀγαθοῦ παχῦναι αὐτὸν ὡς τάχιστα βουλόμενος ἤρετο τῶν δεινῶν τινα ἀμφ’ ἵππους δοκούντων εἶναι τί τάχιστα παχύνει ἵππον· τὸν δ’ εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι δεσπότης ὀφθαλμός. οὕτω δ’, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τᾶλλα μοι δοκεῖ δεσπότης ὀφθαλμός τὰ καλά τε κάγαθὰ μάλιστα ἐργάζεσθαι.

Κεφάλαιον ιγ’

[1] Ὅταν <δὲ> παραστήσης τινί, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦτο καὶ πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς, ὅτι δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὧν ἂν σὺ βούλῃ, ἢ ἱκανὸς ἤδη ἔσται ὁ οτιοῦτος ἐπιτροπεύειν, ἢ τι καὶ ἄλλο προσμαθητέον αὐτῷ ἔσται, εἰ μέλλει ἐπίτροπος ἱκανὸς ἔσεσθαι;

[2] Ναὶ μὰ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἔτι μέντοι λοιπὸν αὐτῷ ἔστι γνῶναι ὅ τι τε ποιητέον καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅπως, εἰ δὲ μή, τί μᾶλλον ἐπιτρόπου ἄνευ τούτων ὄφελος ἢ ἱατροῦ ὃς ἐπιμελοῖτο μὲν κάμνοντός τινος πρῶι τε ἰὼν καὶ ὀψέ, ὅ τι δὲ συμφέρον τῷ κάμνοντι ποιεῖν εἴη, τοῦτο μὴ εἰδείη;

[3] Ἐάν γε μὴν καὶ τὰ ἔργα μάθῃ ὡς ἔστιν ἐργαστέα, ἔτι τινός, ἔφην ἐγώ, προσδεήσεται, ἢ ἀποτετελεσμένος ἤδη οὕτως σοι ἔσται ἐπίτροπος;

Ἄρχειν γε, ἔφη, οἶμαι δεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν τῶν ἐργαζομένων.

[4] Ἥ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ σὺ ἄρχειν ἱκανοὺς εἶναι παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;

Πειρῶμαί γε δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος.

Καὶ πῶς δή, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἀρχικοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων παιδεύεις;

Φαύλως, ἔφη, πάνυ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥστε ἴσως ἂν καὶ καταγέλασαις ἀκούων.

[5] Οὐ μὲν δὴ ἄξιόν γ’, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ πρᾶγμα καταγέλωτος, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε. ὅστις γάρ τοι ἀρχικοὺς ἀνθρώπων δύναται ποιεῖν, δηλὸν ὅτι οὗτος καὶ δεσποτικοὺς ἀνθρώπων δύναται διδάσκειν, ὅστις δὲ δεσποτικοὺς δύναται ποιεῖν, καὶ βασιλικούς. ὥστε οὐ καταγέλωτός μοι δοκεῖ ἄξιός εἶναι ἀλλ’ ἐπαίνου μεγάλου ὁ τοῦτο δυνάμενος ποιεῖν.

[6] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ζῶια ἐκ δυοῖν τούτοις τὸ πείθεσθαι μανθάνουσιν, ἐκ τε τοῦ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι κολάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅταν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶσιν εὖ πάσχειν. [7] οἱ

τε γοῦν πῶλοι μανθάνουσιν ὑπακούειν τοῖς πωλοδάμναις τῷ ὅταν μὲν πείθονται τῶν ἡδέων τι αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῶσι πράγματα ἔχειν, ἔστ' ἂν ὑπηρετήσωσι κατὰ γνώμην τῷ πωλοδάμνῃ. [8] καὶ τὰ κυνῖδια δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ὑποδεέστερα ὄντα ὁμῶς καὶ περιτρέχειν καὶ κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μανθάνει τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ πείθεται, λαμβάνει τι ὧν δεῖται, ὅταν δὲ ἀμελῇ, κολάζεται. [9] ἀνθρώπους δ' ἔστι πιθανωτέρους ποιεῖν καὶ λόγῳ, ἐπιδεικνύοντα ὡς συμφέρει αὐτοῖς πείθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα θηριώδης παιδεία εἶναι πάνυ ἐστὶν ἐπαγωγὸς πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι διδάσκειν· τῇ γὰρ γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις προσχαριζόμενος ἂν πολλὰ ἀνύτοις παρ' αὐτῶν. αἱ δὲ φιλότιμοι τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῷ ἐπαίνῳ παροξύνονται. πεινῶσι γὰρ τοῦ ἐπαίνου οὐχ ἥττον ἔναι τῶν φύσεων ἢ ἄλλαι τῶν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν. [10] ταῦτά τε οὖν, ὅσαπερ αὐτὸς ποιῶν οἶμαι πιθανωτέροις ἀνθρώποις χρῆσθαι, διδάσκω οὖς ἂν ἐπιτρόπους βούλωμαι καταστῆσαι καὶ τάδε συλλαμβάνω αὐτοῖς· ἰμάτιά τε γὰρ ἃ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐργαστήρσι καὶ ὑποδήματα οὐχ ὅμοια πάντα ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χεῖρω, τὰ δὲ βελτίῳ, ἵνα ἦι τὸν κρείττω τοῖς βελτίοσι τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ χείρονι τὰ ἥττω διδόναι. [11] πάνυ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀθυμία ἐγγλγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὅταν ὁρῶσι τὰ μὲν ἔργα δι' αὐτῶν καταπραττόμενα, τῶν δὲ ὁμοίων τυγχάνοντας ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς μήτε πονεῖν μήτε κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλοντας, ὅταν δέη. [12] αὐτὸς τε οὖν οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν τῶν ἴσων ἀξιώ τοὺς ἀμείνους τοῖς κακίοσι τυγχάνειν, τοὺς τε ἐπιτρόπους, ὅταν μὲν εἰδῶ διαδεδωκότας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις τὰ κράτιστα, ἐπαινῶ, ἂν δὲ ἴδω ἢ κολακεύμασί τινα προτιμώμενον ἢ καὶ ἄλλῃ τινὶ ἀνωφελεῖ χάριτι, οὐκ ἀμελῶ, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλήττω καὶ πειρῶμαι διδάσκειν, ὥς Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτῷ σύμφορα ταῦτα ποιεῖ.

Κεφάλαιον ιδ'

[1] Ὅταν δέ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἄρχειν ἤδη ἱκανός σοι γένηται ὥστε πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι, ἢ ἀποτετελεσμένον τοῦτον ἡγῇ ἐπίτροπον, ἢ ἔτι τινὸς προσδεῖται ὁ ταῦτα ἔχων ἢ σὺ εἴρηκας;

[2] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοῦ γε ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν δεσποσύνων καὶ μὴ κλέπτειν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς καρποὺς μεταχειριζόμενος τολμῶη ἀφανίζειν ὥστε μὴ λείπειν λυσιτελοῦντας τοῖς ἔργοις, τί ἂν ὄφελος εἴη τὸ διὰ τῆς τούτου ἐπιμελείας γεωργεῖν;

[3] Ἡ καὶ ταύτην οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὴν δικαιοσύνην σὺ ὑποδύει διδάσκειν;

Καὶ πάνυ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος· οὐ μέντοι γε πάντας ἐξ ἐτοίμου εὐρίσκω ὑπακούοντας τῆς διδασκαλίας ταύτης. [4] καίτοι τὰ μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Δράκοντος νόμων, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Σόλωνος πειρῶμαι, ἔφη, λαμβάνων ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοὺς οἰκέτας. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες θεῖναι πολλοὺς τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς τοιαύτης διδασκαλίας. [5] γέγραπται γὰρ ζημιουῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέμμασι καὶ δεδέσθαι ἂν τις ἁλῶι ποιῶν καὶ θανατοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας. δηλὸν οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι ἔγραφον αὐτὰ βουλόμενοι ἁλυσιτελῇ ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἀδίκους τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν. [6] ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τούτων, ἔφη, προσφέρων ἓνα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων προφερόμενος πειρῶμαι δικαίους περὶ τὰ διαχειριζόμενα ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας. [7] ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νόμοι ζημίαι μόνον εἰσὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ζημιοῦσι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους· ὥστε ὀρῶντες πλουσιωτέρους γιγνομένους τοὺς δικαίους τῶν ἀδίκων πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς ὄντες εὖ μάλα ἐπιμένουσι τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖν. [8] οὓς δ' ἂν αἰσθάνωμαι, ἔφη, ὅμως καὶ εὖ πάσχοντας ἔτι ἀδικεῖν πειρωμένους, τούτους ὡς ἀνηκέστους πλεονέκτας ὄντας ἤδη καὶ τῆς χρήσεως ἀποπαύω. [9] οὓς δ' ἂν αὖ καταμάθω μὴ τῷ πλέον ἔχειν μόνον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπαιρομένους δικαίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, τούτοις ὥσπερ ἐλευθέρους ἤδη χρῶμαι, οὐ μόνον πλουτίζων ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ὡς καλοὺς τε κάγαθούς. [10] τούτῳ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ φιλότιμος ἀνδρὸς φιλοκερδοῦς, τῷ ἐθέλειν ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἔνεκα καὶ πονεῖν ὅπου δεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύειν καὶ αἰσchrῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι.

Κεφάλαιον ιε'

[1] Ἀλλὰ μέντοι ἐπειδὴν γε ἐμποιήσης τινὶ τὸ βούλεσθαί σοι εἶναι τὰγαθὰ, ἐμποιήσης δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ <τὸ> ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ταῦτά σοι ἐπιτελῆται, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστήμην κτήσῃ αὐτῷ ὡς ἂν ποιούμενα ἕκαστα τῶν ἔργων ὠφελιμώτερα γίγνοιτο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄρχειν ἱκανὸν αὐτὸν ποιήσης, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἡδηταί σοι τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὥραϊα ἀποδεικνύων ὅτι πλεῖστα ὥσπερ σὺ σαιτῷ, οὐκέτι ἐρήσομαι περὶ τούτου εἰ ἔτι τινὸς ὁ τοιοῦτος προσδεῖται· πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ ἤδη πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιος εἶναι ἐπίτροπος ὢν τοιοῦτος.

ἐκεῖνο μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, μὴ ἀπολίπῃς, ὃ ἡμῖν ἀργότατα ἐπιδεδράμηται τοῦ λόγου.

[2] Τὸ ποῖον; ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος.

Ἐλεξας δὴπου, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι μέγιστον εἴη μαθεῖν ὅπως δεῖ ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἕκαστα· εἰ δὲ μὴ, οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔφησθα ὄφελος οὐδὲν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίσταιτο ἃ δεῖ καὶ ὡς δεῖ ποιεῖν.

[3] Ἐνταῦθα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· Τὴν τέχνην με ἤδη, ὦ Σώκρατες, κελεύεις αὐτὴν διδάσκειν τῆς γεωργίας;

Αὕτη γὰρ ἴσως, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἤδη ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα τοὺς μὲν ἐπισταμένους αὐτὴν πλουσίους, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένους πολλὰ πονοῦντας ἀπόρως βιοτεύειν.

[4] Νῦν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ταύτης τῆς τέχνης ἀκούσῃ. τὸ γὰρ ὠφελιμωτάτην οὖσαν καὶ ἡδίστην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ καλλίστην καὶ προσφιλεστάτην θεοῖς τε καὶ ἀνθρώποις, ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ράϊστην εἶναι μαθεῖν πῶς οὐχὶ γενναῖόν ἐστι; γενναῖα δὲ δὴπου καλοῦμεν καὶ τῶν ζώων ὅποσα καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ὠφέλιμα ὄντα πράεα ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

[5] Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγώ, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἱκανῶς δοκῶ καταμεμαθηκέναι ἤι εἶπας, καθ' ἃ δεῖ διδάσκειν τζον ἐπίτροπον· καὶ γὰρ ἤι ἔφησθα εὖνουν σοι ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν δοκῶ, καὶ ἤι ἐπιμελῇ καὶ ἀρχικὸν καὶ δίκαιον. [6] ὁ δὲ εἶπας ὡς δεῖ μαθεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς γεωργίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ ὡς δεῖ καὶ ὅποτε ἕκαστα, ταῦτά μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀργότερόν πως ἐπιδεδραμηκέναι τῷ λόγῳ. [7] ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποις ὅτι δεῖ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα δυνήσεσθαι τὰ ὑπαγορευόμενα γράφειν καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀναγινώσκειν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας, ὅτι μὲν δεῖ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι ἡκηκόη ἄν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπισταίμην γράμματα. [8] οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὅτι μὲν δεῖ ἐπίστασθαι γεωργίαν τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ραϊδίως πέπεισμαι, τοῦτο μέντοι εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπίσταμαι ὅπως δεῖ γεωργεῖν. [9] ἀλλ' εἰ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα δόξειε γεωργεῖν, ὅμοιος ἂν μοι δοκῶ εἶναι τῷ περιόντι ἰατρῷ καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντι τοὺς κάμνοντας, εἰδότι δὲ οὐδέν ὃ τι συμφέρει τοῖς κάμνουσιν. ἴν' οὖν μὴ τοιοῦτος ὦ, ἔφην ἐγώ, δίδασκέ με αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα τῆς γεωργίας.

[10] Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐχ ὥσπερ γε τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας κατατριβῆναι δεῖ μαθάνοντας πρὶν ἄξια τῆς τροφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι τὸν

διδασκόμενον, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ἡ γεωργία δύσκολός ἐστι μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἰδὼν ἂν ἐργαζομένους, τὰ δὲ ἀκούσας εὐθὺς ἂν ἐπίσταιο, ὥστε καὶ ἄλλων, εἰ βούλοιο, διδάσκειν. οἶομαι δ', ἔφη, πάνυ καὶ λεληθέναι πολλὰ σε αὐτὸν ἐπιστάμενον αὐτῆς. [11] καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τεχνῖται ἀποκρύπτονται πως τὰ ἐπικαιριώτατα ἧς ἕκαστος ἔχει τέχνης, τῶν δὲ γεωργῶν ὁ κάλλιστα μὲν φυτεῦων μάλιστ' ἂν ἦδοιτο, εἴ τις αὐτὸν θεῶιτο, ὁ κάλλιστα δὲ σπείρων ὡσαύτως· ὁ τι δὲ ἔροιο τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων, οὐδὲν ὁ τι ἂν σε ἀποκρύψαιτο ὅπως ἐποίησεν. [12] οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἦθη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, γενναιοτάτους τοὺς αὐτῇ συνόντας ἡ γεωργία ἔοικε παρέχεσθαι.

[13] Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν προοίμιον, ἔφην ἐγώ, καλὸν καὶ οὐχ οἶον ἀκούσαντα ἀποτρέπεσθαι τοῦ ἐρωτήματος· σὺ δέ, ὅτι εὐπετές ἐστι μαθεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο πολὺ μοι μᾶλλον διέξιθι αὐτήν. οὐ γὰρ σοὶ αἰσχρὸν τὰ ράϊδια διδάσκειν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πολὺ αἴσχιον μὴ ἐπίστασθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ χρήσιμα ὄντα τυγχάνει.

Κεφάλαιον ις'

[1] Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοῦτο ἐπιδείξει βούλομαί σοι ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ὁ λέγουσι ποικιλώτατον τῆς γεωργίας εἶναι οἱ λόγῳ μὲν ἀκριβέστατα αὐτὴν διεξιόντες, ἥκιστα δὲ ἐργαζόμενοι. [2] φασὶ γὰρ τὸν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς γεωργήσῃν τὴν φύσιν χρῆναι πρῶτον τῆς γῆς εἰδέναι. Ὅρθῶς γε, ἔφην ἐγώ, ταῦτα λέγοντες. ὁ γὰρ μὴ εἰδὼς ὁ τι δύναται ἡ γῆ φέρειν, οὐδ' ὁ τι σπείρειν οἶμαι οὐδ' ὁ τι φυτεύειν δεῖ εἰδεῖν ἂν.

[3] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἀλλοτρίας γῆς τοῦτο ἔστι γνῶναι, ὁ τι τε δύναται φέρειν καὶ ὁ τι μὴ δύναται, ὀρῶντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ δένδρα. ἐπειδὰν μέντοι γνῶι τις, οὐκέτι συμφέρει θεομαχεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὅτου δέοιτο αὐτός, τοῦτο σπείρων καὶ φυτεῦων μᾶλλον ἂν ἔχοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὁ τι ἡ γῆ ἦδοιτο φύουσα καὶ τρέφουσα. [4] ἂν δ' ἄρα δι' ἀργίαν τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτὴν μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν ἑαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐπιδεικνύειν, ἔστι καὶ παρὰ γείτονος τόπου πολλάκις ἀληθέστερα περὶ αὐτῆς γνῶναι ἢ παρὰ γείτονος ἀνθρώπου πυθέσθαι. [5] καὶ χερσεύουσα δὲ ὅμως ἐπιδείκνυσιν τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν· ἡ γὰρ τὰ ἄγρια καλὰ φύουσα δύναται θεραπευομένη καὶ τὰ ἡμέρα καλὰ ἐκφέρειν. φύσιν μὲν δὴ γῆς οὕτως καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ ἔμπειροι γεωργίας ὅμως δύνανται διαγιγνώσκειν.

[6] Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἱκανῶς ἤδη μοι δοκῶ

ἀποθεαρρηκένοι, ὥς οὐ δεῖ φοβούμενον μὴ οὐ γνῶ τῆς γῆς φύσιν ἀπέχεσθαι γεωργίας. [7] καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔφην, ἀνεμνήσθην τὸ τῶν ἀλιέων, ὅτι θαλαττουργοὶ ὄντες καὶ οὔτε καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ θεάν οὔθ' ἥσυχοι βαδίζοντες, ἀλλὰ παρατρέχοντες ἅμα τοὺς ἀγρούς, ὅταν ὀρῶσι τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὅμως οὐκ ὀκνοῦσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς ὅποια τε ἀγαθὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποια κακὴ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ψέγουσι, τὴν δ' ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ πάνν τοῖνν τοῖς ἐμπείροις γεωργίας ὀρῶ αὐτοὺς τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἀποφαινομένους περὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς.

[8] Πόθεν οὖν βούλῃ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄρξωμαί σε τῆς γεωργίας ὑπομιμνήσκεις; οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐπισταμένω σοι πάνν πολλὰ φράσω ὥς δεῖ γεωργεῖν.

[9] Ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκῶ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, πρῶτον ἂν ἡδέως μανθάνειν (φιλοσόφου γὰρ μάλιστά ἐστὶν ἀνδρός) ὅπως ἂν ἐγώ, εἰ βουλοίμην, γῆν ἐργαζόμενος πλείστας κριθάς καὶ πλείστους πυροὺς λαμβάνοιμι.

[10] Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν οἶσθα, ὅτι τῷ σπόρῳ νεὸν δεῖ ὑπεργάζεσθαι;

Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ.

[11] Εἰ οὖν ἀρχοίμεθα, ἔφη, ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν χειμῶνος;

Ἀλλὰ πηλὸς ἂν εἴη, ἐγώ ἔφην.

Ἀλλὰ τοῦ θερούς σοι δοκεῖ;

Σκληρά, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἡ γῆ ἔσται κινεῖν τῷ ζεύγει.

[12] Κινδυνεύει ἕαρος, ἔφη, εἶναι τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἀρκτέον.

Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐστὶ μάλιστα χεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν τηνικαῦτα κινουμένην.

Καὶ τὴν πόαν γε ἀναστρεφομένην, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τηνικαῦτα κόπρον μὲν τῇ γῇ ἤδη παρέχειν, καρπὸν δ' οὐπω καταβαλεῖν ὥστε φύεσθαι. [13] οἶμαι γὰρ δὴ καὶ τοῦτό σ' ἔτι γινώσκειν, ὅτι εἰ μέλλει ἀγαθὴ ἡ νεὸς ἔσεσθαι, ὕλης τε καθαρὰν αὐτὴν εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ὀπτὴν ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον.

Πάνν γε, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἔχειν.

[14] Ταῦτ' οὖν, ἔφη, σὺ ἄλλως πως νομίζεις μᾶλλον ἂν γίνεσθαι ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ θέρει ὅτι πλειστάκις μεταβάλῃ τις τὴν γῆν;

Οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ἔφην, ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδαμῶς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ μὲν ὕλη ἐπιπολάζῃ καὶ αὐαίνοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος, ἢ δὲ γῆ ὀπτῶιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θέρει καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

κινοίη τῷ ζεύγει.

[15] Εἰ δὲ ἄνθρωποι σκάπτοντες τὴν νεὸν ποιοῖεν, ἔφη, οὐκ εὐδηλον ὅτι καὶ τούτους δίχα δεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ὕλην;

Καὶ τὴν μὲν γε ὕλην, ἔφην ἐγώ, καταβάλλειν, ὥς αὐαίνεται, ἐπιπολῆς, τὴν δὲ γῆν στρέφειν, ὥς ἡ ὦμὴ αὐτῆς ὀπτᾶται.

Κεφάλαιον ιζ'

[1] Περὶ μὲν τῆς νεοῦ ὁρᾷς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς ἀμφοτέροις ἡμῖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ.

Δοκεῖ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Περὶ γε μέντοι τοῦ σπόρου ὥρας ἄλλο τι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, γινώσκεις ἢ τὴν ὥραν σπείρειν ἧς πάντες μὲν οἱ πρόσθεν ἄνθρωποι πεῖραν λαβόντες, πάντες δὲ οἱ νῦν λαμβάνοντες, ἐγνώκασι κρατίστην εἶναι; [2] ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ὁ μετοπωρινὸς χρόνος ἔλθῃ, πάντες που οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν, ὅποτε βρέξας τὴν γῆν ἀφήσει αὐτοὺς σπείρειν.

Ἐγνώκασι δὴ γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν ξηραὶ σπείρειν ἐκόντες εἶναι πάντες ἄνθρωποι, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαῖς ζημίαις παλαίσαντες οἱ πρὶν κελευσθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σπείροντες.

[3] Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὁμογνωμονοῦμεν πάντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι.

Ἄ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτω γίγνεται ὁμονοεῖν· οἷον ἅμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι παχέα ἱμάτια φορεῖν, ἢ δύνωνται, καὶ πῦρ κάειν ἅμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ, ἢ ξύλα ἔχουσιν.

[4] Ἀλλ' ἐν τῷδε, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, πολλοὶ ἤδη διαφέρονται, ὦ Σώκρατες, περὶ τοῦ σπόρου, πότερον ὁ πρῶιμος κράτιστος ἢ ὁ μέσος ἢ ὁ ὀψιμώτατος.

Καὶ ὁ θεός, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐ τεταγμένως τὸ ἔτος ἄγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῷ πρῶιμῳ κάλλιστα, τὸ δὲ τῷ μέσῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ὀψιμωτάτῳ.

[5] Σὺ οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πότερον ἡγῆι κρεῖττον εἶναι ἐνὶ τούτων τῶν σπόρων χρῆσθαι ἐκλεξάμενον, ἐάν τε πολὺ ἐάν τε ὀλίγον σπέρμα σπείρῃ τις, ἢ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωιμωτάτου μέχρι τοῦ ὀψιμωτάτου σπείρειν;

[6] Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Ἐμοὶ μὲν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι παντὸς μετέχειν τοῦ σπόρου. πολὺ γὰρ νομίζω κρεῖττον εἶναι ἀεὶ ἀρκοῦντα σῖτον λαμβάνειν ἢ ποτὲ μὲν πάνυ πολὺν ποτὲ δὲ μηδ' ἱκανόν.

Καὶ τοῦτο τοίνυν σύγε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁμογνωμονεῖς ἔμοι ὁ μανθάνων τῷ διδάσκοντι, καὶ ταῦτα πρόσθεν ἐμοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενος.

[7] Τί γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐν τῷ ρίπτειν τὸ σπέρμα ποικίλη τέχνη ἔνεστι;

Πάντως, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισκεψώμεθα καὶ τοῦτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς δεῖ ρίπτεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα καὶ σύ που οἶσθα, ἔφη.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐώρακα, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Ῥίπτειν δέ γε, ἔφη, οἱ μὲν ὁμαλῶς δύνανται, οἱ δ' οὔ.

Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἤδη μελέτης δεῖται ὥσπερ τοῖς κιθαρισταῖς ἢ χεῖρ, ὅπως δύνηται ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ.

[8] Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· ἂν δέ γε ἦι, ἔφη, ἢ γῇ ἢ μὲν λεπτοτέρα, ἢ δὲ παχυτέρα;

Τί τοῦτο, ἐγώ ἔφην, λέγεις; ἄρά γε τὴν μὲν λεπτοτέραν ὅπερ ἀσθενεστέραν, τὴν δὲ παχυτέραν ὅπερ ἰσχυροτέραν;

Τοῦτ', ἔφη, λέγω, καὶ ἐρωτῶ γέ σε πότερον ἴσον ἂν ἐκατέραι τῇ γῇ σπέρμα διδοίης ἢ ποτέραι ἂν πλεον.

[9] Τῷ μὲν οἴνῳ, ἔφην, ἔγωγε νομίζω τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλεον ἐπιχεῖν ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλεον βάρος, ἐὰν δέη τι φέρειν, ἐπιτιθέναι, κὰν δέη τρέφεσθαι τινας, τοῖς δυνατωτέροις τρέφειν ἂν τοὺς πλείους προστάξαιμι. εἰ δὲ ἢ ἀσθενὴς γῇ ἰσχυροτέρα, ἔφην ἐγώ, γίγνεται, ἂν τις πλείονα καρπὸν αὐτῇ ἐμβάλῃ, ὥσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια, τοῦτο σύ με δίδασκε.

[10] Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παίζεις μὲν σύγε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. εὖ γε μέντοι, ἔφη, ἴσθι, ἂν μὲν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ σπέρμα τῇ γῇ ἔπειτα ἐν ᾧ πολλὴν ἔχει τροφήν ἢ γῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χλόης γενομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος καταστρέψῃς αὐτὸ πάλιν, τοῦτο γίγνεται σῖτος τῇ γῇ, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κόπρου ἰσχὺς αὐτῇ ἐγγίγνεται· ἂν μέντοι ἐκτρέφειν ἑᾷς τὴν γῆν διὰ τέλους τὸ σπέρμα εἰς καρπὸν, χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀσθενεῖ γῇ ἐς τέλος πολὺν καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀσθενεῖ χαλεπὸν πολλοὺς ἀδρούς χοίρους ἐκτρέφειν.

[11] Λέγεις σύ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῇ ἀσθενεστέρῃ γῇ μείον δεῖν τὸ σπέρμα ἐμβαλεῖν;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ σύ γε συνομολογεῖς, λέγων ὅτι νομίζεις τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις πᾶσι μείω προστάττειν πράγματα.

[12] Τοὺς δὲ δὴ σκαλέας, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τίνος ἔνεκα ἐμβάλλετε τῷ σίτῳ;

Οἶσθα δήπου, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολλὰ ὕδατα γίνονται.

Τί γὰρ οὐ; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Οὐκοῦν θῶμεν τοῦ σίτου καὶ κατακρυφθῆναί τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰλύος ἐπιχυθείσης καὶ ψιλωθῆναί τινας ρίζας ὑπὸ ρεύματος. καὶ ὕλη δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δήπου συνεξορμαῖ τῷ σίτῳ καὶ παρέχει πνιγμὸν αὐτῷ.

Πάντα, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἰκὸς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.

[13] Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφη, ἐνταῦθα ἤδη ἐπικουρίας τινὸς δεῖσθαι ὁ σῖτος;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν σοι ἐπικουρῆσαι;

Ἐπικουφίσαντες, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὴν γῆν.

Τί δέ, ἔφη, τῷ ἐψιλωμένῳ τὰς ρίζας;

Ἀντιπροσαμνησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἂν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

[14] Τί γάρ, ἔφη, ἂν ὕλη πνίγῃ συνεξορμῶσα τῷ σίτῳ καὶ διαρπάζουσα τοῦ σίτου τὴν τροφήν ὥσπερ οἱ κηφῆνες διαρπάζουσιν ἄχρηστοι ὄντες τῶν μελιττῶν ἃ ἂν ἐκεῖναι ἐργασάμεναι τροφήν καταθῶνται;

Ἐκκόπτειν ἂν νῆ Δία [τὴν τροφήν] δέοι τὴν ὕλην, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὥσπερ τοὺς κηφῆνας ἐκ τῶν σμηνῶν ἀφαιρεῖν.

[15] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, εἰκότως σοι δοκοῦμεν ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς σκαλέας;

Πάνυ γε. ἀτὰρ ἐνθυμοῦμαι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὧ Ἰσχόμαχε, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ εὖ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπάγεσθαι. πάνυ γὰρ σύ με ἐξώργισας πρὸς τὴν ὕλην τοὺς κηφῆνας εἰπὼν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὕλης ἔλεγες.

Κεφάλαιον ιη'

[1] Ἀτὰρ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐκ τούτου ἄρα θερίζειν εἰκός. δίδασκε οὖν εἴ τι ἔχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο.

Ἄν μή γε φανῆις, ἔφη, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ταυτὰ ἐμοὶ ἐπιστάμενος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τέμνειν τὸν σῖτον δεῖ οἶσθα.

Τί δ' οὐ μέλλω; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Πότερ' <ἂν> οὖν τέμνοις, ἔφη, στὰς ἐνθα πνεῖ ἄνεμος ἢ ἀντίος;

Οὐκ ἀντίος, ἔφην, ἔγωγε· χαλεπὸν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ γίνεταί ἀντίον ἀχύρων καὶ ἀθέρων θερίζειν.

[2] Καὶ ἀκροτομοίης δ' ἂν, ἔφη, ἢ παρὰ γῆν τέμνοις;

Ἄν μὲν βραχὺς ᾗ ὁ κάλαμος τοῦ σίτου, ἔγωγ', ἔφην, κάτωθεν ἂν

τέμνοιμι, ἵνα ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄχυρα μᾶλλον γίγνηται· ἐὰν δὲ ὑψηλὸς ᾦ, νομίζω ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν μεσοτομῶν, ἵνα μήτε οἱ ἀλοῶντες μοχθῶσι περιττὸν πόνον μήτε οἱ λικμῶντες ὧν οὐδὲν προσδέονται. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ λειφθὲν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ κατακαυθὲν συνωφελεῖν ἂν τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς κόπρον ἐμβληθὲν τὴν κόπρον συμπληθύνειν.

[3] Ὅρᾱις, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὥς ἀλίσκει ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καὶ περὶ θερισμοῦ εἰδὼς ἅπερ ἐγώ;

Κινδυνεύω, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ βούλομαί γε σκέψασθαι εἰ καὶ ἀλοᾶν ἐπίσταμαι.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τοῦτο μὲν οἶσθα, ὅτι ὑποζυγίῳ ἀλοῶσι τὸν σῖτον.

[4] Τί δ' οὐκ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἶδα; καὶ ὑποζυγία γε καλούμενα πάντα ὁμοίως, βοῦς, ἡμιόνους, ἵππους.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ταῦτα μὲν ἡγῇ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰδέναι, πατεῖν τὸν σῖτον ἐλαυνόμενα;

Τί γάρ ἂν ἄλλο, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὑποζυγία εἰδεῖν;

[5] Ὅπως δὲ τὸ δεόμενον κόψουσι καὶ ὁμαλιεῖται ὁ ἀλοατός, τίνι τοῦτο ..., ὦ Σώκρατες; ἔφη.

Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῖς ἐπαλωσταῖς. στρέφοντες γάρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποβάλλοντες τὰ ἄτριπτα ἀεὶ δῆλον ὅτι μάλιστα ὁμαλίζουσιν ἂν τὸν δῖνον καὶ τάχιστα ἀνύτοιεν.

Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ λείπει γινώσκων.

[6] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐκ τούτου δὴ καθαροῦμεν τὸν σῖτον λικμῶντες.

Καὶ λέξον γέ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἥ οἶσθα ὅτι ἂν ἐκ τοῦ προσηνέμου μέρους τῆς ἄλλω ἄρχῃ, δι' ὅλης τῆς ἄλλω οἴσεται σοι τὰ ἄχυρα;

Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Οὐκοῦν εἰκὸς καὶ ἐπιπίπτειν, ἔφη, αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὸν σῖτον.

[7] Πολὺ γάρ ἐστιν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ ὑπερενεχθῆναι τὰ ἄχυρα ὑπὲρ τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἄλλω.

Ἄν δέ τις, ἔφη, λικμᾷ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηνέμου ἀρχόμενος;

Δῆλον, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀχυροδόκῃ ἔσται τὰ ἄχυρα.

[8] Ἐπειδὴν δὲ καθάρῃς, ἔφη, τὸν σῖτον μέχρι τοῦ ἡμίσεος τῆς ἄλλω, πότερον εὐθὺς οὕτω κεχυμένου τοῦ σίτου λικμήσεις τὰ ἄχυρα τὰ λοιπὰ ἢ συνώσας τὸν καθαρὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλον ὥς εἰς στενότατον;

Συνώσας νῆ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸν καθαρὸν σῖτον, ἵν' ὑπερφέρηται μοι τὰ ἄχυρα εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἄλλω, καὶ μὴ δις ταῦτα ἄχυρα δέηι

λικμᾶν.

[9] Σὺ μὲν δὴ ἄρα, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, σῖτόν γε ὡς ἂν τάχιστα καθαρὸς γένοιτο κἂν ἄλλον δύναιο διδάσκειν.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐλελήθη ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιστάμενος. καὶ πάλαι ἐννοῶ ἄρα εἰ λέληθα καὶ χρυσοχοεῖν καὶ αὐλεῖν καὶ ζωγραφεῖν ἐπιστάμενος. ἐδίδαξε γὰρ οὔτε ταῦτά με οὐδεὶς οὔτε γεωργεῖν· ὁρῶ δ' ὥσπερ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ἐργαζομένους ἀνθρώπους.

[10] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἔλεγον ἐγώ σοι πάλαι ὅτι καὶ ταύτῃ εἴῃ γενναιοτάτῃ ἢ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ, ὅτι καὶ ράϊστη ἐστὶ μαθεῖν.

Ἄγε δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἶδα, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ σπόρον ἐπιστάμενος ἄρα ἐλελήθην ἐμαυτὸν ἐπιστάμενος.

Κεφάλαιον ιθ'

[1] Ἔστι δ' οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης καὶ ἡ τῶν δένδρων φυτεία;

Ἔστι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος.

Πῶς ἂν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν σπόρον ἐπισταίμην, τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν φυτείαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι;

[2] Οὐ γὰρ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἐπίστασαι·

Πῶς; ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὅστις μὴτ' ἐν ὁποίᾳ τῇ γῇ δεῖ φυτεύειν οἶδα μήτε ὅπόσον βάθος ὀρύττειν [τὸ φυτὸν] μήτε ὅπόσον πλάτος μήτε ὅπόσον μῆκος τὸ φυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν μήτε ὅπως ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ κείμενον τὸ φυτὸν μάλιστ' ἂν βλαστάνοι.

[3] Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, μάθανε ὅ τι μὴ ἐπίστασαι. βοθύνους μὲν γὰρ οἴους ὀρύττουσι τοῖς φυτοῖς οἷδ' ὅτι ἐώρακας, ἔφη.

Καὶ πολλάκις ἔγωγ', ἔφην.

Ἦδη τινὰ οὖν αὐτῶν εἶδες βαθύτερον τριπόδου;

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί' ἔγωγ', ἔφην, πενθημιποδίου.

Τί δέ, τὸ πλάτος ἤδη τινὰ τριπόδου πλέον εἶδες;

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, διπόδου.

[4] Ἴθι δὴ, ἔφη, καὶ τόδε ἀπόκριναί μοι· ἤδη τινὰ εἶδες τὸ βάθος ἐλάττονα ποδιαίου;

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δί', ἔφην, ἔγωγε τριημιποδίου. καὶ γὰρ ἐξορύττοιο ἂν σκαπτόμενα, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ φυτὰ, εἰ λίαν γε οὕτως ἐπιπολῆς πεφυτευμένα εἴη.

[5] Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἱκανῶς οἶσθα, ὅτι οὔτε

βαθύτερον πενθημιποδίου ὀρύττουσιν οὔτε βραχύτερον τριημιποδίου.

Ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἔφην ἐγώ, τοῦτο ὀραῖσθαι γε οὔτω καταφανὲς ὄν.

[6] Τί δέ, ἔφη, ξηροτέραν καὶ ὑγροτέραν γῆν γινώσκεις ὀρών;

Ξηρὰ μὲν γοῦν μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφην ἐγώ, εἶναι ἡ περὶ τὸν Λυκαβηττὸν καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία, ὑγρὰ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἔλει καὶ ἡ ταύτη ὁμοία.

[7] Πότερα οὖν, ἔφη, ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ ἂν βαθὺν ὀρύττοις βόθρον τῷ φυτῷ ἢ ἐν τῇ ὑγρᾷ;

Ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ νῆ Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ· ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ ὑγρᾷ ὀρύττων βαθύν, ὕδωρ ἂν εὐρίσκοις καὶ οὐκ ἂν δύναιο ἔτι ἐν ὕδατι φυτεύειν.

Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, λέγειν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴν ὀρωρυγμένοι ὦσιν οἱ βόθροι, ὀπηνίκα δεῖ τιθέναι ἐκάτερα τὰ φυτὰ ἤδη εἶδες;

Μάλιστα, ἔφην ἐγώ.

[8] Σὺ οὖν βουλόμενος ὥς τάχιστα φῦναι αὐτὰ πότερον ὑποβαλὼν ἂν τῆς γῆς τῆς εἰργασμένης οἶει τὸν βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος θᾶττον χωρεῖν διὰ τῆς μαλακῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀργοῦ εἰς τὸ σκληρόν;

Δῆλον, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς εἰργασμένης θᾶττον ἂν ἢ διὰ τῆς ἀργοῦ βλαστάνοι.

[9] Οὐκοῦν ὑποβλητέα ἂν εἴη τῷ φυτῷ γῆ.

Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει; ἔφην ἐγώ.

Πότερα δὲ ὅλον τὸ κλῆμα ὀρθὸν τιθεὶς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἡγῆι μᾶλλον ἂν ῥιζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιόν τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένῃ γῇ θείης ἂν, ὥστε κεῖσθαι ὥσπερ γάμμα ὕπτιον;

[10] Οὔτω νῆ Δία· πλείους γὰρ ἂν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κατὰ τῆς γῆς εἶεν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ ἄνω ὀρῶ βλαστάνοντα τὰ φυτὰ. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς οὖν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἡγοῦμαι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ φυομένων βλαστῶν <κατὰ> τῆς γῆς ταχὺ ἂν καὶ ἰσχυρὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι βλαστάνειν.

[11] Κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖνυν, ἔφη, καὶ περὶ τούτων γινώσκων ἐμοὶ τυγχάνεις. ἐπαμήσαο δ' ἂν μόνον, ἔφη, τὴν γῆν, ἢ καὶ σάξαις ἂν εὖ μάλα περὶ τὸ φυτόν;

Σάττοιμ' ἂν, ἔφην, νῆ Δί' ἐγώ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ σεσαγμένον εἴη, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πηλὸς ἂν γίγνοιτο ἢ ἄσακτος γῆ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηρὰ μέχρι βυθοῦ, ὥστε τὰ φυτὰ κίνδυνος [ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος] σῆπασθαι μὲν δι' ὑγρότητα, αὐαίνεσθαι δὲ διὰ ξηρότητα, [ἤγουν χαυνότητα τῆς γῆς,] θερμαινομένων τῶν ῥιζῶν.

[12] Καὶ περὶ ἀμπέλων ἄρα σύγε, ἔφη, φυτείας, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐμοὶ πάντα γινώσκων τυγχάνεις.

Ἦ καὶ συκῆν, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτω δεῖ φυτεύειν;

Οἶμαι δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκρόδρυα πάντα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτεῖαι καλῶς ἐχόντων τί ἂν ἀποδοκιμάσας εἰς τὰς ἄλλας φυτείας;

[13] Ἐλαίαν δὲ πῶς, ἔφην ἐγώ, φυτεύσομεν, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε;

Ἀποπειρᾷ μου καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, μάλιστα πάντων ἐπιστάμενος. ὁρᾷς μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὅτι βαθύτερος ὀρύττεται τῇ ἐλαίᾳ βόθροος· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς μάλιστα ὀρύττεται· ὁρᾷς δ' ὅτι πρέμνα πᾶσι τοῖς φυτευτηρίοις πρόσσεστιν· ὁρᾷς δ', ἔφη, τῶν φυτῶν πηλὸν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πάσαις ἐπικείμενον καὶ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν ἐστεγασμένον τὸ ἄνω.

Ὅρῳ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ταῦτα πάντα.

[14] Καὶ ὁρῶν δὴ, ἔφη, τί αὐτῶν οὐ γινώσκεις; ἢ τὸ ὄστρακον ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πῶς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἄνω καταθείης;

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ὦν εἶπας, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀγνοῶ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἐννοῶ τί ποτε, ὅτε πάλαι ἦρου με συλλήβδην εἰ ἐπίσταμαι φυτεύειν, οὐκ ἔφην. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκουν ἔχειν ἂν εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἢ δεῖ φυτεύειν· ἐπεὶ δέ με καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον ἐπεχείρησας ἐρωτᾶν, ἀποκρίνομαί σοι, ὡς σὺ φῆις, ἅπερ σὺ γινώσκεις ὁ δεινὸς λεγόμενος γεωργός. [15] Ἄρα, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἡ ἐρώτησις διδασκαλία ἐστίν; ἄρτι γὰρ δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, καταμανθάνω ἢ με ἐπηρώτησας ἑκαστα· ἄγων γάρ με δι' ὦν ἐγώ ἐπίσταμαι, ὅμοια τούτοις ἐπιδεικνὺς ἃ οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἐπίστασθαι ἀναπεῖθεις, οἶμαι, ὡς καὶ ταῦτα ἐπίσταμαι.

[16] Ἄρ' οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ περὶ ἀργυρίου ἐρωτῶν ἂν σε, πότερον καλὸν ἢ οὐ, δυναίμην ἂν σε πείσαι ὡς ἐπίστασαι διαδοκιμάζειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ κίβδηλα ἀργύρια; καὶ περὶ αὐλητῶν ἂν δυναίμην ἀναπεῖσαι ὡς ἐπίστασαι αὐλεῖν, καὶ περὶ ζωγράφων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων;

Ἴσως ἂν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ καὶ γεωργεῖν ἀνέπεισάς με ὡς ἐπιστήμων εἶην, καίπερ εἰδότα ὅτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐδίδαξέ με ταύτην τὴν τέχνην.

[17] Οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' ἐγώ καὶ πάλαι σοι ἔλεγον ὅτι ἡ γεωργία οὕτω φιλάνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ πραεῖα τέχνη ὥστε καὶ ὁρῶντας καὶ ἀκούοντας ἐπιστήμονας εὐθὺς ἑαυτῆς ποιεῖν. [18] πολλὰ δ', ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὴ διδάσκει ὡς ἂν κάλλιστά τις αὐτῇ χρῶιτο.

αὐτίκα ἄμπελος ἀναβαίνουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα, ὅταν ἔχη τι πλησίον δένδρον, διδάσκει ἰστάναι αὐτήν· περιπεταννύουσα δὲ τὰ οἴναρα, ὅταν ἔτι αὐτῇ ἀπαλοὶ οἱ βότρυες ᾧσι, διδάσκει σκιαζεῖν τὰ ἡλιούμενα ταύτην τὴν ὥραν· [19] ὅταν δὲ καιρὸς ᾗ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἤδη γλυκαίνεσθαι τὰς σταφυλάς, φυλλορροοῦσα διδάσκει ἑαυτὴν ψιλοῦν καὶ πεπαίνειν τὴν ὀπώραν, διὰ πολυφορίαν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πέποντας δεικνύουσα βότρυς, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι ὠμοτέρους φέρουσα, διδάσκει τρυγᾶν ἑαυτήν, ὥσπερ τὰ σῦκα συκάζουσι, τὸ ὀργῶν ἀεὶ.

Κεφάλαιον κ'

[1] Ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγὼ εἶπον· Πῶς οὖν, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, εἰ οὕτω γε καὶ ῥαϊδιὰ ἐστὶ μαθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἴσασι· ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, οὐχὶ καὶ πάντες πράττουσιν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφθόνως τε ζῶσι καὶ περιττὰ ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' οὐδὲ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δύνανται πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοφείλουσιν;

[2] Ἐγὼ δὴ σοι λέξω, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος. οὐ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιστήμη οὐδ' ἡ ἀνεπιστημοσύνη τῶν γεωργῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα τοὺς μὲν εὐπορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους εἶναι· [3] οὐδ' ἂν ἀκούσαις, ἔφη, λόγου οὕτω διαθέοντος ὅτι διέφθαρται ὁ οἶκος, διότι οὐχ ὁμαλῶς ὁ σπορεὺς ἔσπειρεν, οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοὺς ὄρχους ἐφύτευσεν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἀγνοήσας τις τὴν [γῆν] φέρουσαν ἀμπέλους ἐν ἀφόρῳ ἐφύτευσεν, οὐδ' ὅτι ἠγνόησέ τις ὅτι ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τῷ σπόρῳ νεδὸν προεργάζεσθαι, οὐδ' ὅτι ἠγνόησέ τις ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τῇ γῇ κόπρον μιγνύναι· [4] ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι. ἀνὴρ οὐ λαμβάνει σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς αὐτῷ σπείρηται ἢ ὡς κόπρος γίγνηται. οὐδ' οἶνον ἔχει ἀνὴρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς φυτεύσῃ ἀμπέλους οὐδὲ αἱ οὔσαι ὅπως φέρωσιν αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ ἔλαιον οὐδὲ σῦκα ἔχει ἀνὴρ· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται οὐδὲ ποιεῖ ὅπως ταῦτα ἔχη. [5] τοιαῦτ', ἔφη, ἐστίν, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἃ διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων οἱ γεωργοὶ διαφερόντως καὶ πράττουσι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ [οἱ] δοκοῦντες σοφόν τι ἡύρηκέναι εἰς τὰ ἔργα. [6] καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἔστιν ἐν οἷς τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἔργων οὐ γνώμη διαφέροντες ἀλλήλων οἱ μὲν βελτίονες οἱ δὲ χεῖρονές εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἐπιμελείαι. ἃ γὰρ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ γινώσκουσι πάντες καὶ τῶν ιδιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι, ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσι τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ δ' οὐ. [7] οἶον καὶ τότε γινώσκουσιν ἅπαντες ὅτι διὰ πολεμίας πορευομένους βέλτιόν ἐστι τεταγμένους πορεύεσθαι οὕτως ὡς ἂν ἄριστα μάχοντο, εἰ δέοι. τοῦτο τοίνυν

γινώσκοντες οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσιν οὕτως οἱ δ' οὐ ποιοῦσι. [8] φυλακὰς ἅπαντες ἴσασιν ὅτι βέλτιόν ἐστι καθιστάναι καὶ ἡμερινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται ὡς ἔχηι οὕτως, οἱ δ' οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται. [9] ὅταν τε αὖ διὰ στενοπόρων ἴωσιν, οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὸν εὔρεϊν ὅστις οὐ γινώσκει βοτὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπικαιρα κρεῖττον ἢ μή; ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται οὕτω ποιεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐ. [10] ἀλλὰ καὶ κόπρον λέγουσι μὲν πάντες ὅτι ἄριστον εἰς γεωργίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρώσι δὲ αὐτομάτην γιγνομένην· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀκριβοῦντες ὡς γίγνεται, καὶ ῥαίδιον ὃν πολλὴν ποιεῖν, οἱ μὲν καὶ τούτου ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως ἀθροίζεται, οἱ δὲ παραμελοῦσι. [11] καίτοι ὕδωρ μὲν ὁ ἄνω θεὸς παρέχει, τὰ δὲ κοῖλα πάντα τέλματα γίγνεται, ἡ γῆ δὲ ὕλην παντοίαν παρέχει, καθαίρειν δὲ δεῖ τὴν γῆν τὸν μέλλοντα σπεῖρειν· ἃ δ' ἐκποδὼν ἀναιρεῖται, ταῦτα εἴ τις ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ χρόνος ἤδη αὐτὸς ἂν ποιοίη οἷς ἡ γῆ ἥδεται. ποία μὲν γὰρ ὕλη, ποία δὲ γῆ ἐν ὕδατι στασίμῳ οὐ κόπρος γίγνεται; [12] καὶ ὅποσα δὲ θεραπείας δεῖται ἡ γῆ, ὑγροτέρα γε οὖσα πρὸς τὸν σπόρον ἢ ἀλμωδεστέρα πρὸς φυτείαν, καὶ ταῦτα γινώσκουσι μὲν πάντες καὶ ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξάγεται τάφροις καὶ ὡς ἡ ἄλμη κολάζεται μιγνυμένη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνάλμοις, καὶ ὑγροῖς [τε] καὶ ξηροῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελοῦνται οἱ μὲν οἱ δ' οὐ. [13] εἰ δέ τις παντάπασιν ἀγνῶς εἴη τί δύναται φέρειν ἡ γῆ, καὶ μήτε ἰδεῖν ἔχει καρπὸν μηδὲ φυτὸν αὐτῆς, μήτε ὅτου ἀκούσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῆς ἔχει, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ῥαῖον γῆς πεῖραν λαμβάνειν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ ἵππῳ, πολὺ δὲ ῥαῖον ἢ ἀνθρώπου; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅ τι ἐπὶ ἀπάτῃ δείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἃ τε δύναται καὶ ἃ μὴ σαφηνίζει τε καὶ ἀληθεύει. [14] δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἡ γῆ καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς τε καὶ ἀργοὺς τῷ εὐγνωστα καὶ εὐμαθῇ πάντα παρέχειν ἄριστα ἐξετάζειν. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας τοῖς μὴ ἐργαζομένοις ἔστι προφασίζεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπίστανται, γῆν δὲ πάντες οἶδασιν ὅτι εὖ πάσχουσα εὖ ποιεῖ. [15] ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν γῇ ἀργία ἐστὶ σαφὴς ψυχῆς κατήγορος κακῆς. ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἂν δύναίτο ἄνθρωπος ζῆν ἄνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐδεὶς τοῦτο αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πείθει· ὁ δὲ μήτε ἄλλην τέχνην χρηματοποιὸν ἐπιστάμενος μήτε γεωργεῖν ἐθέλων φανερόν ὅτι κλέπτων ἢ ἀρπάζων ἢ προσαιτῶν διανοεῖται βιοτεῦειν, ἢ παντάπασιν ἀλόγιστός ἐστι. [16] μέγα δὲ ἔφη διαφέρειν εἰς τὸ λυσιτελεῖν γεωργίαν καὶ μὴ λυσιτελεῖν, ὅταν ὄντων ἐργαστήρων καὶ πλεόνων ὁ μὲν ἔχη τινὰ ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς τὴν ὥραν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ οἱ ἐργάται ὧσιν, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιμελῆται

τούτου. ραϊδίως γὰρ ἀνὴρ εἰς παρὰ τοὺς δέκα διαφέρει τῷ ἐν ὥρῃ ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ ἄλλος γε ἀνὴρ διαφέρει τῷ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας ἀπιέναι. [17] τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔαν ραιδιουργεῖν δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ραϊδίως τὸ ἥμισυ διαφέρει τοῦ ἔργου παντός. [18] ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρὰ στάδια διακόσια ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διήνεγκαν ἀλλήλων ἀνθρώποι τῷ τάχει, ἀμφοτέρω καὶ νέοι ὄντες καὶ ὑγιαίνοντες, ὅταν ὁ μὲν πρᾶττη ἐφ' ὧπερ ὥρμηται, βαδίζων, ὁ δὲ ραιστωνεύῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ παρὰ κρήναις καὶ ὑπὸ σκιαῖς ἀναπαυόμενός τε καὶ θεώμενος καὶ αὔρας θηρεύων μαλακάς. [19] οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις πολὺ διαφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀνύτειν οἱ πράττοντες ἐφ' ὧπερ τεταγμένοι εἰσὶ, καὶ οἱ μὴ πράττοντες ἀλλ' εὐρίσκοντες προφάσεις τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἐώμενοι ραιδιουργεῖν. [20] τὸ δὲ δὴ †[καὶ τὸ] καλῶς ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ κακῶς† ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τοῦτο δὴ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὅσον ἢ ὅλως ἐργάζεσθαι ἢ ὅλως ἀργὸν εἶναι. ὅταν σκαπτόντων, ἵνα ὕλης καθαρὰ αἱ ἄμπελοι γένωνται, οὕτω σκάπτωσιν ὥστε πλείω καὶ καλλίω τὴν ὕλην γίγνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο οὐκ ἀργὸν ἂν φήσῃς εἶναι; [21] τὰ οὖν συντρίβοντα τοὺς οἴκους πολὺ μᾶλλον ταῦτά ἐστιν ἢ αἱ λίαν ἀνεπισημοσύναι. τὸ γὰρ τὰς μὲν δαπάνας χωρεῖν ἐντελεῖς ἐκ τῶν οἴκων, τὰ δὲ ἔργα μὴ τελεῖσθαι λυσιτελοῦντως πρὸς τὴν δαπάνην, ταῦτα οὐκέτι δεῖ θαυμάζειν ἐὰν ἀντὶ τῆς περιουσίας ἔνδειαν παρέχῃται. [22] τοῖς γε μέντοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δυναμένοις καὶ συντεταμένως γεωργοῦσιν ἀνυτικωτάτην χρημάτισιν ἀπὸ γεωργίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετήδευσε καὶ ἐμὲ ἐδίδασκεν ὁ πατήρ. οὐδέποτε γὰρ εἶα χῶρον ἐξαιρεγασμένον ὠνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅστις ἢ δι' ἀμέλειαν ἢ δι' ἀδυναμίαν τῶν κεκτημένων καὶ ἀργὸς καὶ ἀφύτευτος εἶη, τοῦτον ὠνεῖσθαι παρήνει. [23] τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξαιρεγασμένους ἔφη καὶ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔχειν· τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἔχοντας ἐπίδοσιν οὐδὲ ἡδονὰς ὁμοίας ἐνόμιζε παρέχειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν κτῆμα καὶ θρέμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἰόν, τοῦτο καὶ εὐφραίνειν μάλιστα ὤιετο. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔχει πλείονα ἐπίδοσιν ἢ χῶρος ἐξ ἀργοῦ πάμφορος γιγνόμενος. [24] εὖ γὰρ ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχαίας τιμῆς πολλοὺς πολλαπλασίου χώρους ἀξίους ἡμεῖς ἤδη ἐποιήσαμεν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὕτω μὲν πολλοῦ ἄξιον τὸ ἐνθύμημα, οὕτω δὲ καὶ μαθεῖν ραϊδίον, ὥστε νυνὶ ἀκούσας σὺ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιστάμενος ἄπει, καὶ ἄλλον διδάξεις, ἐὰν βούληι. [25] καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς δὲ πατήρ οὕτε ἔμαθε παρ' ἄλλου τοῦτο οὐτε μεριμνῶν ἠὔρεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν φιλογεωργίαν καὶ

φιλοπονίαν ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἔφη τοιούτου χώρου ὅπως ἔχοι ὃ τι ποιοίῃ ἅμα καὶ ὠφελούμενος ἦδοιτο. [26] ἦν γάρ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, φύσει, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, φιλογεωργότατος Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ.

Καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι ἀκούσας τοῦτο ἠρόμην αὐτόν· Πότερα δέ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὁπόσους ἐξειργάσατο χώρους ὁ πατήρ πάντας ἐκέκτητο ἢ καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο, εἰ πολὺ ἀργύριον εὐρίσκει;

Καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· ἀλλὰ ἄλλον τοι εὐθὺς ἀντεωνεῖτο, ἀργὸν δέ, διὰ τὴν φιλεργίαν.

[27] Λέγεις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῷ ὄντι φύσει τὸν πατέρα φιλογέωργον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ οἱ ἔμποροι φιλόσιτοί εἰσι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἔμποροι διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν τὸν σῖτον, ὅπου ἂν ἀκούσωσι πλεῖστον εἶναι, ἐκεῖσε πλέουσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ Αἰγαῖον καὶ Εὐξείνιον καὶ Σικελικὸν πόντον περῶντες· [28] ἔπειτα δὲ λαβόντες ὁπόσον δύνανται πλεῖστον ἄγουσιν αὐτόν διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἐνθέμενοι ἐν ὧπερ αὐτοὶ πλέουσι. καὶ ὅταν δεηθῶσιν ἀργυρίου, οὐκ εἰκῇ αὐτόν ὅπου ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπέβαλον, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ἀκούσωσι τιμᾶσθαι τε μάλιστα τὸν σῖτον καὶ περὶ πλείστου αὐτόν ποιῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τοῦτοις αὐτόν ἄγοντες παραδιδόασιν. καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατήρ οὕτω πως ἔοικε φιλογέωργος εἶναι.

[29] Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος· Σὺ μὲν παίζεις, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ φιλοικοδόμους νομίζω οὐδὲν ἦττον οἷτινες ἂν ἀποδιδῶνται ἐξοικοδομοῦντες τὰς οἰκίας, εἴτ' ἄλλας οἰκοδομῶσι.

Νῆ Δία, ἐγὼ δέ γέ σοι, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐπομόσας λέγω ἢ μὴν πιστεύειν σοι φύσει [νομίζειν] φιλεῖν ταῦτα πάντας ἀφ' ὧν ἂν ὠφελεῖσθαι νομίζωσιν.

Κεφάλαιον κα'

[1] Ἀτὰρ ἐννοῶ γε, ἔφην, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὡς εὖ τῇ ὑποθέσει ὅλον τὸν λόγον βοηθοῦντα παρέσχησαι· ὑπέθου γὰρ τὴν γεωργικὴν τέχνην πασῶν εἶναι εὐμαθεστάτην, καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων ὧν εἴρηκας τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν παντάπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀναπέπεισμαι.

[2] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τόδε τοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸ πάσαις κοινὸν ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ γεωργικῇ καὶ πολιτικῇ καὶ οἰκονομικῇ καὶ πολεμικῇ τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι, τοῦτο δὴ συνομολογῶ σοὶ ἐγὼ πολὺ διαφέρειν γνώμη τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν ἐτέρων· [3] οἷον καὶ ἐν τριήρει, ἔφη, ὅταν πελαγίζωσι, καὶ δέηι περᾶν ἡμερινούς πλοῦς ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν τῶν κελευστῶν δύνανται τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ

ποιεῖν ὥστε ἀκονᾶν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐθέλοντάς πονεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀγνώμονές εἰσιν ὥστε πλέον ἢ ἐν διπλασίῳ χρόνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνύτουσι πλοῦν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδροῦντες καὶ ἐπαινοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ὃ τε κελεύων καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνιδρωτί ἤκουσι, μισοῦντες τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ μισοῦμενοι. [4] καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ταύτη διαφέρουσιν, ἔφη, οἱ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐτέρων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πονεῖν ἐθέλοντας οὔτε κινδυνεύειν παρέχονται, πείθεσθαι τε οὐκ ἀξιοῦντας οὐδ' ἐθέλοντας ὅσον ἂν μὴ ἀνάγκη ᾖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλυνομένους ἐπὶ τῷ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι· οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὐδ' αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπισταμένους παρέχουσιν, ἂν τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν συμβαίνει. [5] οἱ δ' αὖ θεῖοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ καὶ ἐπιστήμονες ἄρχοντες τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραλαμβάνοντες, αἰσχυνομένους τε ἔχουσιν αἰσχυρόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ πείθεσθαι οἰομένους βέλτιον εἶναι, καὶ ἀγαλλομένους τῷ πείθεσθαι ἓνα ἕκαστον καὶ σύμπαντας, πονεῖν ὅταν δεήσει, οὐκ ἀθύμως πονοῦντας. [6] ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἰδιώταις ἔστιν οἷς ἐγγίγνεται φιλοπονία τις, οὕτω καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ στρατεύματι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρχόντων ἐγγίγνεται καὶ τὸ φιλοπονεῖν καὶ τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὀφθῆναι καλόν τι ποιοῦντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. [7] πρὸς ὅντινα δ' ἂν ἄρχοντα διατεθῶσιν οὕτως οἱ ἐπόμενοι, οὗτοι δὴ ἐρρωμένοι γε ἄρχοντες γίνονται, οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ οἱ ἂν αὐτῶν ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχῃσι καὶ ἀκοντίζῃσι καὶ τοξεύῃσι ἄριστα καὶ ἵππον ἄριστον ἔχοντες ὥς ἵππικώτατα ἢ πελταστικώτατα προκινδυνεύῃσι, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν δύνωνται ἐμποιεῖσαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθητέον εἶναι καὶ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς κινδύνου. [8] τούτους δὴ δικαίως ἂν τις καλοῖη μεγαλογνώμονας, ὧι ἂν ταῦτα γινώσκοντες πολλοὶ ἔπωνται, καὶ μεγάλη χειρὶ εἰκότως οὗτος λέγοιτο πορεύεσθαι οὗ ἂν τῇ γνώμῃ πολλὰ χεῖρες ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ μέγας τῷ ὄντι οὗτος ἀνὴρ ὃς ἂν μεγάλα δύνηται γνώμῃ διαπράξασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ῥώμῃ. [9] οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις ἔργοις, ἂν τε ἐπίτροπος ᾖ ὁ ἐφεστηκὼς ἂν τε καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ὃς ἂν δύνηται προθύμους καὶ ἐντεταμένους παρέχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ συνεχεῖς, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ ἀνύτοντές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τὰγαθὰ καὶ πολλὴν τὴν περιουσίαν ποιοῦντες. [10] τοῦ δὲ δεσπότου ἐπιφανέντος, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὅστις δύναται καὶ μέγιστα βλάψαι τὸν κακὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ μέγιστα τιμῆσαι τὸν πρόθυμον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπίδηλον ποιήσουσιν οἱ ἐργάται, ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαίμην, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν ἰδόντες κινηθῶσι καὶ μένος ἐκάστω

ἐμπέσῃ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ φιλονικία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοτιμία κρατιστεῦσαι ἐκάστωι, τοῦτον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἔχειν τι ἥθους βασιλικοῦ. [11] καὶ ἔστι τοῦτο μέγιστον, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐν παντὶ ἔργωι ὅπου τι δι' ἀνθρώπων πράττεται, καὶ ἐν γεωργίαι δέ. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία τοῦτό γε ἔτι ἐγὼ λέγω ἰδόντα μαθεῖν εἶναι, οὐδ' ἅπαξ ἀκούσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας δεῖν φημι τῶι ταῦτα μέλλοντι δυνήσεσθαι καὶ φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξαι, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ θεῖον γενέσθαι. [12] οὐ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ὅλον τουτὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι ἀλλὰ θεῖον, τὸ ἐθελόντων ἄρχειν· <ὁ> σαφῶς δίδοται τοῖς ἀληθινῶς σωφροσύνῃ τετελεσμένοις· τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων τυραννεῖν διδόασιν, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται ἀξίους εἶναι βιοτεύειν ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν Ἄιδου λέγεται τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον διατρίβειν φοβούμενος μὴ δις ἀποθάνῃ.

SYMPOSIUM - Συμπόσιον φιλοσόφων

Κεφάλαιον α΄

[1] Ἄλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθων ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα ἀξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς. οἷς δὲ παραγενόμενος ταῦτα γινώσκω δηλῶσαι βούλομαι. [2] ἦν μὲν γὰρ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἵπποδρομία, Καλλίας δὲ ὁ Ἴππονίκου ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν Αὐτολύκου παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ νενικηκότα αὐτὸν παγκράτιον ἦκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ὥς δὲ ἡ ἵπποδρομία ἔληξεν, ἔχων τὸν τε Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπῆιει εἰς τὴν ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἰκίαν· συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νικήρατος. [3] ἰδὼν δὲ ὁμοῦ ὄντας Σωκράτην τε καὶ Κριτόβουλον καὶ Ἑρμογένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ Χαρμίδην, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφ' Αὐτόλυκον ἡγεῖσθαι τινα ἔταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ προσῆλθε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σωκράτην, καὶ εἶπεν· [4] Εἰς καλὸν γε ὑμῖν συντετύχηκα· ἐστιᾶν γὰρ μέλλω Αὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. οἶμαι οὖν πολὺ ἂν τὴν κατασκευὴν μοι λαμπροτέραν φανῆναι εἰ ἀνδράσιν ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ ὑμῖν ὁ ἀνδρῶν κεκοσμημένος εἴη μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱπάρχοις καὶ σπουδαρχίαις. [5] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀεὶ σὺ ἐπισκώπτεις ἡμᾶς καταφρονῶν, ὅτι σὺ μὲν Πρωταγόραι τε πολὺ ἀργύριον δέδωκας ἐπὶ σοφίαι καὶ Γοργίαι καὶ Προδίκωι καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἡμᾶς δ' ὁρᾷς αὐτουργοὺς τινας τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὄντας. [6] καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν γε, ἔφη, ἀπεκρυπτόμην ὑμᾶς ἔχων πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγειν, νῦν δέ, ἐὰν παρ' ἐμοὶ ἦτε, ἐπιδείξω ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν πάνυ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἄξιον ὄντα. [7] οἱ οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλῆσιν οὐχ ὑπισχνοῦντο συνδειπνήσειν· ὥς δὲ πάνυ ἀχθόμενος φανερός ἦν, εἰ μὴ ἔσποιντο, συνηκολούθησαν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λουσάμενοι παρήλθον. [8] Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὥσπερ εἰκός, κατεκλίθησαν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐννοήσας τις τὰ γινόμενα ἠγήσατ' ἂν φύσει βασιλικόν τι κάλλος εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης, καθάπερ Αὐτόλυκος τότε, κεκτῇται τις αὐτό. [9] πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῇ, πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτολύκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἴλκε τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔπειτα τῶν ὁρώντων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχέ τι τὴν

ψυχὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου. οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως. [10] πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐκ θεῶν του κατεχόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἄλλων πρὸς τὸ γοργότερ<όν> τε ὁρᾶσθαι καὶ φοβερώτερον φθέγγεσθαι καὶ σφοδρότεροι εἶναι φέρονται, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος ἔρωτος ἐνθεοὶ τὰ τε ὄμματα φιλοφρονεστέως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν φωνὴν πραιοτέραν ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτερον ἄγουσιν. ἃ δὴ καὶ Καλλίας τότε διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα πράττων ἀξιοθέατος ἦν τοῖς τετελεσμένοις τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. [11] ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν σιωπῇ ἐδείκνουν, ὥσπερ τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρεῖττονός τινος. Φίλιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἴη καὶ δι' ὃ τι κατάγεσθαι βούλοιο, συνεσκευασμένος τε παρεῖναι ἔφη πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὥστε δεῖπνεῖν τὰλλότρια, καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἔφη πάνυ πιέζεσθαι διὰ τε τὸ φέρειν μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνάριστον εἶναι. [12] ὁ οὖν Καλλίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, αἰσχρὸν στέγης γε φθονῆσαι· εἰσίτω οὖν. καὶ ἅμα ἀπέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Αὐτόλυκον, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπισκοπῶν τί ἐκείνῳ δόξειε τὸ σκῶμμα εἶναι· [13] ὁ δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρῶνι ἔνθα τὸ δεῖπνον ἦν εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν γελωτοποιός εἰμι ἵστε πάντες· ἤκω δὲ προθύμως νομίσας γελοιότερον εἶναι τὸ ἄκλητον ἢ τὸ κεκλημένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. Κατακλίνου τοίνυν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρόντες σπουδῆς μὲν, ὥς ὁρᾷς, μεστοί, γέλωτος δὲ ἴσως ἐνδεέστεροι. [14] δεῖπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Φίλιππος γελοῖόν τι εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐπιτελοίῃ ὧνπερ ἔνεκα ἐκαλεῖτο ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα. ὥς δ' οὐκ ἐκίνησε γέλωτα, τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεῖς φανερὸς ἐγένετο. αὐθις δ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον ἄλλο τι γελοῖον ἐβούλετο λέγειν. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐγέλασαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ παυσάμενος τοῦ δεῖπνου συγκαλυψάμενος κατέκειτο. [15] καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Τί τοῦτ', ἔφη, ὦ Φίλιππε; ἀλλ' ἢ ὀδύνη σε εἴληφε; καὶ ὃς ἀναστενάξας εἶπε· Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Καλλία, μεγάλη γε· ἐπεὶ γὰρ γέλως ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλωλεν, ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐκαλούμην ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα, ἵνα εὐφραίνοντο οἱ συνόντες δι' ἐμὲ γελῶντες· νῦν δὲ τίνος ἔνεκα καὶ καλεῖ μέ τις; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε σπουδάσαι ἂν δυνάμην μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἀθάνατος γενέσθαι, οὔτε μὴν ὥς ἀντικληθησόμενος καλεῖ μέ τις, ἐπεὶ πάντες ἴσασιν ὅτι ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ νομίζεται εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν δεῖπνον προσφέρεσθαι. καὶ ἅμα λέγων ταῦτα ἀπεμύττετό τε καὶ τῇ φωνῇ σαφῶς κλαίειν

εφαίνετο. [16] πάντες μὲν οὖν παρεμυθοῦντό τε αὐτὸν ὡς αὐθις γελασόμενοι καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐκέλευον, Κριτόβουλος δὲ καὶ ἐξεκάγχασεν ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκτισμῷ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤισθητο τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀνεκαλύψατό τε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρακελευσάμενος θαρρεῖν, ὅτι ἔσονται συμβολαί, πάλιν ἐδείπνει.

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Ὡς δ' ἀφηιρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπεισάν τε καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν, ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον Συρακόσιός τις ἄνθρωπος, ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα ἀγαθὴν καὶ ὀρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαύματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὠραῖον καὶ πάνυ καλῶς κιθαρίζοντα καὶ ὀρχούμενον. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδεικνὺς ὡς ἐν θαύματι ἀργύριον ἐλάμβανεν. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐλητρίς μὲν ἠϋλῃσεν, ὁ δὲ παῖς ἐκιθάρισε, καὶ ἐδόκουν μάλα ἀμφοτέροι ἱκανῶς εὐφραίνειν, εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Νῆ Δί', ὦ Καλλία, τελέως ἡμᾶς ἐστιαῖς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον ἄμεμπτον παρέθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ ἀκροάματα ἡδιστα παρέχεις. [3] καὶ ὃς ἔφη· Τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκαι, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδίαί ἐστιώμεθα; Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοι ἐσθῆς ἄλλη μὲν γυναικί, ἄλλη δὲ ἀνδρὶ καλὴ, οὕτω καὶ ὁσμὴ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνδρὶ, ἄλλη δὲ γυναικὶ πρέπει. καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς μὲν δήπου ἔνεκα ἀνὴρ οὐδεὶς μύρῳ χρίεται. αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν νύμφαι τύχωσιν οὔσαι, ὥσπερ ἡ Νικηράτου τοῦδε καὶ ἡ Κριτοβούλου, μύρου μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται; [4] αὐταὶ γὰρ τούτου ὄζουσιν· ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἐν γυμνασίοις ὁσμὴ καὶ παροῦσα ἡδίων ἢ μύρου γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀποῦσα ποθεινότερα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ μύρῳ μὲν ὁ ἀλεινόμενος καὶ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος εὐθὺς ἅπας ὅμοιον ὄζει· αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλευθερίων μόχθων ὁσμαι ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε πρῶτον χρηστῶν καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ δέονται, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἡδεῖσθαι καὶ ἐλευθέριοι ἔσεσθαι. καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν νέοις μὲν ἂν εἴη ταῦτα· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μηκέτι γυμναζομένους τίνοσ' ὄζειν δεήσει; Καλοκάγαθίας νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης. Καὶ πόθεν ἂν τις τοῦτο τὸ χρῆμα λάβοι; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ παρὰ τῶν μυροπωλῶν. Ἀλλὰ πόθεν δῆ; Ὁ μὲν Θέογνις ἔφη·

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξει· ἦν δὲ κακοῖσι συμμίσγηις, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

[5] καὶ ὁ Λύκων εἶπεν· Ἀκούεις ταῦτα, ὦ υἱέ; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ χρῆταί γε. ἐπεὶ γοῦν νικηφόρος ἐβούλετο τοῦ

παγκρατίου γενέσθαι, σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος <...> αὖ, ὅς ἂν δοκῇ αὐτῷ ἱκανώτατος εἶναι εἰς <τὸ> ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεῦσαι, τούτῳ συνέσται. [6] ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλοὶ ἐφθέγγζαντο· καὶ ὁ μὲν τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· Ποῦ οὖν εὐρήσει τούτου διδάσκαλον; ὁ δέ τις ὡς οὐδὲ διδακτὸν τοῦτο εἶη, ἕτερος δέ τις ὡς εἶπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο μαθητόν. [7] ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὴ ἀμφίλογόν ἐστιν, εἰς αὐθις ἀποθώμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ τὰ προκείμενα ἀποτελῶμεν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ἔγωγε τήνδε τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα ἐφεστηκυῖαν καὶ τροχοὺς τινα αὐτῇ προσφέροντα. [8] ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡὔλει μὲν αὐτῇ ἢ ἑτέρα, παρεστηκῶς δέ τις τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς μέχρι δώδεκα. ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα ἅμα τε ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ἀνερρίπτει δονουμένους συντεκμαιρομένη ὅσον ἔδει ῥιπτεῖν ὕψος ὡς ἐν ῥυθμῷ δέχεσθαι αὐτούς. [9] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοις δῆλον καὶ ἐν οἷς δ' ἡ παῖς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χεῖρων τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔσα τυγχάνει, γνώμης δὲ καὶ ἰσχύος δεῖται. ὥστε εἰ τις ὑμῶν γυναῖκα ἔχει, θαρρῶν διδάσκέτω ὅ τι βούλοιτ' ἂν αὐτῇ ἐπισταμένῃ χρῆσθαι. [10] καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὕτω γινώσκων οὐ καὶ σὺ παιδεύεις Ξανθίππην, ἀλλὰ χρῆναι γυναικὶ τῶν οὐσῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγεννημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων χαλεπωτάτῃ; Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὁρῶ καὶ τοὺς ἵππικους βουλομένους γενέσθαι οὐ τοὺς εὐπειθεστάτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς θυμοειδεῖς ἵππους κτωμένους. νομίζουσι γάρ, ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους δύνωνται κατέχειν, ραϊδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἵπποις χρήσεσθαι. καγὼ δὲ βουλόμενος ἀνθρώποις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν ταύτην κέκτημαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ ταύτην ὑποίσω, ραϊδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις συνέσομαι. καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἄπο τοῦ σκοποῦ ἔδοξεν εἰρησθαι. [11] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κύκλος εἰσηνέχθη περίμεστος ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν. εἰς οὖν ταῦτα ἡ ὀρχηστρίς ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὥστε οἱ μὲν θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τι πάθῃ, ἡ δὲ θαρρύντως τε καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ταῦτα διεπράττετο. [12] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης καλέσας τὸν Ἀντισθένην εἶπεν· Οὗτοι τοὺς γε θεωμένους τάδε ἀντιλέξειν ἔτι οἶομαι, ὡς οὐχὶ καὶ ἡ ἀνδρεία διδακτὸν, ὁπότε αὕτη καίπερ γυνὴ οὔσα οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξίφη ἵεται. [13] καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν· Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τῷδε τῷ Συρακοσίῳ κράτιστον ἐπιδείξαντι τῇ πόλει τὴν ὀρχηστρίδα εἰπεῖν, ἐὰν διδῶσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναῖοι χρήματα, ποιήσῃν πάντας Ἀθηναίους τολμᾶν ὁμοσε ταῖς λόγχαις ἰέναι; [14] καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, Νῆ Δί', ἔφη καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε ἡδέως

ἂν θεώμιην Πείσανδρον τὸν δημηγόρον μανθάνοντα κυβιστᾶν εἰς τὰς μαχαίρας, ὃς νῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λόγχαις ἀντιβλέπειν οὐδὲ συστρατεύεσθαι ἐθέλει. ἐκ τούτου ὁ παῖς ὠρχήσατο. [15] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Εἶδες, ἔφη, ὡς καλὸς <ὁ> παῖς ὢν ὁμως σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων φαίνεται ἢ ὅταν ἡσυχίαν ἔχη; καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἐπαινοῦντι ἔοικας τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. [16] Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλο τι προσεενόησα, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄργον τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἦν, ἀλλ' ἅμα καὶ τράχηλος καὶ σκέλη καὶ χεῖρες ἐγυμνάζοντο, ὥσπερ χρὴ ὀρχεῖσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα εὐφορώτερον τὸ σῶμα ἔξειν. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, πάνυ ἂν ἡδέως, ὦ Συρακόσιε, μάθοιμι τὰ σχήματα παρὰ σοῦ. καὶ ὅς, Τί οὖν χρήσι αὐτοῖς; ἔφη. [17] Ὅρχήσομαι νῆ Δία. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐγέλασαν ἅπαντες. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης μάλα ἐσπουδακότη τῷ προσώπῳ, Γελᾶτε, ἔφη, ἐπ' ἐμοί; πότερον ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰ βούλομαι γυμναζόμενος μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν ἢ εἰ ἥδιον ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν ἢ εἰ τοιούτων γυμνασίων ἐπιθυμῶ, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ δολιχοδρόμοι τὰ σκέλη μὲν παχύνονται, τοὺς ὤμους δὲ λεπτύνονται, μὴδ' ὥσπερ οἱ πύκται τοὺς μὲν ὤμους παχύνονται, τὰ δὲ σκέλη λεπτύνονται, ἀλλὰ παντὶ διαπονῶν τῷ σώματι πᾶν ἰσόρροπον ποιεῖν; [18] ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γελᾶτε, ὅτι οὐ δεήσει με συγγυμναστὴν ζητεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ πρεσβύτην ὄντα ἀποδύεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει μοι οἶκος ἐπτάκλιος, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ παιδί ἤρκεσε τόδε τὸ οἶκημα ἐνιδρῶσαι, καὶ χειμῶνος μὲν ἐν στέγῃ γυμνάσομαι, ὅταν δὲ ἄγαν καῦμα ᾔῃ, ἐν σκιᾷ; [19] ἢ τόδε γελᾶτε, εἰ μείζω τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν γαστέρα ἔχων μετριωτέραν βούλομαι ποιῆσαι αὐτήν; ἢ οὐκ ἴστε ὅτι ἐναγχος ἔωθεν Χαρμίδης οὐτοσὶ κατέλαβέ με ὀρχούμενον; Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης· καὶ τὸ μὲν γε πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἔδεια μὴ μαίνοιο· ἐπεὶ δέ σου ἤκουσα ὁμοία οἷς νῦν λέγεις, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν οἶκαδε ὠρχούμεν μὲν οὐ, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοῦτ' ἔμαθον, ἐχειρονόμουν δέ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἠπιστάμην. [20] Νῆ Δί, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὕτω τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὥμοις φαίνει ἰσοφόρα ἔχειν ὥστε δοκεῖς ἐμοί, κἂν εἰ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀφισταίης ὥσπερ ἄρτους τὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἄνω, ἀζήμιος ἂν γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας εἶπεν· ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐμὲ μὲν παρακάλει, ὅταν μέλλῃς μανθάνειν ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἵνα σοὶ ἀντιστοιγῶ τε καὶ συμμανθάνω.

[21] Ἄγε δῆ, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐλησάτω, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ὀρχήσωμαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἀνέστη, διῆλθε μιμούμενος τὴν τε τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν τῆς παιδὸς ὀρχησιν. [22] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπήνεσαν ὡς ὁ

παῖς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων ἐφαίνετο, ἀνταπέδειξεν ὅ τι κινοίη τοῦ σώματος ἅπαν τῆς φύσεως γελοιότερον; ὅτι δ' ἡ παῖς εἰς τοῦπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχὸς ἐμμεῖτο, ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μιμεῖσθαι τροχὸς ἐπειρᾶτο. τέλος δ' ὅτι τὸν παῖδ' ἐπῆνουν ὥς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα γυμνάζοι, κελεύσας τὴν αὐλητρίδα θάττονα ῥυθμὸν ἐπάγειν ἵει ἅμα πάντα καὶ σκέλη καὶ χεῖρας καὶ κεφαλὴν. [23] ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπειρήκει, κατακλινόμενος εἶπε· Τεκμήριον, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὅτι καλῶς γυμνάζει καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ὀρχήματα. ἐγὼ γοῦν διψῶ· καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐγγεάτω μοι τὴν μεγάλην φιάλην. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ ἡμῖν γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς διψῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ γελῶντες. [24] ὁ δ' αὖ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ πίνειν μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐμοὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι ὁ οἶνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φιλοφροσύνας, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα, ἐγείρει. [25] δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν σώματα ταῦτα πάσχειν ἅπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ ἄγαν ἀθρόως ποτίζει, οὐ δύναται ὀρθοῦσθαι οὐδὲ ταῖς αὔραις διαπνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δ' ὅσωι ἡδεται τοσοῦτον πίνῃ, καὶ μάλα ὀρθά τε αὔξεται καὶ θάλλοντα ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν καρπογονίαν. [26] οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἂν μὲν ἀθρόον τὸ ποτὸν ἐγγεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γινῶμαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα· ἂν δὲ ἡμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἐπιπακάζωσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργειοῖς ῥήμασιν εἶπω, οὕτως οὐ βιαζόμενοι μεθύνειν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παιγνιωδέστερον ἀφιζόμεθα. [27] ἐδόκει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πᾶσι· προσέθηκε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ὡς χρὴ τοὺς οἰνοχόους μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀρματηλάτας, θάττον περιελαύνοντας τὰς κύλικας. οἱ μὲν δὴ οἰνοχόοι οὕτως ἐποιοῦν.

Κεφάλαιον γ'

[1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνηρμωσμένη τῇ λύρῃ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐκιθάρισεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἦισεν. ἔνθα δὴ ἐπῆνεσαν μὲν ἅπαντες· ὁ δὲ Χαρμίδης καὶ εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὥσπερ Σωκράτης ἔφη τὸν οἶνον, οὕτως καὶ αὕτη ἡ κρᾶσις τῶν τε παίδων τῆς ὥρας καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὰς μὲν λύπας κοιμίζειν, τὴν δ' ἀφροδίτην ἐγείρειν. [2] ἐκ τούτου δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ, ὃ ἄνδρες, ἱκανοὶ τέρπειν ἡμᾶς φαίνονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι πολὺ βελτίονες οἰόμεθα εἶναι· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὖν εἰ μὴδ'

ἐπιχειρήσομεν συνόντες ὠφελεῖν τι ἢ εὐφραίνειν ἀλλήλους; Ἐντεῦθεν εἶπαν πολλοί· Σὺ τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐξηγοῦ ποίων λόγων ἀπτόμενοι μάλιστ' ἂν ταῦτα ποιοῖμεν. [3] ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀπολάβοιμι παρὰ Καλλίου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἔφη γὰρ δῆπου, εἰ συνδαιπνοῖμεν, ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν. Καὶ ἐπιδείξω γε, ἔφη, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἅπαντες εἰς μέσον φέρητε ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἐπιστασθε ἀγαθόν. Ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς σοι, ἔφη, ἀντιλέγει τὸ μὴ οὐ λέξειν ὃ τι ἕκαστος ἡγεῖται πλείστου ἄξιον ἐπίστασθαι. [4] Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ᾧ μέγιστον φρονῶ. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ οἶμαι ἱκανὸς εἶναι βελτίους ποιεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε· Πότερον τέχνην τινὰ βαναυσικὴν ἢ καλοκάγαθίαν διδάσκων; Εἰ καλοκάγαθία ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἢ γε ἀναμφιλογωτάτη· ἐπεὶ τοι ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ σοφία ἔστιν ὅτε βλαβερὰ καὶ φίλοις καὶ πόλει δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἡ δὲ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲ καθ' ἑν συμμίσγνυται τῇ ἀδικίᾳ. [5] Ἐπειδὴν τοίνυν καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος εἶπηι ὃ τι ὠφέλιμον ἔχει, τότε καὶ γὰρ οὐ φθονήσω εἰπεῖν τὴν τέχνην δι' ἧς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζομαι. ἀλλὰ σὺ αὖ, ἔφη, λέγε, ὦ Νικήρατε, ἐπὶ ποίᾳ ἐπιστήμῃ μέγα φρονεῖς. καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν· καὶ νῦν δυνάμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. [6] Ἐκεῖνο δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέληθέ σε, ὅτι καὶ οἱ ῥαψωιδοὶ πάντες ἐπίστανται ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη; Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἔφη, λελήθοι ἀκροώμενόν γε αὐτῶν ὀλίγου ἂν' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν; Οἶσθά τι οὖν ἔθνος, ἔφη, ἡλιθιώτερον ῥαψωιδῶν; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, οὐκ οὐκ ἐμοιγε δοκῶ. Δῆλον γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται. σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρότῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἀργύριον, ὥστε οὐδέν σε τῶν πολλοῦ ἀξίων λέληθε. [7] τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγιστον φρονεῖς; Ἐπὶ κάλλει, ἔφη. Ἡ οὖν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἔξεις λέγειν ὅτι τῷ σῶι κάλλει ἱκανὸς εἶ βελτίους ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν; Εἰ δὲ μή, δῆλόν γε ὅτι φαῦλος φανοῦμαι. [8] Τί γὰρ σύ, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Ἀντίσθενης; Ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, ἔφη. ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἑρμογένης ἀνήρετο εἰ πολὺ εἶη αὐτῷ ἀργύριον. ὁ δὲ ἀπώμοσε μηδὲ ὀβολόν. Ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν κέκτησαι; Ἴσως ἂν, ἔφη, Αὐτολύκῳ τούτῳ ἱκανὴ γένοιτο ἐγκονίσασθαι. [9] Ἀκουστέον ἂν εἶη καὶ σοῦ. τί γὰρ σύ, ἔφη, ὦ Χαρμίδη, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς; Ἐγὼ αὖ, ἔφη, ἐπὶ πενίᾳ μέγα φρονῶ. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπ' εὐχαρίτῳ γε πράγματι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἥκιστα μὲν

ἐπίφθονον, ἥκιστα δὲ περιμάχητον, καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὃν σώζεται καὶ ἀμελούμενον ἰσχυρότερον γίγνεται. [10] Σὺ δὲ δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὃ Σώκρατες; καὶ ὃς μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπάσας τὸ πρόσωπον, Ἐπὶ μαστροπείαι, εἶπεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Ὑμεῖς μὲν γελαῖτε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ πάννυ ἂν πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνοιμι, εἰ βουλοίμην χρῆσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ. [11] Σὺ γε μὴν δῆλον, ἔφη ὁ Λύκων τὸν Φίλιππον <προσειπὼν, ὅτι> ἐπὶ τῷ γελωτοποιεῖν μέγα φρονεῖς. Δικαιότερόν γ', ἔφη, οἶομαι, ἢ Καλλιππίδης ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὃς ὑπερσεμνύνεται ὅτι δύναται πολλοὺς κλαίοντας καθίζειν. [12] Οὐκοῦν καὶ σύ, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέξεις, ὃ Λύκων, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς; καὶ ὃς ἔφη· Οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντες ἴστε, ἔφη, <ὅτι> ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ νιεῖ; Οὗτός γε μὴν, ἔφη τις, δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ νικηφόρος εἶναι. καὶ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος ἀνευθυριάσας εἶπε· Μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγωγε. [13] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντες ἡσθέντες ὅτι ἤκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνήσαντος προσέβλεψαν, ἤρετό τις αὐτόν· Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴν, ὃ Αὐτόλυκε; ὁ δ' εἶπεν· ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἅμα ἐνεκλίθη αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἰδὼν, Ἄρ' οἴσθα, ἔφη, ὃ Λύκων, ὅτι πλουσιώτατος εἰ ἀνθρώπων; Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, τοῦτο μέντοι ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα. Ἀλλὰ λανθάνει σε ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δέξαιο τὰ βασιλέως χρήματα ἀντὶ τοῦ νιεύ; Ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἴλημμαι, ἔφη, πλουσιώτατος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνθρώπων ὢν. Σὺ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, ὃ Ἑρμόγενης, ἐπὶ τίνι μάλιστα [14] ἀγάλλῃ; καὶ ὃς, Ἐπὶ φίλων, ἔφη, ἀρετῇ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ὅτι τοιοῦτοι ὄντες ἐμοῦ ἐπιμέλονται. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν πάντες προσέβλεψαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἅμα ἤροντο εἰ καὶ σφίσι δηλώσοι αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ φθονήσει.

Κεφάλαιον δ'

[1] Ἐκ τούτου ἔλεξεν ὁ Σωκράτης· Οὐκοῦν λοιπὸν ἂν εἴη ἡμῖν ἅ ἕκαστος ὑπέσχετο ἀποδεικνύναι ὡς πολλοῦ ἄξιά ἐστιν. Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐμοῦ πρῶτον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὧν ὑμῶν ἀκούω ἀπορῶντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δικαιότερους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πῶς, ὃ λῶϊστε; ἔφη. Διδούς νῆ Δί' ἀργύριον. [2] καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἐπαναστὰς μάλα ἐλεγκτικῶς αὐτόν ἐπῆρετο· Οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι, ὃ Καλλία, πότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαλαντίῳ τὸ δίκαιόν σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν; Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἔφη. Κάπειτα σὺ εἰς τὸ βαλάντιον διδούς ἀργύριον τὰς ψυχὰς δικαιότερους ποιεῖς; Μάλιστα. Πῶς; Ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὡς ἔστιν ὅτου πριάμενοι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔξουσιν οὐκ ἐθέλουσι κακουργοῦντες κινδυνεύειν. [3] Ἡ

καί σοι, ἔφη, ἀποδιδόασιν ὅ τι ἂν λάβωσι; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δῆ. Τί δέ, ἀντί τοῦ ἀργυρίου χάριτας; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἔνιοι καὶ ἐχθιόνως ἔχουσιν ἢ πρὶν λαβεῖν. Θαυμαστά γ', ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἅμα εἰσβλέπων ὡς ἐλέγχων αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους δύνασαι δικαίους ποιεῖν αὐτούς, πρὸς δὲ σαντὸν οὐ. [4] Καὶ τί τοῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, θαυμαστόν; οὐ καὶ τέκτονάς τε καὶ οἰκοδόμους πολλοὺς ὁρᾷς οἱ ἄλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ποιοῦσιν οἰκίας, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ οὐ δύνανται ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐν μισθωταῖς οἰκοῦσι; καὶ ἀνάσχου μέντοι, ὦ σοφιστά, ἐλεγχόμενος. [5] Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀνεχέσθω μέντοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μάντις λέγονται δῆπου ἄλλοις μὲν προαγορεύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μὴ προορᾶν τὸ ἐπίον. [6] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Νικήρατος, Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἔφη, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἃ ἔσεσθε βελτίονες, ἂν ἐμοὶ συνῆτε. ἴστε γὰρ δῆπου ὅτι Ὅμηρος ὁ σοφώτατος πεποίηκε σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. ὅστις ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν βούληται ἢ οἰκονομικὸς ἢ δημηγορικὸς ἢ στρατηγικὸς γενέσθαι ἢ ὁμοῖος Ἀχιλλεῖ ἢ Αἴαντι ἢ Νέστορι ἢ Ὀδυσσεῖ, ἐμὲ θεραπευέτω. ἐγὼ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσταμαι. Ἦ καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἐπίστασαι, ὅτι οἶσθα ἐπαινέσαντα αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ὡς βασιλεύς τε εἶη ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής; Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὅτι ἀρματῆλατοῦντα δεῖ ἐγγὺς μὲν τῆς στήλης κάμψαι,

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθῆναι ἐυξέστου ἐπὶ δίφρου

ἥκ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοῖν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον

κένσαι ὁμοκλήσαντ' εἷζαί τέ οἱ ἡνία χερσί.

[7] καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἄλλο οἶδα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλ' ἔξεστι πειρᾶσθαι. εἶπε γάρ που Ὅμηρος· Ἐπὶ δὲ κρόμμυον ποτῶι ὄψον. ἐὰν οὖν ἐνέγκῃ τις κρόμμυον, αὐτίκα μάλα τοῦτό γε ὠφελημένοι ἔσεσθε· ἥδιον γὰρ πιεῖσθε. [8] καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁ Νικήρατος κρομμύων ὄζων ἐπιθυμεῖ οἴκαδε ἐλθεῖν, ἴν' ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ πιστεῦῃ μηδὲ διανοηθῆναι μηδένα ἂν φιλῆσαι αὐτόν. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἄλλην που δόξαν γελοῖαν κίνδυνος ἡμῖν προσλαβεῖν. ὄψον μὲν γὰρ δὴ ὄντως ἔοικεν εἶναι, ὡς κρόμμυόν γε οὐ μόνον σῖτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ποτὸν ἡδύνει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον τρωξόμεθα, ὅπως μὴ φήσῃ τις ἡμᾶς πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας ἡδυπαθεῖν. [9] Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες. εἰς μὲν γὰρ μάχην ὀρμωμένῳ καλῶς ἔχει κρόμμυον ὑποτρῶγειν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας σκόροδα σιτίσαντες συμβάλλουσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ ἴσως βουλευόμεθα ὅπως

φιλήσομέν τινα μάλλον ἢ μαχούμεθα. [10] καὶ οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτω πως ἐπαύσατο. ὁ δὲ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκοῦν αὖ ἐγὼ λέξω, ἔφη, ἐξ ὧν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μέγα φρονῶ. Λέγε, ἔφασαν. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ καλὸς εἰμι, ὥς οἶομαι, ὑμεῖς ἂν δικαίως ἀπάτης δίκην ὑπέχοιτε· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὀρκίζοντος αἰεὶ ὀμνύοντες καλὸν μέ φατε εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ μέντοι πιστεύω. καλοὺς γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὑμᾶς ἄνδρας νομίζω. [11] εἰ δ' εἰμὶ τε τῷ ὄντι καλὸς καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ πάσχετε οἰάπερ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα καλὸν εἶναι, ὁμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς μὴ ἐλέσθαι ἂν τὴν βασιλέως ἀρχὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὸς εἶναι. [12] νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἥδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλά. τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μάλλον δεξαίμην ἂν εἶναι ἢ Κλεινίου ἐνὸς ὄντος· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὀρῶ, ἡμέραι δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσιν. [13] ἄξιόν γε μὴν ἡμῖν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν πονοῦντα δεῖ κτᾶσθαι τάγαθὰ καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον κινδυνεύοντα, τὸν δὲ γε σοφὸν λέγοντα· ὁ δὲ καλὸς καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχων πάντ' ἂν διαπράττειτο. [14] ἐγὼ γοῦν καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι χρήματα ἢ δὴ κτῆμα ἥδιον μὲν ἂν Κλεινίαι τὰ ὄντα διδοίην ἢ ἕτερα παρ' ἄλλου λαμβάνοιμι, ἥδιον δ' ἂν δουλεύοιμι ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἶην, εἴ μου Κλεινίας ἄρχειν ἐθέλοι. καὶ γὰρ πονοίην ἂν ῥᾶιον ἐκείνῳ ἢ ἀναπαυοίμην, καὶ κινδυνεύοιμι' ἂν πρὸ ἐκείνου ἥδιον ἢ ἀκίνδυνος ζώην. [15] ὥστε εἰ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, μέγα φρονεῖς ὅτι δικαιότερους δύνασαι ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιότερος σοῦ εἰμι ἄγων ἀνθρώπους. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπνεῖν τι ἡμᾶς τοὺς καλοὺς τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς ἐλευθεριωτέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ποιοῦμεν εἰς χρήματα, φιλοπονωτέρους δὲ καὶ φιλοκαλωτέρους ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, καὶ μὴν αἰδημονεστέρους τε καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους, οἳ γε καὶ ὧν δέονται μάλιστα ταῦτ' αἰσχύνονται. [16] μαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μὴ τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγούς αἰρούμενοι. ἐγὼ γοῦν μετὰ Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πυρὸς ἰοίην· οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὥστε μηκέτι ἀπόρει, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴ τι τοῦμὸν κάλλος ἀνθρώπους ὠφελήσει. [17] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι ταύτη γε ἀτιμαστέον τὸ κάλλος ὥς ταχὺ παρακαμάζον, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλός, οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ πρεσβύτης. τεκμήριον δέ· θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοὺς καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται, ὥς συμπαρομαρτοῦντος πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ κάλλους. [18] εἰ δὲ ἡδὴ τὸ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράττεσθαι ὧν τις δέοιτο, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ νυνὶ θᾶπτον ἂν ἐγὼ καὶ σιωπῶν πείσαιμι τὸν παῖδα τόνδε καὶ τὴν

παῖδα φιλησαί με ἢ σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγοις. [19] Τί τοῦτο; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης· ὥς γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ καλλίων ὦν ταῦτα κομπάζεις. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἢ πάντων Σειληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς αἰσχιστος ἂν εἴην. [20] Ἄγε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅπως μεμνήσῃ διακριθῆναι περὶ τοῦ κάλλους, ἐπειδὴ οἱ προκείμενοι λόγοι περιέλθωσι. κρινάτω δ' ἡμᾶς μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πριάμου, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ οὗτοι οὕσπερ σὺ οἶε ἐπιθυμεῖν σε φιλησαι. [21] Κλεινία δ', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτρέψαις; καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Οὐ γὰρ παύσῃ σὺ Κλεινίου μεμνημένος; Ἄν δὲ μὴ ὀνομάζω, ἥττον τί με οἶε μεμνησθαι αὐτοῦ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι οὕτω σαφὲς ἔχω εἰδῶλον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὥς εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἦν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἥττον ἐκ τοῦ εἰδώλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁρῶν ὅμοιον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην; [22] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπέλαβε· Τί δῆτα οὕτως ὅμοιον εἰδῶλον ἔχων πράγματά μοι παρέχεις ἄγεις τε αὐτὸν ὅπου ὄψει; Ὅτι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἡ δὲ τοῦ εἰδώλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει, πόθον δὲ ἐμποιεῖ. [23] καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ πρὸς σοῦ ποιῶ τὸ περιυδεῖν Κριτόβουλον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκπλαγέντα. Δοκεῖς γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐξ οὗ ἐμοὶ σύνεστιν οὕτω διατεθῆναι αὐτόν; Ἀλλὰ πότε μήν; Οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὥτα ἄρτι ἰούλος καθέρπει, Κλεινία δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὀπισθεν ἤδη ἀναβαίνει; οὗτος οὖν συμφοιτῶν εἰς ταῦτο διδασκαλεῖον ἐκείνῳ τότε ἰσχυρῶς προσεκαύθη. [24] ἃ δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ παρέδωκέ μοι αὐτόν, εἴ τι δυναίμην ὠφελησαι. καὶ μέντοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἤδη ἔχει. πρόσθεν μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰς Γοργόνας θεώμενοι, λιθίνως ἔβλεπε πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ οὐδαμοῦ ἀπήει ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ ἤδη εἶδον αὐτόν καὶ σκαρδαμύζαντα. [25] καίτοι νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοί γ', ἔφη, ὥς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρῆσθαι, οὗτος καὶ πεφιληκέναι τὸν Κλεινίαν· οὗ ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἐστι δεινότερον ὑπέκκαυμα. καὶ γὰρ ἅπληστον καὶ ἐλπίδας τινὰς γλυκείας παρέχει. [26] [ἴσως δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μόνον πάντων ἔργων τὸ τοῖς σ<τό>μασι συμψαύειν ὁμώνυμον εἶναι τῷ ταῖς ψυχαῖς φιλεῖσθαι ἐντιμότερόν ἐστιν.] οὗ ἔνεκα ἀφεκτέον ἐγὼ φημι εἶναι φιλημάτων <τῶν> ὠραίων τῷ σωφρονεῖν δυνησομένῳ. [27] καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τί δὴ ποτε, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἡμᾶς μὲν οὕτω τοὺς φίλους μορμολύττῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ εἶδον ναι μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὅτε παρὰ τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἀμφοτέροι ἐμαστευέτέ τι, τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὦμον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνῷ τῷ

Κριτοβούλου ὥμῳ ἔχοντα. [28] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Φεῦ, ἔφη, ταῦτ' ἄρα ἐγὼ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θηρίου τινὸς δεδηγμένος τὸν τε ὦμον πλεῖν ἢ πέντε ἡμέρας ὥδαζον καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὥσπερ κνησμά τι ἐδόκουν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοί σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐναντίον τοσοῦτων μαρτύρων προαγορεύω μὴ ἅπτεσθαι μου πρὶν ἂν τὸ γένειον τῇ κεφαλῇ ὁμοίως κομῆσης. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀναμῖξ ἔσκωψάν τε καὶ ἐσπούδασαν. [29] ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Σὸν μέρος, ἔφη, λέγειν, ὦ Χαρμίδη, δι' ὃ τι ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονεῖς. Οὐκοῦν τόδε μὲν, ἔφη, ὁμολογεῖται, κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἢ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ δουλεύειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ θεραπεύειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπιστεῖσθαι. [30] ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἐφοβούμην μή τίς μου τὴν οἰκίαν διορύξας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάβοι καὶ αὐτόν τί με κακὸν ἐργάσαιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς ὅτι παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἱκανὸς εἶην ἢ ποιῆσαι ἐκείνους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσετάρτετο μὲν αἰεὶ τί μοι δαπανᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδημῆσαι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἐξῆν. [31] νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων στέρομαι καὶ τὰ ἔγγεια οὐ καρποῦμαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας πέπραται, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτεταμένος, πιστὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἡδὴ ἀπειλῶ ἄλλοις, ὥς ἐλευθέρῳ τε ἔξεστί μοι καὶ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ ἐπίδημεῖν· ὑπανίστανται δέ μοι ἡδὴ καὶ θάκων καὶ ὁδῶν ἐξίστανται οἱ πλούσιοι. [32] καὶ εἰμὶ νῦν μὲν τυράννῳ ἐοικώς, τότε δὲ σαφῶς δοῦλος ἦν· καὶ τότε μὲν ἐγὼ φόρον ἀπέφερον τῷ δήμῳ, νῦν δὲ ἡ πόλις τέλος φέρουσα τρέφει με. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτει, ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν, ἐλοιδόρουν με ὅτι συνῆν, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ πένης γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν μέλει οὐδενί. καὶ μὴν ὅτε μὲν γε πολλὰ εἶχον, αἰεὶ τι ἀπέβαλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης· νῦν δὲ ἀποβάλλω μὲν οὐδέν (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω), αἰεὶ δέ τι λήψεσθαι ἐλπίζω. [33] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ εὖχῃ μηδέποτε πλουτεῖν, καὶ ἐάν τι ὄναρ ἀγαθὸν ἴδῃς, τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις θύεις; Μὰ Δία τοῦτο μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ οὐ ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ μάλα φιλοκινδύνως ὑπομένω, ἂν ποθέν τι ἐλπίζω λήψεσθαι. [34] Ἄλλ' ἄγε δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὖ λέγε ἡμῖν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενης, πῶς οὕτω βραχέα ἔχων μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ πλούτῳ. Ὅτι νομίζω, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. [35] ὁρῶ γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας, οἱ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχοντες χρήματα οὕτω πένεσθαι ἡγοῦνται ὥστε πάντα μὲν πόνον, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύονται, ἐφ' ᾧ πλείω

κτῆσονται, οἶδα δὲ καὶ ἀδελφούς, οἳ τὰ ἴσα λαχόντες ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν τάρκουντα ἔχει καὶ περιττεύοντα τῆς δαπάνης, ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδεΐται· [36] αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ τυράννους τινάς, οἳ οὕτω πεινῶσι χρημάτων ὥστε ποιοῦσι πολὺ δεινότερα τῶν ἀπορωτάτων· δι' ἐνδειαν μὲν γὰρ δήπου οἱ μὲν κλέπτουσιν, οἱ δὲ τοιχωρυχοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀνδραποδίζονται· τύραννοι δ' εἰσὶ τινες οἳ ὅλους μὲν οἴκους ἀναιροῦσιν, ἀθρόους δ' ἀποκτείνουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅλας πόλεις χρημάτων ἔνεκα ἐξανδραποδίζονται. [37] τούτους μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πάννυ οἰκτίρω τῆς ἄγαν χαλεπῆς νόσου. ὅμοια γάρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν ὥσπερ εἴ τις πολλὰ ἔχοι καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίμπλαιο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ ἔχω ὥς μόλις αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτὸς εὐρίσκω· ὅμως δὲ περίεστί μοι καὶ ἐσθίοντι ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ πεινῆν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ πίνοντι μέχρι τοῦ μὴ διψῆν καὶ ἀμφιέννυσθαι ὥστε ἔξω μὲν μηδὲν μᾶλλον Καλλίου τούτου τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου ῥίγουν· [38] ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γένωμαι, πάννυ μὲν ἀλεεινοὶ χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάννυ δὲ παχεῖαι ἐφεστρίδες οἱ ὄροφοι, στρωμνὴν γε μὴν οὕτως ἀρκοῦσαν ἔχω ὥστ' ἔργον μέγ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνεγεῖραι. ἂν δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι τὸ σῶμά μου δεηθῇ, οὕτω μοι τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεῖ ὥστε αἷς ἂν προσέλθω ὑπερασπάζονταί με διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἄλλον αὐταῖς ἐθέλειν προσιέναι. [39] καὶ πάντα τοῖνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἡδέα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὥς μᾶλλον μὲν ἡδεσθαι ποιῶν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην, ἥττον δέ· οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔνια αὐτῶν ἡδίω εἶναι τοῦ συμφέροντος. [40] πλείστου δ' ἄξιον κτῆμα ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ πλούτῳ λογίζομαι εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ μού τις καὶ τὰ νῦν ὄντα παρέλοιτο, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὀρῶ φαῦλον ἔργον ὅποιον οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν ἂν τροφὴν ἐμοὶ παρέχοι. [41] καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἡδυπαθῆσαι βουλευθῶ, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ τίμια ὠνοῦμαι (πολυτελὴ γὰρ γίγνεται), ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμιεύομαι. καὶ πολὺ πλέον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀναμείνας τὸ δεηθῆναι προσφέρωμαι ἢ ὅταν τινὶ τῶν τιμίων χρῶμαι, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τῷδε τῷ Θασίῳ οἴνῳ ἐντυχὼν οὐ διψῶν πίνω αὐτόν. [42] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερους γε εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς εὐτέλειαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυχρηματίαν σκοποῦντας. οἷς γὰρ μάλιστα τὰ παρόντα ἀρκεῖ ἥκιστα τῶν ἀλλοτριῶν ὀρέγονται. [43] ἄξιον δ' ἐννοῆσαι ὥς καὶ ἐλευθερίους ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος παρέχεται. Σωκράτης τε γὰρ οὗτος παρ' οὗ ἐγὼ τοῦτον ἐκτησάμην οὗτ' ἀριθμῶι οὔτε σταθμῶι ἐπῆρκει μοι, ἀλλ' ὅπόσον ἐδυνάμην φέρεσθαι, τοσοῦτόν μοι παρεδίδου· ἐγὼ τε νῦν οὐδενὶ φθονῶ, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τοῖς

φίλοις καὶ ἐπιδεικνύω τὴν ἀφθονίαν καὶ μεταδίδωμι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ πλούτου. [44] καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀβρότατόν γε κτῆμα, τὴν σχολὴν ἀεὶ ὀρᾷτέ μοι παροῦσαν, ὥστε καὶ θεᾷσθαι τὰ ἀξιοθέατα καὶ ἀκούειν τὰ ἀξιάκουστα καὶ ὁ πλείστου ἐγὼ τιμῶμαι, Σωκράτει σχολάζων συνδιημερεύειν. καὶ οὗτος δὲ οὐ τοὺς πλείστον ἀριθμοῦντας χρυσίον θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' οἱ ἂν αὐτῷ ἀρέσκωσι τούτοις συνὼν διατελεῖ. οὗτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν. [45] ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, τά τε ἄλλα ζηλῶ σε τοῦ πλούτου καὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἡ πόλις σοι ἐπιτάττουσα ὥς δούλῳ χρῆται οὔτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἂν μὴ δανείσης, ὀργίζονται. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Νικήρατος, μὴ ζήλου· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤξω παρ' αὐτοῦ δανεισάμενος τὸ μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι, οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀριθμεῖν

ἔπτ' ἀπύρους τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,

αἶθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐείκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ἵππους

σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, ὥς πλείστου πλούτου ἐπιθυμῶν οὐ παύομαι· ἐξ ὧν ἴσως καὶ φιλοχρηματώτερός τιςι δοκῶ εἶναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀνεγέλασαν ἅπαντες, νομίζοντες τὰ ὄντα εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν. [46] ἐκ τούτου εἶπέ τις· Σὺν ἔργον, ὃ Ἑρμόγενης, λέγειν τε τοὺς φίλους οἵτινές εἰσι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι ὥς μέγα τε δύνανται καὶ σοῦ ἐπιμέλονται, ἵνα δοκῇς δικαίως ἐπ' αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν. [47] Οὐκοῦν ὥς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγοῦνται πάντα εἰδέναι τά τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εὐδηλον. πᾶσαι γοῦν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ μαντικῆς ἐπερωτῶσι τοὺς θεοὺς τί τε χρὴ καὶ τί οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι νομίζομέν γε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ εὖ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σαφές. πάντες γοῦν αἰτοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν φαῦλα ἀποτρέπειν, τὰγαθὰ δὲ διδόναι. [48] οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ πάντα μὲν εἰδότες πάντα δὲ δυνάμενοι θεοὶ οὕτω μοι φίλοι εἰσὶν ὥστε διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μου οὐποτε λήθω αὐτοὺς οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔθ' ἡμέρας οὔθ' ὅποι ἂν ὀρῶμαι οὔθ' ὅ τι ἂν μέλλω πράττειν. διὰ δὲ τὸ προειδέναι καὶ ὅ τι ἐξ ἐκάστου ἀποβήσεται σημαίνουσί μοι πέμποντες ἀγγέλους φήμας καὶ ἐνύπνια καὶ οἰωνοὺς ἃ τε δεῖ καὶ ἃ οὐ χρὴ ποιεῖν, οἷς ἐγὼ ὅταν μὲν πείθωμαι, οὐδέποτε μοι μεταμέλει· ἤδη δέ ποτε καὶ ἀπιστήσας ἐκολάσθην. [49] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἄπιστον. ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ἔγωγε ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην, πῶς αὐτοὺς θεραπεύων οὕτω φίλους ἔχεις. Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἑρμογένης, καὶ μάλα εὐτελῶς. ἐπαινῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δαπανῶν, ὧν τε διδόασιν ἀεὶ αὐτὸν παρέχομαι, εὐφημῶ τε ὅσα ἂν

δύνωμαι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας ποιήσωμαι ἐκὼν οὐδὲν ψεύδομαι. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης εἰ ἄρα τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλους αὐτοὺς ἔχεις, καὶ οἱ θεοί, ὡς ἔοικε, καλοκάγαθαι ἦδονται. [50] οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὕτως ἐσπουδαιολογήθη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον ἦκον, ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τί ὁρῶν ἐν τῇ γελωτοποιίᾳ μέγα ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίῃ. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἔφη, ὅποτε γε πάντες εἰδότες ὅτι γελωτοποιός εἰμι, ὅταν μὲν τι ἀγαθὸν ἔχωσι, παρακαλοῦσί με ἐπὶ ταῦτα προθύμως, ὅταν δέ τι κακὸν λάβωσι, φεύγουσιν ἀμεταστρεπτί, φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἄκοντες γελάσωσι; [51] καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος εἶπε· Νῆ Δία, σὺ τοίνυν δικαίως μέγα φρονεῖς. ἐμοὶ γὰρ αὖ τῶν φίλων οἱ μὲν εὖ πράττοντες ἐκποδὼν ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δ' ἂν κακὸν τι λάβωσι, γενεαλογοῦσι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ οὐδέποτε μου ἀπολείπονται. [52] Εἶεν· σὺ δὲ δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ὦ Συρακόσιε, ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖς; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί; Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ· ἀλλὰ καὶ δέδοικα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἰσχυρῶς. αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τινὰς ἐπιβουλεύοντας διαφθεῖραι αὐτόν. [53] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀκούσας, Ἡράκλεις, ἔφη, τί τοσοῦτον νομίζοντες ἡδικῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ παιδὸς ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι; Ἄλλ' οὗτοι, ἔφη, ἀποκτεῖναι βούλονται, ἀλλὰ πείσαι αὐτὸν συγκαθεύδειν αὐτοῖς. Σὺ δ', ὡς ἔοικας, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, νομίζεις ἂν διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, παντάπασί γε. [54] Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄρ', ἔφη, συγκαθεύδεις αὐτῷ; Νῆ Δί', ὅλας γε καὶ πάσας τὰς νύκτας. Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εὐτύχημά γέ σου μέγα τὸ τὸν χρῶτα τοιοῦτον φῦναι ἔχοντα ὥστε μόνον μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας. ὥστε σοί γε εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ χρωτὶ ἄξιον μέγα φρονεῖν. [55] Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονῶ. Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μήν; Ἐπὶ νῇ Δία τοῖς ἄφροσιν. οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα θεώμενοι τρέφουσί με. Ταῦτ' ἄρ', ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ πρῶτην ἐγὼ σου ἤκουον εὐχομένου πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅπου ἂν ἦις διδόναι καρποῦ μὲν ἀφθονίαν, φρενῶν δὲ ἀφορίαν. [56] Εἶεν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας· σὺ δὲ δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, τί ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄξιόν σοί ἐστι μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἣι εἵπας οὕτως ἀδόξῳ οὔσῃ τέχνῃ; καὶ ὃς εἶπεν· Ὁμολογησόμεθα πρῶτον ποῖα ἐστὶν ἔργα τοῦ μαστροποῦ· καὶ ὅσα ἂν ἐρωτῶ, μὴ ὀκνεῖτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν ὅσα ἂν συνομολογῶμεν. καὶ ὑμῖν οὕτω δοκεῖ; ἔφη. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. ὡς δ' ἅπαξ εἶπαν Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, τοῦτο πάντες ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπεκρίναντο. [57] Οὐκοῦν ἀγαθοῦ μὲν, ἔφη, ὑμῖν δοκεῖ μαστροποῦ ἔργον εἶναι ἢν ἂν ἢ ὢν ἂν μαστροπεύῃ ἀρέσκοντα

τοῦτον ἀποδεικνύναι οἷς ἂν συνῇ; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τί ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν ἐκ τοῦ πρέπουσαν ἔχειν σχέσιν καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ἐσθῆτος; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφασαν. [58] Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε ἐπιστάμεθα, ὅτι ἔστιν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁμμασι καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶς πρὸς τινὰς βλέπειν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Τί δέ, τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ θρασέως φθέγγεσθαι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Τί δέ, λόγοι οὐκ εἰσὶ μὲν τινες ἀπεχθανόμενοι, εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ πρὸς φιλίαν ἄγουσι; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. [59] Οὐκοῦν τούτων ὁ ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς τὰ συμφέροντα εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν διδάσκει ἄν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Ἀμείνων δ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ὁ ἐνὶ δυνάμενος ἀρεστοὺς ποιεῖν ἢ ὅστις καὶ πολλοῖς; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι ἐσχίσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶπον Δῆλον ὅτι ὅστις πλείστοις, οἱ δὲ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. [60] ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογεῖται ἔφη· Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ὅλην τῇ πόλει ἀρέσκοντας δύναται ἀποδεικνύναι, οὐχ οὗτος παντελῶς ἂν ἤδη ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς εἴη; Σαφῶς γε νῆ Δία, πάντες εἶπον. Οὐκοῦν εἴ τις τοιούτους δύναται ἐξεργάζεσθαι ὧν προστατοίη, δικαίως ἂν μέγα φρονοίη ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ δικαίως ἂν πολλὸν μισθὸν λαμβάνοι; [61] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντες συνωμολόγουν, Τοιούτος μέντοι, ἔφη, μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης εἶναι οὗτος. καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Ἐμοί, ἔφη, παραδίδως, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὴν τέχνην; Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη. ὁρῶ γάρ σε καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον ταύτης πάνυ ἐξεργασμένον. Τίνα ταύτην; Τὴν προαγωγείαν, ἔφη. [62] καὶ ὃς μάλα ἀχθεσθεὶς ἐπήρετο· Καὶ τί μοι σύνοισθα, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοιούτον εἰργασμένω; Οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, σε Καλλιᾶν τουτονὶ προαγωγεύσαντα τῷ σοφῷ Προδίκῳ, ὅτε ἑώρας τοῦτον μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἐρῶτα, ἐκείνον δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενον· οἶδα δὲ σε Ἰππία τῷ Ἥλείῳ, παρ' οὗ οὗτος καὶ τὸ μνημονικὸν ἔμαθεν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτικώτερος γεγένηται διὰ τὸ ὅ τι ἂν καλὸν ἴδῃ μηδέποτε ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. [63] ἔναγχος δὲ δήπου καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ξένον ἐπεὶ με ἐποίησας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοῦ, συνέστησάς μοι αὐτόν. καὶ χάριν μέντοι σοι ἔχω· πάνυ γὰρ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. Αἰσχύλον δὲ τὸν Φλειάσιον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκείνον οὐχ οὕτω διέθηκας ὥστε διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἐρῶντες ἐκυνοδρομοῦμεν ἀλλήλους ζητοῦντες; [64] ταῦτα οὖν ὁρῶν δυνάμενόν σε ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν νομίζω προαγωγὸν εἶναι. ὁ γὰρ οἷός τε ὧν γινώσκειν τε τοὺς ὠφελίμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτους δυνάμενος ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀλλήλων, οὗτος ἂν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλεις δύνασθαι φίλας ποιεῖν καὶ γάμους ἐπιτηδείους συνάγειν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιός εἶναι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ

φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις κεκτηῖσθαι. σὺ δὲ ὡς κακῶς ἀκούσας ὅτι ἀγαθὸν σε ἔφην προαγωγὸν εἶναι, ὠργίσθης. Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ νῦν. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα δύνωμαι, σεσαγμένος δὴ παντάπασι πλούτου τὴν ψυχὴν ἔσομαι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ περίοδος τῶν λόγων ἀπετελέσθη.

Κεφάλαιον ε'

[1] Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ἔφη· Σὺ δὲ δὴ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγῶνα πρὸς Σωκράτην οὐκ ἀνθίστασαι; Νῆ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἴσως γὰρ εὐδοκιμοῦντα τὸν μαστροπὸν παρὰ τοῖς κριταῖς ὁρᾷ. [2] Ἀλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οὐκ ἀναδύομαι· ἀλλὰ δίδασκε, εἴ τι ἔχεις σοφόν, ὡς καλλίων εἶ ἐμοῦ. μόνον, ἔφη, τὸν λαμπτήρα ἐγγὺς προσενεγκάτω. Εἰς ἀνάκρισιν τοίνυν σε, ἔφη, πρῶτον τῆς δίκης καλοῦμαι· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου. [3] Σὺ δέ γε ἐρώτα. Πότερον οὖν ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ μόνον νομίζεις τὸ καλὸν εἶναι ἢ καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινί; Ἐγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ καὶ βοῖ καὶ ἐν ἀνύχοις πολλοῖς. οἶδα γοῦν οὐσαν καὶ ἀσπίδα καλὴν καὶ ξίφος καὶ δόρυ. [4] Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οἷόν τε ταῦτα μηδὲν ὅμοια ὄντα ἀλλήλοις πάντα καλὰ εἶναι; Ἄν νῆ Δί', ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ὧν ἕνεκα ἕκαστα κτώμεθα εὖ εἰργασμένα ἢ ἢ εὖ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἃ ἂν δεώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καλὰ. [5] Οἶσθα οὖν, ἔφη, ὀφθαλμῶν τίνας ἕνεκα δεόμεθα; Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι τοῦ ὁρᾶν. Οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν ἤδη οἱ ἐμοὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ καλλίονες ἂν τῶν σῶν εἴησαν. Πῶς δὴ; Ὅτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κατ' εὐθὺ μόνον ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπόλαιοι εἶναι. Λέγεις σύ, ἔφη, καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων; Πάντως δήπου, ἔφη· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄριστα πεφυκότας ἔχει. [6] Εἶεν, ἔφη, τῶν δὲ ῥίνων ποτέρα καλλίων, ἡ σὴ ἢ ἡ ἐμή; Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, οἶμαι τὴν ἐμήν, εἵπερ γε τοῦ ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἕνεκεν ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν ῥίνας οἱ θεοί. οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοὶ μυκτῆρες εἰς γῆν ὁρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ ἀναπέπτανται, ὥστε τὰς πάντοθεν ὀσμάς προσδέχεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ δὴ σιμὸν τῆς ῥινὸς πῶς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ κάλλιον; Ὅτι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀντιφράττει, ἀλλ' ἐὰν εὐθὺς τὰς ὀψεις ὁρᾶν ἃ ἂν βούλωνται· ἡ δὲ ὑψηλὴ ῥίς ὥσπερ ἐπηρεάζουσα διατετείχικε τὰ ὅμματα. [7] Τοῦ γε μὴν στόματος, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὑφίεμαι. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἀποδάκνειν ἕνεκα πεποιῆται, πολλὸν ἂν σὺ μεῖζον ἢ ἐγὼ ἀποδάκοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ παχέα ἔχειν τὰ χεῖλη οὐκ οἶει καὶ μαλακώτερόν σου ἔχειν τὸ φίλημα; Ἔοικα, ἔφη, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον καὶ τῶν ὄνων αἵσχιον τὸ στόμα ἔχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐδὲν

τεκμήριον λογίζηι, ὡς ἐγὼ σοῦ καλλίων εἰμί, ὅτι καὶ Νααΐδες θεοὶ οὔσαι τοὺς Σειληνοὺς ἐμοὶ ὁμοιοτέρους τίκτουσιν ἢ σοί; [8] καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκέτι, ἔφη ἔχω πρὸς σὲ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ διαφερόντων, ἔφη, τὰς ψήφους, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα εἰδῶ ὃ τι με χρή παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι. μόνον, ἔφη, κρυφῇ φερόντων· δέδοικα γὰρ τὸν σὸν καὶ Ἀντισθένης πλοῦτον μὴ με καταδυναστεύσῃ. [9] ἡ μὲν δὴ παῖς καὶ ὁ παῖς κρύφα ἀνέφερον. ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν τούτῳ διέπραττε τὸν τε λύχνον ἀντιπροσενεγκεῖν τῷ Κριτοβούλῳ, ὡς μὴ ἐξαπατηθεῖσαν οἱ κριταί, καὶ τῷ νικήσαντι μὴ ταινίας ἀλλὰ φιλήματα ἀναδήματα παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν γενέσθαι. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσον αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πᾶσαι σὺν Κριτοβούλῳ, Παπαῖ, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐχ ὅμοιον ἔοικε τὸ σὸν ἀργύριον, ὃ Κριτόβουλε, τῷ Καλλίου εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τούτου δικαιοτέρους ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σὸν ὥσπερ τὸ πλεῖστον διαφθεῖρειν ἱκανόν ἐστι καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ κριτὰς.

Κεφάλαιον ς'

[1] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τὰ νικητήρια φιλήματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ τὸν κύριον πείθειν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἔσκωπον. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμογένης κἀνταῦθα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὀνομάσας αὐτόν, Ἐχοις ἄν, ἔφη, ὃ Ἑρμόγενης, εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν τί ἐστὶ παροινία; καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο· Εἰ μὲν ὃ τι ἐστὶν ἐρωτᾷς, οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ μέντοι μοι δοκοῦν εἶποιμ' ἄν. Ἀλλ', ὃ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ', ἔφη. [2] Τὸ τοίνυν παρ' οἷνον λυπεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω παροινίαν. Οἷσθ' οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ σὺ νῦν ἡμᾶς λυπεῖς σιωπῶν; Ἡ καὶ ὅταν λέγητ'; ἔφη. Οὐκ ἄλλ' ὅταν διαλίπωμεν. Ἡ οὖν λέληθέ σε ὅτι μεταξὺ τοῦ ὑμᾶς λέγειν οὐδ' ἂν τρίχα, μὴ ὅτι λόγον ἂν τις παρείρει; [3] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦ Καλλία, ἔχοις ἄν τι, ἔφη, ἀνδρὶ ἐλεγχομένῳ βοηθῆσαι; Ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς φθέγγηται, παντάπασι σιωπῶμεν. καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης, Ἡ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἔφη, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ ὑποκριτὴς τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν κατέλεγεν, οὕτω καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐλοῦ ὑμῖν διαλέγωμαι; [4] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἔφη, Ἑρμόγενης, οὕτω ποίει. οἶμαι γάρ, ὥσπερ ἡ ὠιδὴ ἡδίων πρὸς τὸν αὐλόν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡδύνεσθαι ἂν τι ὑπὸ τῶν φθόγγων, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ μορφάζοις, ὥσπερ ἡ αὐλητρίς, καὶ σὺ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα. [5] καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἔφη· Ὅταν οὖν ὁ Ἀντισθένης ὁδ' ἐλέγχῃ τινὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τί ἔσται τὸ αὐλημα; καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε· Τῷ μὲν ἐλεγχομένῳ οἶμαι ἄν, ἔφη, πρέπειν συριγμόν.

[6] Τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ὄντων ὥς ἑώρα ὁ Συρακόσιος τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδειγμάτων ἀμελοῦντας, ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἡδομένους, φθονῶν τῷ Σωκράτει εἶπεν· Ἄρα σύ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ φροντιστὴς ἐπικαλούμενος; Οὐκοῦν κάλλιον, ἔφη, ἢ εἰ ἀφρόντιστος ἐκαλούμην. Εἰ μὴ γε ἐδόκεις τῶν μερεῶρων φροντιστὴς εἶναι. [7] Οἷσθα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μετεωρότερόν τι τῶν θεῶν; Ἄλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ τούτων σε λέγουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνωφελεστάτων. Οὐκοῦν καὶ οὕτως ἄν, ἔφη, θεῶν ἐπιμελοίμην· ἄνωθεν μὲν γε ὕοντες ὠφελοῦσιν, ἄνωθεν δὲ φῶς παρέχουσιν. εἰ δὲ ψυχρὰ λέγω, σὺ αἴτιος, ἔφη, πράγματά μοι παρέχων. [8] Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἔα· ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι πόσους ψύλλα πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχει. ταῦτα γάρ σε φασὶ γεωμετερεῖν. καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε· Σὺ μέντοι δεινὸς εἶ, ὦ Πίλιππε, εἰκάζειν· οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ ἀνὴρ οὗτος λαιδορεῖσθαι βουλομένῳ ἑοικέναι; γναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοις γε πολλοῖς. [9] Ἄλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὐτὸν μὴ εἵκαζε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σὺ λαιδορουμένῳ ἐοίκησις. Ἄλλ' εἴπερ γε τοῖς πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰκάζω αὐτόν, ἐπαινοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ λαιδορουμένῳ δικαίως ἂν εἰκάζοι μέ τις. Καὶ νῦν σύ γε λαιδορουμένῳ ἑοικας, εἰ πάντ' αὐτοῦ βελτίῳ φῆις εἶναι. [10] Ἀλλὰ βούλει πονηροτέροις εἰκάζω αὐτόν; Μηδὲ πονηροτέροις. Ἀλλὰ μηδενί; Μηδενὶ μηδὲ<ν> το<ῦτο>ν εἵκαζε. Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι γε σιωπῶν οἶδα ὅπως ἄξια τοῦ δεῖπνου ἐργάσομαι. Καὶ ραδίως γ', ἂν ἂ μὴ δεῖ λέγειν, ἔφη, σιωπᾶις. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ παροιμία οὕτω κατεσβέσθη.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Ἐκ τούτου δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον εἰκάζειν, οἱ δὲ ἐκώλουν. Θορύβου δὲ ὄντος ὁ Σωκράτης αὖ πάλιν εἶπεν· Ἄρα ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγειν, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἅμα ἄισαιμεν; καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦτ' εἰπὼν ἤρχεν ὠιδῆς. [2] ἐπεὶ δ' ἦισεν, εἰσεφέρετο τῇ ὀρχηστρίδι τροχὸς τῶν κεραμικῶν, ἐφ' οὗ ἔμελλε θαυματουργήσκειν. ἔνθα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης· ὦ Συρακόσιε, κινδυνεύω ἐγώ, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τῷ ὄντι φροντιστὴς εἶναι· νῦν γοῦν σκοπῶ ὅπως ἂν ὁ μὲν παῖς ὅδε ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ παῖς ἥδε ὥς ῥαῖστα διάγοιεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἂν μάλιστα εὐφραϊνοίμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτούς· ὅπερ εὔ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ σὺ βούλει. [3] δοκεῖ οὖν μοι τὸ μὲν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστᾶν κινδύνου ἐπιδείγμα εἶναι, ὃ συμποσίῳ οὐδὲν προσήκει. καὶ μὴν τό γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἅμα περιδινουμένου γράφειν τε καὶ

ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαῦμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστίν, ἡδονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα δύναμαι γνῶναι τίν' ἂν παράσχοι. οὐδὲ μὴν τό γε διαστρέφοντας τὰ σώματα καὶ τροχοὺς μιμουμένους ἥδιον ἢ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους θεωρεῖν. [4] καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ πάνυ τι σπάνιον τό γε θαυμασίοις ἐντυχεῖν, εἴ τις τούτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' ἔξεστιν αὐτίκα μάλα τὰ παρόντα θαυμάζειν, τί ποτε ὁ μὲν λύχνος διὰ τὸ λαμπρὰν φλόγα ἔχειν φῶς παρέχει, τὸ δὲ χαλκεῖον λαμπρὸν ὄν φῶς μὲν οὐ ποιεῖ, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ ἄλλα ἐμφαινόμενα παρέχεται· καὶ πῶς τὸ μὲν ἔλαιον ὑγρὸν ὄν αὖξει τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ, ὅτι ὑγρὸν ἐστι, κατασβέννυσσι τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ εἰς ταῦτόν τῳ οἴνῳ ἐπισπεύδει· [5] εἰ δὲ ὀρχοῖντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχήματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὡραι καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, πολὺ ἂν οἶμαι αὐτοὺς γε ῥᾶιον διάγειν καὶ τὸ συμπόσιον πολὺ ἐπιχαριώτερον εἶναι. ὁ οὖν Συρακόσιος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλῶς τε λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς εὐφρανεῖσθε.

Κεφάλαιον η'

[1] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συρακόσιος ἐξελθὼν συνεκροτεῖτο· ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πάλιν αὖ καινοῦ λόγου κατήρχεν. Ἄρ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, εὐκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῳ μὲν χρόνῳ ἰσηλικὸς τοῖς ἀειγενέσι θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωτάτου, καὶ μεγέθει πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ψυχῇ δὲ ἀνθρώπου ἰδρυμένου, Ἔρωτος, μὴ ἀμνημονῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου θιασῶται; [2] ἐγὼ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω χρόνον εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἐρῶν τινος διατελῶ, Χαρμίδην δὲ τόνδε οἶδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐραστὰς κτησάμενον, ἔστι δὲ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα· Κριτόβουλός γε μὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρώμενος ὧν ἤδη ἄλλων ἐπιθυμεῖ. [3] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούω, ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντερᾶται. Ερμογένη γε μὴν τίς ἡμῶν οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς, ὃ τι ποτ' ἐστίν ἢ καλοκάγαθία, τῳ ταύτης ἔρωτι κατατίθεται; οὐχ ὁρᾷτε ὡς σπουδαῖα μὲν αὐτοῦ αἱ ὀφρύες, ἀτρεμεῖς δὲ τὸ ὄμμα, μέτριοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, πραεῖα δὲ ἡ φωνή, ἱλαρὸν δὲ τὸ ἦθος; τοῖς δὲ σεμνοτάτοις θεοῖς φίλοις χρώμενος οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπερορᾷ; σὺ δὲ μόνος, ὦ Ἀντίσθενης, οὐδενὸς ἐράῖς; [4] Ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ σφόδρα γε σοῦ. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπισκώψας ὡς δὴ θρυπτόμενος εἶπε· Μὴ νῦν μοι ἐν τῳ παρόντι ὄχλον πάρεχε· ὡς γὰρ ὁρᾷς, ἄλλα πράττω. [5] καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἔλεξεν· Ὡς σαφῶς μέντοι σὺ μαστροπὲ σαυτοῦ ἀεὶ

τοιαῦτα ποιεῖς· τοτὲ μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον προφασιζόμενος οὐ διαλέγῃ μοι, τοτὲ δ' ἄλλου του ἐφιέμενος. [6] καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη· Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενες, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με· τὴν δ' ἄλλην χαλεπότητα ἐγὼ σου καὶ φέρω καὶ οἶσω φιλικῶς. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν σὸν ἔρωτα κρύπτωμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἔστιν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς ἐμῆς. [7] ὅτι γε μὴν σύ, ὦ Καλλία, ἐρᾷς Αὐτολύκου πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις οἶδε, πολλοὺς δ' οἶμαι καὶ τῶν ξένων. τούτου δ' αἴτιον τὸ πατέρων τε ὀνομαστῶν ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς. [8] ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἡγάμην τὴν σὴν φύσιν, νῦν δὲ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ ὁρῶ σε ἐρῶντα οὐχ ἀβρότῃτι χλιδαινομένου οὐδὲ μαλακίαι θρυπτομένου, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιδεικνυμένου ῥώμην τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην. τὸ δὲ τοιούτων ἐπιθυμεῖν τεκμήριόν ἐστι <καὶ> τῆς τοῦ ἐραστοῦ φύσεως. [9] εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτη ἢ διτταί, Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνδημος, οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει· ὅτι γε μέντοι χωρὶς ἑκατέραι βωμοὶ τε καὶ ναοὶ εἰσι καὶ θυσίαι τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ραιδιουργότεραι, τῇ δὲ Οὐρανίᾳ ἀγνότεραι, οἶδα. [10] εἰκάσαις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἔρωτας τὴν μὲν Πάνδημον τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιπέμπειν, τὴν δ' Οὐρανίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ τῆς φιλίας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων. ὑφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, κατέχεσθαι μοι δοκεῖς ἔρωτος. [11] τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐρωμένου καλοκάγαθιαι καὶ ὅτι σε ὁρῶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντα εἰς τὰς πρὸς τοῦτον συνουσίας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπόκρυφον πατρὸς τῷ καλῷ τε κάγαθῷ ἐραστῇ. [12] καὶ ὁ Ἑρμογένης εἶπε· Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἄλλα τέ σου πολλὰ ἄγαμαι καὶ ὅτι νῦν ἅμα χαριζόμενος Καλλίαι καὶ παιδεύεις αὐτὸν οἷόν περ χρὴ εἶναι. Νῆ Δί', ἔφη, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εὐφραίνεται, βούλομαι αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι ὥς καὶ πολὺ κρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ ὁ τοῦ σώματος ἔρω. [13] ὅτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἄνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδεμία ἀξιόλογος πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. φιλεῖν γε μὴν τῶν μὲν τὸ ἦθος ἀγαμένων ἀνάγκη ἡδεῖα καὶ ἐθελουσία καλεῖται· τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμούντων πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς τρόπους μέμφονται καὶ μισοῦσι τῶν ἐρωμένων· [14] ἂν δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρα στέρξωσι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ὥρας ἄνθος ταχὺ δήπου παρακαμάζει, ἀπολείποντος δὲ τούτου ἀνάγκη καὶ τὴν φιλίαν συναπομαραίνεισθαι, ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ὅσον περ ἂν χρόνον ἦι ἐπὶ τὸ φρονιμώτερον καὶ ἀξιεραστοτέρα γίγνεται. [15] καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῆς μορφῆς χρήσει ἔνεστί τις καὶ κόρος, ὥστε ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σιτία διὰ πλησμονήν,

ταῦτα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ πάσχειν· ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία διὰ τὸ ἀγνή εἶναι καὶ ἀκορεστοτέρα ἐστίν, οὐ μέντοι, ὥς γ' ἂν τις οἰηθείη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεπαφροδιτοτέρα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἡ εὐχὴ ἐν ἣι αἰτούμεθα τὴν θεὸν ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ ἔπη καὶ ἔργα διδόναι. [16] ὥς μὲν γὰρ ἄγαταί τε καὶ φιλεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον θάλλουσα μορφῇ τε ἐλευθερίαι καὶ ἦθει αἰδήμονί τε καὶ γενναίῳ ψυχῇ εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς ἥλιξιν ἡγεμονικὴ τε ἅμα καὶ φιλόφρων οὖσα οὐδὲν ἐπιδειτὰ λόγου· ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐραστὴν ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο διδάξω. [17] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τίς μισεῖν δύναται ἂν ὑφ' οὗ εἰδείη καλὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὸς νομιζόμενος; ἔπειτα δὲ ὁρώη αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἡδέα σπουδάζοντα; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πιστεύει μὴτ' ἂν <παρανθήσῃ> μὴτ' ἂν καμὼν ἀμορφότερος γένηται, μειωθῆναι ἂν τὴν φιλίαν; [18] οἷς γε μὴν κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτους ἡδέως μὲν προσορᾶν ἀλλήλους, εὖνοικῶς δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ προνοεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλων, συνήδεσθαι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεσι, συνάχεσθαι δὲ ἂν τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ, τότε δ' εὐφραينوμένους διατελεῖν, ὅταν ὑγιαίνοντες συνῶσιν, ἂν δὲ κάμηι ὁπότερος οὖν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν τὴν συνουσίαν ἔχειν, καὶ ἀπόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; οὐ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφρόδιτα; διὰ γέ τοι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα ἅμα ἐρῶντες τῆς φιλίας καὶ χρώμενοι αὐτῇ εἰς γῆρας διατελοῦσι. [19] τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κρεμύμενον διὰ τί ἀντιφιλήσειεν ἂν ὁ παῖς; πότερον ὅτι ἑαυτῷ μὲν νέμει ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ, τῷ δὲ παιδὶ τὰ ἐπονειδιστότατα; ἢ διότι ἃ σπεύδει πράττειν παρὰ τῶν παιδικῶν, εἵργει μάλιστα τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπὸ τούτων; [20] καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ βιάζεται, ἀλλὰ πείθει, διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον μισητέος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βιαζόμενος ἑαυτὸν πονηρὸν ἀποδεικνύει, ὁ δὲ πείθων τὴν τοῦ ἀναπειθομένου ψυχὴν διαφθείρει. [21] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ χρημάτων γε ἀπεμπολῶν τὴν ὥραν τί μᾶλλον στέρξει τὸν πριάμενον ἢ ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ πωλῶν καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος; οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε ὥραῖος ἄρῳι, οὐδὲ ὅτι γε καλὸς οὐκέτι καλῶι καὶ ἐρῶντι οὐκ ἐρῶν ὁμιλεῖ, φιλήσει αὐτόν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς τῷ ἀνδρὶ ὥσπερ γυνὴ κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις εὐφροσυνῶν, ἀλλὰ νήφων μεθύοντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἀφροδίτης θεᾶται. [22] ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑπερορᾶν ἐγγίγνεται αὐτῷ τοῦ ἐραστοῦ. καὶ σκοπῶν δ' ἂν τις εὖροι ἐκ μὲν τῶν διὰ τοὺς τρόπους φιλουμένων οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν γεγεννημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀναιδοῦς ὁμιλίας πολλὰ ἤδη καὶ ἀνόσια

πεπραγμένα. [23] ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἢ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαπῶντι, νῦν τοῦτο δηλώσω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παιδεύων λέγειν τε ἂν δεῖ καὶ πράττειν δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ Χείρων καὶ Φοῖνιξ ὑπ' Ἀχιλλέως τιμῶντο, ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὀρεγόμενος εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς περιέποιτο. αἰεὶ γάρ τοι προσαιτῶν καὶ προσδεόμενος ἢ φιλήματος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς ψηλαφήματος παρακολουθεῖ. [24] εἰ δὲ λαμυρώτερον λέγω, μὴ θαυμάζετε· ὃ τε γὰρ οἶνος συνεπαίρει καὶ ὁ αἰεὶ σύνοικος ἐμοὶ ἔρωσ κεντρίζει εἰς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἔρωτα αὐτῷ παρρησιάζεσθαι. [25] καὶ γὰρ δὴ δοκεῖ μοι ὁ μὲν τῷ εἶδει τὸν νοῦν προσέχων μεμισθωμένῳ χῶρον εἰσφέρειν. οὐ γὰρ ὅπως πλείονος ἄξιος γένηται ἐπιμελεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλεῖστα ὥραϊα καρπώσεται. ὁ δὲ τῆς φιλίας ἐφιέμενος μᾶλλον εἰσφέρει τῷ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἀγρὸν κεκτημένῳ· πάντοθεν γοῦν φέρων ὃ τι ἂν δύνηται πλείονος ἄξιον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον. [26] καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ὅς μὲν ἂν εἰδῇ ὅτι ὁ τοῦ εἰδούς ἐπαρκῶν ἄρξει τοῦ ἐραστοῦ, εἰκὸς αὐτὸν τᾶλλα ραιδιουργεῖν· ὅς δ' ἂν γινώσκῃ ὅτι ἂν μὴ καλὸς κάγαθος ᾖ, οὐ κατέξει τὴν φιλίαν, τοῦτον προσήκει μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [27] μέγιστον δ' ἀγαθὸν τῷ ὀρεγομένῳ ἐκ παιδικῶν φίλον ἀγαθὸν ποιήσασθαι ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὸν ἀσκεῖν ἀρετὴν. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε πονηρὰ αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἀγαθὸν τὸν συνόντα ἀποδειξαι, οὐδὲ γε ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἀκρασίαν παρεχόμενον ἐγκρατῆ καὶ αἰδούμενον τὸν ἐρώμενον ποιῆσαι. [28] ἐπιθυμῶ δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Καλλία, καὶ μυθολογῆσαι ὥς οὐ μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φιλίαν περὶ πλείονος ἢ τὴν τοῦ σώματος χρῆσιν ποιοῦνται. [29] Ζεὺς τε γὰρ ὅσων μὲν θνητῶν οὐσῶν μορφῆς ἡράσθη, συγγενόμενος εἶα αὐτὰς θνητὰς εἶναι· ὅσων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀγαθαῖς ἀγασθείη, ἀθανάτους τούτους ἐποίει· ὧν Ἡρακλῆς μὲν καὶ Διόσκουροί εἰσι, λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι· [30] καὶ ἐγὼ δέ φημι καὶ Γανυμήδην οὐ σώματος ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς ἕνεκα ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς Ὀλυμπον ἀνενεχθῆναι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ Ὀμήρῳ

γάνυται δέ τ' ἀκούων.

τοῦτο δὲ φράζει ὅτι ἡδεται δέ τ' ἀκούων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθι που πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδώς.

τοῦτο δ' αὖ λέγει σοφὰ φρεσὶ βουλευμάτων εἰδώς. ἐξ οὖν συναμφοτέρων τούτων οὐχ ἡδυσώματος ὀνομασθεὶς ὁ Γανυμήδης ἀλλ' ἡδυγνώμων ἐν θεοῖς τετίμηται. [31] ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὦ Νικήρατε, καὶ

Ἀχιλλεύς Ὀμήρῳ πεποιῆται οὐχ ὥς παιδικοῖς Πατρόκλῳ ἀλλ' ὥς
ἐταίρῳ ἀποθανόντι ἐκπρεπέστατα τιμωρῆσαι. καὶ Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ
Πυλάδης καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν
ἡμιθέων οἱ ἄριστοι ὑμνοῦνται οὐ διὰ τὸ συγκαθεύδειν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ
ἄγασθαι ἀλλήλους τὰ μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα κοινῇ διαπεπρᾶχθαι. [32]
τί δέ, τὰ νῦν καλὰ ἔργα οὐ πάντ' ἂν εὖροι τις ἔνεκα ἐπαίνου ὑπὸ τῶν
καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθελόντων πραττόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐθιζομένων ἡδονὴν ἄντ' εὐκλείας αἰρεῖσθαι; καίτοι Πausanias γε ὁ
Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἐραστῆς ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀκρασίαι
ἐγκαλινδουμένων εἴρηκεν ὥς καὶ στράτευμα ἀλκιμώτατον ἂν γένοιτο
ἐκ παιδικῶν τε καὶ ἐραστῶν. [33] τούτους γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἶεσθαι μάλιστα
αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους ἀπολείπειν, θαυμαστὰ λέγων, εἴ γε οἱ ψόγου τε
ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ ἀναισχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθιζόμενοι, οὗτοι
μάλιστα αἰσχυνοῦνται αἰσχρὸν τι ποιεῖν. [34] καὶ μαρτύρια δὲ ἐπήγετο
ὥς ταῦτα ἐγνωκότες εἶεν καὶ Θηβαῖοι καὶ Ἥλαιοι συγκαθεύδοντας
γούν αὐτοῖς ὅμως παρατάττεσθαι ἔφη τὰ παιδικὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα,
οὐδὲν τοῦτο σημεῖον λέγων ὅμοιον. ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα νόμιμα,
ἡμῖν δ' ἐπονείδιστα. δοκοῦσι δ' ἔμοιγε οἱ μὲν παραταττόμενοι
ἀπιστοῦσιν εἰκέναι μὴ χωρὶς γενόμενοι οἱ ἐρώμενοι οὐκ ἀποτελῶσι
τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. [35] Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οἱ νομίζοντες, ἐὰν
καὶ ὀρεχθῇ τις σώματος, μηδενὸς ἂν ἔτι καλοῦ κάγαθοῦ τοῦτον
τυχεῖν, οὕτω τελέως τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἀπεργάζονται ὥς καὶ
μετὰ ξένων κἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ταχθῶσι τῷ ἐραστῇ, ὁμοίως
αἰδοῦνται τοὺς παρόντας ἀπολείπειν. θεὰν γὰρ οὐ τὴν Ἀναΐδειαν
ἀλλὰ τὴν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι. [36] δοκοῦμεν δ' ἂν μοι πάντες ὁμόλογοι
γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν λέγω, εἰ ὧδε ἐπισκοποῖμεν, τῷ ποτέρως παιδὶ
φιληθέντι μᾶλλον ἂν τις πιστεύσειεν ἢ χρήματα ἢ τέκνα ἢ χάριτας
παρακατατίθεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῷ εἶδει τοῦ
ἐρωμένου χρώμενον μᾶλλον ἂν ταῦτα πάντα τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν
ἐρασμῷ πιστεῦσαι. [37] σοί γε μὴν, ὦ Καλλία, δοκεῖ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι
καὶ θεοῖς χάριν εἰδέναι ὅτι σοι Αὐτολύκου ἔρωτα ἐνέβαλον. ὥς μὲν
γὰρ φιλότιμός ἐστιν εὐδηλον, ὅς τοῦ κηρυχθῆναι ἔνεκα νικῶν
παγκράτιον πολλοὺς μὲν πόνους, πολλὰ δ' ἄλγη ἀνέχεται. [38] εἰ δὲ
οἶοιτο μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα κοσμήσειν, ἀλλ' ἱκανὸς
γενήσεσθαι δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα
αὔξειν τροπαῖα τῶν πολεμίων ιστάμενος, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα περίβλεπτός
τε καὶ ὀνομαστός ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν Ἑλλήσι καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, πῶς οὐκ

οἶε αὐτόν, ὄντιν' ἡγοῖτο εἰς ταῦτα συνεργὸν εἶναι κράτιστον, τοῦτον ταῖς μεγίσταις ἂν τιμαῖς περιέπειν; [39] εἰ οὖν βούλει τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν, σκεπτέον μὲν σοι ποῖα ἐπιστάμενος Θεμιστοκλῆς ἱκανὸς ἐγένετο τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν, σκεπτέον δὲ ποῖα ποτε εἰδὼς Περικλῆς κράτιστος ἐδόκει τῇ πατρίδι σύμβουλος εἶναι, ἀθρητέον δὲ καὶ πῶς ποτε Σόλων φιλοσοφῆσας νόμους κρατίστους τῇ πόλει κατέθηκεν, ἐρευνητέον δὲ καὶ ποῖα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀσκοῦντες κράτιστοι δοκοῦσιν ἡγεμόνες εἶναι· προξενεῖς δὲ καὶ κατάγονται ἀεὶ παρὰ σοὶ οἱ κράτιστοι αὐτῶν. [40] ὥς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις ταχὺ ἂν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὖ ἴσθι. τὰ μέγιστα γάρ σοι ὑπάρχει· εὐπατρίδης εἶ, ἱερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ' Ἑρεχθέως, οἱ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βάρβαρον σὺν Ἰάκχῳ ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ ἱεροπρεπέστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημένων, καὶ σῶμα ἀξιοπρεπέστατον μὲν ἰδεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἔχεις, ἱκανὸν δὲ μόχθους ὑποφέρειν. [41] εἰ δ' ὑμῖν δοκῶ σπουδαιολογῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ πότον πρέπει, μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάζετε. ἀγαθὸν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς φιλοτίμως ἐφιεμένων ἀεὶ ποτε τῇ πόλει συναρσστής ἂν διατελῶ. [42] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι περὶ τῶν ῥηθέντων διελέγοντο, ὁ δ' Αὐτόλυκος κατεθεᾶτο τὸν Καλλίαν. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας δὲ παρορῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν σύ με, ὦ Σώκρατες, μαστροπεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως πράττω τὰ πολιτικά καὶ ἀεὶ ἀρεστὸς ὦ αὐτῇ; [43] Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἂν ὁρῶσί γέ σε μὴ τῷ δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελούμενον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ψευδὴς δόξα ταχὺ ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας· ἡ δ' ἀληθὴς ἀνδραγαθία, ἂν μὴ θεὸς βλάβῃ, ἀεὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λαμπροτέραν τὴν εὐκλειαν συμπαρέχεται.

Κεφάλαιον θ'

[1] Οὗτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἔληξεν. Αὐτόλυκος δὲ (ἤδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν αὐτῷ) ἐξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον· καὶ ὁ Λύκων ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ συνεξιών ἐπιστραφεὶς εἶπε· Νῆ τὴν Ἥραν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλὸς γε κάγαθος δοκεῖς μοι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι. [2] Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν θρόνος τις ἔνδον κατετέθη, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἀριάδνη εἴσεισιν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς τε καὶ Διονύσου θάλαμον· μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ἤξει Διόνυσος ὑποπεπωκὼς παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἔπειτα παιζοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους. [3] ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὥς νύμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὐπω δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου

ἠϋλεῖτο ὁ βακχεῖος ρυθμός. ἔνθα δὴ ἠγάσθησαν τὸν ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδην ἀκούσασα τοιοῦτόν τι ἐποίησεν ὥς πᾶς ἂν ἔγνω ὅτι ἀσμένη ἤκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὐ οὐδὲ ἀνέστη, δῆλη δ' ἦν μόλις ἡρεμοῦσα. [4] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν κατεῖδεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων, καὶ περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ' αἰδουμένη μὲν ἐώικει, ὅμως δὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὀρῶντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ ἐβόων αὐτῆς. [5] ὥς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος συνανέστησε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Ἀριάδην, ἐκ τούτου δὴ φιλοῦντων τε καὶ ἀσπαζομένων ἀλλήλους σχήματα παρὴν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὀρῶντες ὄντως καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὠραίαν δὲ τὴν Ἀριάδην, οὐ σκώπτοντας δὲ ἀλλ' ἀληθινῶς τοῖς στόμασι φιλοῦντας, πάντες ἀνεπτρωμένοι ἐθεῶντο. [6] καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτὴν εἰ φιλεῖ αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνουσῆς <ὥστε> μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἅπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἦ μὴν τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν παῖδα ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἐώικεσαν γὰρ οὐ δεδιδαγμένοις τὰ σχήματα ἀλλ' ἐφειμένοις πράττειν ἃ πάλοι ἐπεθύμουν. [7] τέλος δὲ οἱ συμπόται ἰδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ὥς εἰς εὐνὴν ἀπιόντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπώμνυσαν, οἱ δὲ γεγαμηκότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀπήλαυνον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὅπως τούτων τύχοιεν. Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Λύκωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν σὺν Καλλίαι περιπατήσοντες ἀπῆλθον. αὕτη τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσις ἐγένετο.

APOLOGY - Ἀπολογία Σωκράτους

[1] Σωκράτους δὲ ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι μεμνησθαι καὶ ὥς ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐβουλεύσατο περὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ βίου. γεγράφασι μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτου καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ· ὧι καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἐρρήθη ὑπὸ Σωκράτους. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἤδη ἐαυτῷ ἡγεῖτο αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βίου θάνατον, τοῦτο οὐ διεσαφίνισαν· ὥστε ἀφρονεστέρα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται εἶναι ἢ μεγαληγορία. [2] Ἑρμογένης μέντοι ὁ Ἰππονίκου ἐταῖρός τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξήγγειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα ὥστε πρέπουσαν φαίνεσθαι τὴν μεγαληγορίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔφη ὁρῶν αὐτὸν περὶ πάντων μᾶλλον διαλεγόμενον ἢ περὶ τῆς δίκης εἰπεῖν· [3] Οὐκ ἐχρῆν μέντοι σκοπεῖν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ ὅ τι ἀπολογήσῃ; τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποκρίνασθαι· Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι ἀπολογεῖσθαι μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸν ἐρέσθαι· Πῶς; Ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄδικον διαγεγένημαι ποιῶν· ἦνπερ νομίζω μελέτην εἶναι καλλίστην ἀπολογίας. [4] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν λέγειν· Οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ Ἀθηναίων δικαστήρια ὥς πολλάκις μὲν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας λόγῳ παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολλάκις δὲ ἀδικοῦντας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου οἰκτίσαντες ἢ ἐπιχαρίτως εἰπόντας ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ δις ἤδη ἐπιχειρήσαντός μου σκοπεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐναντιοῦταί μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον. [5] ὥς δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· Θαυμαστὰ λέγεις, τὸν δ' αὖ ἀποκρίνασθαι· Ἡ θαυμαστὸν νομίζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἢ δὴ τελευτᾶν; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην <ἂν> βέλτιον ἐμοῦ βεβιωκέναι; ὅπερ γὰρ ἡδιστόν ἐστιν, ἡδεῖν ὁσίως μοι καὶ δικαίως ἅπαντα τὸν βίον βεβιωμένον· ὥστε ἰσχυρῶς ἀγάμενος ἐμαυτὸν ταῦτα ἡῦρισκον καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ συγγιγνομένους γινώσκοντας περὶ ἐμοῦ. [6] νῦν δὲ εἰ ἔτι προβήσεται ἢ ἡλικία, οἷδ' ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἔσται τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ ὁρᾶν τε χεῖρον καὶ ἀκούειν ἥττον καὶ δυσμαθέστερον εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἔμαθον ἐπιλησμονέστερον. ἂν δὲ αἰσθάνωμαι χείρων γινόμενος καὶ καταμέμφωμαι ἐμαυτόν, πῶς ἂν, εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ ἔτι ἂν ἡδέως βιοτεύοιμι; [7] ἴσως δέ τοι, φάναι αὐτόν, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δι' εὐμένειαν προξενεῖ μοι οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡλικίας καταλῦσαι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἥι ῥᾷστα. ἂν γὰρ νῦν κατακριθῇ

μου, ὁ δὲ ἔξέσται μοι τῇ τελευτῇ χρῆσθαι ἢ ράιστη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τούτου ἐπιμεληθέντων κέκριται, ἀπραγμονεστάτη δὲ τοῖς φίλοις, πλεῖστον δὲ πόθεν ἐμποιοῦσα τῶν τελευτώντων. ὅταν γὰρ ἄσχημον μὲν μηδὲν μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις τῶν παρόντων καταλείπηται <τις>, ὕγιες δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένην φιλοφρονεῖσθαι ἀπομαραίνεται, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτον ποθεῖν εἶναι; [8] ὁρθῶς δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τότε μου ἠναντιοῦντο, φάναι αὐτόν, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἐπισκῆψει ὅτε ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ζητητέα εἶναι ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ ἀποφευκτικά. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο διεπραξάμην, ὁ δὲ ἤτοιμασάμην ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἤδη λῆξαι τοῦ βίου ἢ νόσοις ἀλγυνόμενος τελευτῆσαι ἢ γῆραι, εἰς ὃ πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρεῖ καὶ μάλα ἔρημα τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν. [9] μὰ Δί', εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ὦ Ἑρμόγενης, ἐγὼ ταῦτα οὐδὲ προθυμήσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅσων νομίζω τετυχηκέναι καλῶν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἦν ἐγὼ δόξαν ἔχω περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ταύτην ἀναφαίνων εἰ βαρυνῶ τοὺς δικαστάς, αἰρήσομαι τελευτᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνελευθέρως τὸ ζῆν ἔτι προσαιτῶν κερδᾶναι τὸν πολὺ χεῖρ βίον ἀντὶ θανάτου. [10] οὕτως δὲ γνόντα αὐτόν ἔφη [εἰπεῖν], ἐπειδὴ κατηγορήσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίδικοι ὥς οὗς μὲν ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζοι, ἕτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρει καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείροι, παρελθόντα εἰπεῖν [11] Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον θαυμάζω Μελήτου, ὅττοι ποτὲ γνοὺς λέγει ὥς ἐγὼ οὗς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζω· ἐπεὶ θύοντά γε με ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων βωμῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυγχάνοντες ἐώρων καὶ αὐτὸς Μέλητος, εἰ ἐβούλετο. [12] καινὰ γε μὴν δαιμόνια πῶς ἂν ἐγὼ εἰσφέροιμι λέγων ὅτι θεοῦ μοι φωνὴ φαίνεται σημαίνουσα ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ φθόγγοι οἰωνῶν καὶ οἱ φήμαις ἀνθρώπων χρώμενοι φωναῖς δήπου τεκμαίρονται. βροντὰς δὲ ἀμφιλέξει τις ἢ μὴ φωνεῖν ἢ μὴ μέγιστον οἰωνιστήριον εἶναι; ἢ δὲ Πυθοὶ ἐν τῷ τρίποδι ἰέρεια οὐ καὶ αὐτὴ φωνῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαγγέλλει; [13] ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προειδέναι γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ὧς βούλεται, καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ φημι, οὕτω πάντες καὶ λέγουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰωνοὺς τε καὶ φήμας καὶ συμβόλους τε καὶ μάντεις ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς προσημαίνοντας εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο δαιμόνιον καλῶ, καὶ οἶμαι οὕτως ὀνομάζων καὶ ἀληθέστερα καὶ ὁσιώτερα λέγειν τῶν τοῖς ὄρνεσις ἀνατιθέντων τὴν τῶν θεῶν δύναμιν. ὥς γε μὴν οὐ ψεύδομαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχω τεκμήριον· καὶ γὰρ τῶν φίλων πολλοῖς δι' ἐξαγγελίας τὰ τοῦ

θεοῦ συμβουλευματα οὐδεπώποτε ψευσάμενος ἐφάνην. [14] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἐθορύβουν, οἱ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ φθονοῦντες, εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν μειζόνων ἢ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνοι, πάλιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἄγε δὴ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἄλλα, ἵνα ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ βουλόμενοι ὑμῶν ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. Χαιρεφῶντος γάρ ποτε ἐπερωτῶντος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιοτέρων μήτε σωφρονέστερον. [15] ὥς δ' αὖ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἐθορύβουν, αὖτις εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην· Ἀλλὰ μείζω μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν χρησμοῖς περὶ Λυκούργου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου νομοθετήσαντες ἢ περὶ ἐμοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιόντα προσεῖπεῖν αὐτόν· Φροντίζω πότερα θεὸν σε εἶπω ἢ ἄνθρωπον. ἐμὲ δὲ θεῷ μὲν οὐκ εἴκασεν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολλῶι προέκρινεν ὑπερφέρειν. ὅμως δὲ ὑμεῖς μηδὲ ταῦτ' εἰκῇ πιστεύσητε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἕνα ἐκαστον ἐπισκοπεῖτε ὧν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. [16] τίνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ἥττον ἐμοῦ δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυμίαις; τίνα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεριώτερον, ὃς παρ' οὐδενὸς οὔτε δῶρα οὔτε μισθὸν δέχομαι; δικαιοτέρων δὲ τίνα ἂν εἰκότως νομίσαιτε τοῦ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνηρμοσμένου, ὥς τῶν ἄλλοτρίων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι; σοφὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἂν τις εἰκότως ἄνδρα φήσειεν εἶναι ὃς ἐξ ὅτουπερ ξυνίεναι τὰ λεγόμενα ἠρξάμην οὐπώποτε διέλειπον καὶ ζητῶν καὶ μαθάνων ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν; [17] ὥς δὲ οὐ μάτην ἐπόνουν οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν καὶ τὰδε τεκμήρια εἶναι, τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν πολίτας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων, πολλοὺς δὲ ξένων, ἐκ πάντων προαιρεῖσθαι ἐμοὶ ξυνεῖναι; ἐκείνου δὲ τί φήσομεν αἴτιον εἶναι, τοῦ πάντας εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐγὼ ἥκιστ' ἂν ἔχοιμι χρήματα ἀντιδιδόναι, ὅμως πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐμοὶ τι δωρεῖσθαι; τὸ δ' ἐμὲ μὲν μηδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀπαιτεῖσθαι εὐεργεσίας, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ὁμολογεῖν χάριτας ὀφείλειν; [18] τὸ δ' ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους οἰκτίρειν ἑαυτούς, ἐμὲ δὲ μηδὲν ἀπορώτερον διάγειν ἢ ὅτε τὰ μάλιστα ἢ πόλις ἠὲ δαιμόνει; τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν τὰς εὐπαθείας ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολυτελεῖς πορίζεσθαι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄνευ δαπάνης ἡδίους ἐκείνων μηχανᾶσθαι; εἴ γε μὴν ὅσα εἶρηκα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ μηδεὶς δύναιτ' ἂν ἐξελέγξει με ὥς ψεύδομαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἤδη δικαίως καὶ ὑπὸ θεῶν καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινοίμην; [19] ἀλλ' ὅμως σύ με φῆς, ὦ Μέλητε, τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντα τοὺς νέους διαφθείρειν; καίτοι

ἐπιστάμεθα μὲν δήπου τίνες εἰσὶ νέων διαφθοραί· σὺ δὲ εἰπὲ εἴ τινα οἴσθα ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγενημένον ἢ ἐξ εὐσεβοῦς ἀνόσιον ἢ ἐκ σώφρονος ὕβριστήν ἢ ἐξ εὐδαιίτου πολυδάπανον ἢ [ὥς] ἐκ μετριοπότου οἰνόφλυγα ἢ ἐκ φιλοπόνου μαλακὸν ἢ ἄλλης πονηρᾶς ἡδονῆς ἡττημένον. [20] Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Μέλητος, ἐκείνους οἶδα οὓς σὺ πέπεικας σοὶ πείθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς γειναμένοις. Ὅμολογῶ, φάναι τὸν Σωκράτην, περὶ γε παιδείας· τοῦτο γὰρ ἴσασιν ἐμοὶ μεμεληκός. περὶ δὲ ὑγιείας τοῖς ἰατροῖς μᾶλλον οἱ ἄνθρωποι πείθονται ἢ τοῖς γονεῦσι· καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις γε πάντες δήπου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς φρονιμώτατα λέγουσι πείθονται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς προσήκουσιν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ στρατηγούς αἰρεῖσθε καὶ πρὸ πατέρων καὶ πρὸ ἀδελθῶν, καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία γε ὑμεῖς πρὸ ὕμῶν αὐτῶν, οὓς ἂν ἡγήσθε περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φρονιμωτάτους εἶναι; Οὕτω γάρ, φάναι τὸν Μέλητον, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ συμφέρει καὶ νομίζεται. [21] Οὐκοῦν, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην θαυμαστὸν καὶ τοῦτό σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πράξεσι μὴ μόνον ἰσομοιρίας τυγχάνειν τοὺς κρατίστους, ἀλλὰ καὶ προτετιμῆσθαι, ἐμὲ δέ, <ὅτι> περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώποις, περὶ παιδείας, βέλτιστος εἶναι ὑπὸ τινῶν προκρίνομαι, τούτου ἕνεκα θανάτου ὑπὸ σοῦ διώκεσθαι;

[22] Ἐρρήθη μὲν ἄλλῃ ὅτι τούτων πλείω ὑπὸ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν συναγορευόντων φίλων αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τὰ πάντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλ' ἤρκεσέ μοι δηλῶσαι ὅτι Σωκράτης τὸ μὲν μήτε περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβῆσαι μήτε περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄδικος φανῆναι περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο· [23] τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ὤιετο λιπαρητέον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ καιρὸν ἤδη ἐνόμιζεν ἑαυτῷ τελευτᾶν. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως ἐγίγνωσκε καταδηλότερον ἐγένετο, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ δίκη κατεψηφίσθη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κελευόμενος ὑποτιμᾶσθαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ὑπετιμῆσατο οὔτε τοὺς φίλους εἶσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὸ ὑποτιμᾶσθαι ὁμολογοῦντος εἴη ἀδικεῖν. ἔπειτα τῶν ἐταίρων ἐκκλέψαι βουλομένων αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφείπετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι ἐδόκει ἐρόμενος εἴ που εἰδεῖν τι χωρίον ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἔνθα οὐ προσβατὸν θανάτῳ.

[24] Ὡς δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ δίκη, εἰπεῖν αὐτόν· Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, τοὺς μὲν διδάσκοντας τοὺς μάρτυρας ὥς χρὴ ἐπιορκοῦντας καταψευδομαρτυρεῖν ἐμοῦ καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους τούτοις ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πολλὴν ἑαυτοῖς συνειδέναι ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν· ἐμοὶ δὲ τί

προσῆκει νῦν μείον φρονεῖν ἢ πρὶν κατακριθῆναι, μηδὲν ἐλεγχθέντι ὥς πεποίηκά τι ὧν ἐγράψαντό με; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀντὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις θεῶν οὔτε θύων τισὶ καινοῖς δαίμοσιν οὔτε ὁμνὺς οὔτε νομίζων ἄλλους θεοὺς ἀναπέφηνα. [25] τοὺς γε μὴν νέους πῶς ἂν διαφθείροιμι καρτερίαν καὶ εὐτέλειαν προσεθίζων; ἐφ' οἷς γε μὴν ἔργοις κεῖται θάνατος ἡ ζημία, ἱεροσυλῖαι τοιχωρυχαί, ἀνδραποδίσει, πόλεως προδοσίαι, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀντίδικοι τούτων πρᾶξαί τι κατ' ἐμοῦ φασιν. ὥστε θαυμαστὸν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ποτὲ ἐφάνη ὑμῖν τοῦ θανάτου ἔργον ἄξιον ἐμοὶ εἰργασμένον. [26] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μέντοι ὅτι ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκω, διὰ τοῦτο μείον φρονητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταγνοῦσι τοῦτο αἰσχρόν [γάρ] ἐστι. παραμυθεῖται δ' ἔτι με καὶ Παλαμήδης ὁ παραπλησίως ἐμοὶ τελευτήσας· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πολὺ καλλίους ὕμνους παρέχεται Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντος αὐτόν· οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ μαρτυρήσεται ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἐπιόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου ὅτι ἡδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πώποτε οὐδὲ πονηρότερον ἐποίησα, εὐηργέτουν δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαλεγομένους προῖκα διδάσκων ὃ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθόν. [27] εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα μάλα ὁμολογουμένως δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπήει καὶ ὄμμασι καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι φαιδρός. ὥς δὲ ἦσθετο ἄρα τοὺς παρεπομένους δακρύνοντας, Τί τοῦτο; εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ἧ ἄρτι δακρύετε; οὐ γὰρ πάλοι ἴστε ὅτι ἐξ ὅτουπερ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἦν μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δῆλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὖνοις λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσδοκωμένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ὥς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοῦ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι. [28] παρὼν δὲ τις Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἐπιθυμητῆς μὲν ὢν ἰσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως δ' εὐήθης, εἶπεν ἄρα· Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔγωγε, ὦ Σώκρατες, χαλεπώτατα φέρω ὅτι ὀρῶ σε ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκοντα. τὸν δὲ λέγεται καταψήσαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· Σὺ δέ, ὦ φίλτατε Ἀπολλόδωρε, μᾶλλον ἐβούλου με ὀρᾶν δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως ἀποθνήσκοντα; καὶ ἅμα ἐπιγέλασαι. [29] λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἄνυτον παριόντα ἰδὼν εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ὅδε κυδρός, ὥς μέγα τι καὶ καλὸν διαπεπραγμένος, εἰ ἀπέκτονέ με, ὅτι αὐτόν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶν ἀξιούμενον οὐκ ἔφην χρῆναι τὸν υἱὸν περὶ βύρσας παιδεύειν. ὥς μοχθηρὸς οὗτος, ἔφη, ὅς οὐκ ἔοικεν εἰδέναι ὅτι ὀπότερος ἡμῶν καὶ συμφορώτερα καὶ καλλίω εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον διαπέπρακται, οὗτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ νικῶν. [30] ἀλλὰ μέντοι, φάναι αὐτόν,

ἀνέθηκε μὲν καὶ Ὅμηρος ἔστιν οἷς τῶν ἐν καταλύσει τοῦ βίου προοιγνώσκειν τὰ μέλλοντα, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ χρησμοιδῆσαι τι. συνεγενόμην γάρ ποτε βραχέα τῷ Ἀνύτου υἱῷ, καὶ ἔδοξέ μοι οὐκ ἄρρωστος τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι· ὥστε φημὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῇ δουλοπρεπεῖ διατριβῇ ἦν ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ παρεσκεύακεν οὐ διαμενεῖν· διὰ δὲ τὸ μηδένα ἔχειν σπουδαῖον ἐπιμελητὴν προσπεσεῖσθαί τινι αἰσχυρᾷ ἐπιθυμίᾳ, καὶ προβήσεσθαι μέντοι πόρρῳ μοχθηρίας. [31] ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ὁ νεανίσκος ἡσθεὶς οἴνῳ οὔτε νυκτὸς οὔτε ἡμέρας ἐπαύετο πίνων, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει οὔτε τοῖς φίλοις οὔτε αὐτῷ ἄξιος οὐδενὸς ἐγένετο. Ἄνυτος μὲν δὴ διὰ τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ πονηρὰν παιδείαν καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀγνωμοσύνην ἔτι καὶ τετελευτηκὼς τυγχάνει κακοδοξίας. [32] Σωκράτης δὲ διὰ τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ φθόνον ἐπαγόμενος μᾶλλον καταψηφίσασθαι ἑαυτοῦ ἐποίησε τοὺς δικαστάς. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ θεοφιλοῦς μοίρας τετυχηκέναι· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἀπέλιπε, τῶν δὲ θανάτων τοῦ ράιστου ἔτυχεν. [33] ἐπεδείξατο δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ῥώμην· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔγνω τοῦ ἔτι ζῆν τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτῷ κρεῖττον εἶναι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ πρὸς τᾶλλα τὰγαθὰ προσάντης ἦν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐμαλακίσατο, ἀλλ' ἱλαρῶς καὶ προσεδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο. [34] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ κατανοῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα οὔτε μὴ μεμνήσθαι δύναμαι αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἐπαινεῖν. εἰ δέ τις τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμωτέρῳ τινὶ Σωκράτους συνεγένετο, ἐκεῖνον ἐγὼ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀξιομακαριστότατον νομίζω.

ON HORSEMANSHIP - Περί ἵππικῆς

Κεφάλαιον α΄

[1] Ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὸ συμβῆναι ἡμῖν πολὺν χρόνον ἵππεύειν οἰόμεθα ἔμπειροι ἵππικῆς γεγενῆσθαι, βουλόμεθα καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις τῶν φίλων δηλῶσαι, ἧι ἂν νομίζομεν αὐτοὺς ὀρθότατα ἵπποις προσφέρεσθαι. συνέγραψε μὲν οὖν καὶ Σίμων περὶ ἵππικῆς, ὃς καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον Ἀθήνησιν ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἀνέθηκε καὶ ἐν τῷ βάθρῳ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργα ἐξετύπωσεν· ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι ὅσοις συνετύχομεν ταῦτά γνόντες ἐκείνῳ, οὐκ ἐξαλείφομεν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἥδιον παραδώσομεν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις, νομίζοντες ἀξιοπιστότερα εἶναι, ὅτι κἀκεῖνος κατὰ ταῦτά ἡμῖν ἔγνω ἵππικὸς ὢν· καὶ ὅσα δὴ παρέλιπεν ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα δηλῶσαι.

Πρῶτον δὲ γράψομεν, ὥς ἂν τις ἥκιστα ἐξαπατῶιτο ἐν ἵππωνίαι. τοῦ μὲν τοίνυν ἔτι ἀδαμάστου πάλου δηλὸν ὅτι τὸ σῶμα δεῖ δοκιμάζειν· τῆς γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐ πάνυ σαφῇ τεκμήρια παρέχεται ὁ μήπω ἀναβαινόμενος.

[2] Τοῦ γε μὴν σώματος πρῶτόν φαμεν χρῆναι τοὺς πόδας σκοπεῖν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὰ ἄνω πάνυ καλὰ ἔχοι μὴ ὑποκειμένων οἴων δεῖ θεμελίων, οὕτω καὶ ἵππου πολεμιστηρίου οὐδὲν ἂν ὄφελος εἴη, οὐδ' εἰ τὰλλα πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχοι, κακόπους δ' εἴη· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἂν δύναιτο τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρῆσθαι. [3] πόδας δ' ἂν τις δοκιμάζῃ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ὄνυχας σκοπῶν· οἱ γὰρ παχεῖς πολὺ τῶν λεπτῶν διαφέρουσιν εἰς εὐποδίαν· ἔπειτα οὐδὲ τοῦτο δεῖ λανθάνειν, πότερον αἱ ὀπλαὶ εἰσιν ὑψηλαὶ [ἢ ταπειναὶ] καὶ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν ἢ χαμηλαί. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ πόρρῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαπέδου ἔχουσι τὴν χελιδόνα καλουμένην, αἱ δὲ ταπειναὶ ὁμοίως βαίνουσι τῷ τε ἰσχυροτάτῳ καὶ τῷ μαλακωτάτῳ τοῦ ποδός, ὥσπερ οἱ βλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ δὲ ἔφη Σίμων δήλους εἶναι τοὺς εὐποδας, καλῶς λέγων· ὥσπερ γὰρ κύμβαλον ψοφεῖ πρὸς τῷ δαπέδῳ ἢ κοίλῃ ὀπλή.

[4] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡρξάμεθα ἐντεῦθεν, ταύτῃ καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα. δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ τὰ ἀνωτέρω μὲν τῶν ὀπλῶν, κατωτέρω δὲ τῶν κυνηπόδων ὅστ' αὖ μήτε ἄγαν ὀρθὰ εἶναι ὥσπερ αἰγός· ἀντιτυπώτερα γὰρ ὄντα κόπτει τε τὸν ἀναβάτην καὶ παραπίμπραται μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα σκέλη· οὐδὲ μὴν ἄγαν ταπεινὰ τὰ ὅστ' αὖ δεῖ εἶναι·

ψιλοῖντο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐλκοῖντο οἱ κυνήποδες εἴτ' ἐν βόλοις εἴτ' ἐν λίθοις ἐλαύνοντο ὁ ἵππος. [5] τῶν γε μὴν κνημῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ παχέα χρῆ εἶναι· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι στήριγγες τοῦ σώματος· οὐ μέντοι φλεψί γε οὐδὲ σαρξὶ παχέα· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅταν ἐν σκληροῖς ἐλαύνηται, ἀνάγκη αἵματος ταῦτα πληροῦσθαι καὶ κρισσοὺς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ παχύνεσθαι μὲν τὰ σκέλη, ἀφίστασθαι δὲ τὸ δέρμα. χαλῶντος δὲ τούτου πολλάκις καὶ ἡ περόνη ἀποστᾶσα χωλὸν ἀπέδειξε τὸν ἵππον. [6] τὰ γε μὴν γόνατα ἦν βαδίζων ὁ πῶλος ὑγρῶς κάμπτηι, εἰκάζοις ἂν καὶ ἱππεύοντα ὑγρὰ ἔξειν τὰ σκέλη· πάντες γὰρ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου ὑγροτέρως κάμπτουσιν ἐν τοῖς γόνασι. τὰ δὲ ὑγρὰ δικαίως εὐδοκιμεῖ· ἀπταιστότερον γὰρ καὶ ἀκοπώτερον τὸν ἵππον τῶν σκληρῶν σκελῶν παρέχει. [7] μηροὶ γε μέντοι οἱ ὑπὸ ταῖς ὠμοπλάταις ἦν παχεῖς ὥσιν, ἰσχυρότεροί τε καὶ εὐπρεπέστεροι ὥσπερ ἄνδρὸς φαίνονται. καὶ μὴν στέρνα πλατύτερα ὄντα καὶ πρὸς κάλλος καὶ πρὸς ἰσχὺν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπαλλάξ ἀλλὰ διὰ πολλοῦ τὰ σκέλη φέρειν εὐφυνέστερα. [8] ἀπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ στέρνου ὁ μὲν αὐχὴν αὐτοῦ μὴ ὥσπερ κάπρου προπετὴς πεφύκοι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀλεκτρυόνος ὀρθὸς πρὸς τὴν κορυφὴν ἦκοι, λαγαρὸς δὲ εἶη τὰ κατὰ τὴν συγκαμπτὴν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ ὀστώδης οὔσα μικρὰν σιαγὸνα ἔχοι. οὕτως ὁ μὲν τράχηλος πρὸ τοῦ ἀναβάτου ἂν εἶη, τὸ δὲ ὄμμα πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὀρώη. καὶ βιάζεσθαι δὲ ἥκιστ' ἂν δύναιτο ὁ τοιοῦτον σχῆμα ἔχων καὶ εἰ πάνυ θυμοειδὴς εἶη· οὐ γὰρ ἐγκάμπτοντες ἀλλ' ἐκτείνοντες τὸν τράχηλον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν βιάζεσθαι οἱ ἵπποι ἐπιχειροῦσι. [9] σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ εἰ ἀμφοτέραι μαλακαὶ αἱ γνάθοι ἢ σκληρὰ ἢ ἕτεραι. ἐτερόγναθοι γὰρ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ οἱ μὴ ὁμοίας τὰς γνάθους ἔχοντες γίνονται. καὶ μὴν τὸ ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι ἐγρηγορὸς μᾶλλον φαίνεται τοῦ κοιλοφθάλμου, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος ὀρώη. [10] καὶ μυκτῆρές γε οἱ ἀναπεπταμένοι τῶν συμπεπτωκότων εὐπνοώτεροί τε ἅμα εἰσὶ καὶ γοργότερον τὸν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύουσι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ὀργίζεται ἵππος ἵππῳ ἢ ἐν ἱπασίαι θυμῶται, εὐρύνει μᾶλλον τοὺς μυκτῆρας. [11] καὶ μὴν κορυφὴ μὲν μεῖζων, ὧτα δὲ μικρότερα ἱπποδεστέραν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποφαίνει. ἡ δ' αὖ ὑψηλὴ ἀκρωμία τῷ τε ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλεστέραν τὴν ἔδραν καὶ τοῖς ὤμοις [καὶ τῷ σώματι] ἰσχυροτέραν τὴν πρόσφυσιν παρέχεται. <ράχις γε μὴν> ἡ διπλῇ τῆς ἀπλῆς καὶ ἐγκαθῆσθαι μαλακωτέρα καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡδίων. [12] καὶ πλευρὰ δὲ ἡ βαθυτέρα καὶ πρὸς τὴν γαστέρα ὀγκωδεστέρα ἅμα εὐεδρότερόν τε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον καὶ εὐχλότερον ὥς ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται.

Ὅσφϋς γε μὴν ὅσῳ ἂν πλατυτέρα τε καὶ βραχυτέρα ᾖ, τοσούτῳ ῥᾷον μὲν ὁ ἵππος τὰ πρόσθεν αἶρεται, ῥᾷον δὲ τὰ ὀπισθεν προσάγεται· καὶ ὁ κενεὼν δὲ οὕτω μικρότατος φαίνεται, ὅσπερ μέγας ὢν μέρος μὲν τι καὶ αἰσχύνει, μέρος δὲ τι καὶ ἀσθενέστερον καὶ δυσφορώτερον αὖ τὸν ἵππον παρέχεται. [13] τὰ γε μὴν ἰσχία πλατέα μὲν εἶναι χρή καὶ εὖσαρκα, ἵνα ἀκόλουθα ᾖ ταῖς πλευραῖς καὶ τοῖς στέρνοις· ἦν δὲ πάντα στερεὰ ᾖ, κουφότερα ἂν τὰ πρὸς τὸν δρόμον εἴη καὶ ὀξύτερον μᾶλλον αὖ τὸν ἵππον παρέχοιτο. [14] μηρούς γε μὴν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ οὐρᾷ ἦν ἅμα πλατεῖαι τῇ γραμμῇ διωρισμένους ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη διὰ πολλοῦ ὑποθήσει. τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν ἅμα γοργοτέραν τε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν ἔξει τὴν ὑπόβασίν τε καὶ ἵππασίαν καὶ ἅπαντα βελτίων ἔσται ἑαυτοῦ. τεκμήριον δ' ἂν καὶ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων· ὅταν γάρ τι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἄρασθαι βούλωνται, διαβαίνοντες πάντες μᾶλλον ἢ συμβεβηκότες ἐπιχειροῦσιν αἶρεσθαι. [15] τοὺς γε μὴν ὄρχεις δεῖ μὴ μεγάλους τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν, ὃ οὐκ ἔστι πώλου κατιδεῖν. περὶ γε μὴν τῶν κάτωθεν, ἀστραγάλων ἢ κνημῶν καὶ κυνηπόδων καὶ ὀπλῶν, ταῦτα λέγομεν, ἅπερ περὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν. [16] γράψαι δὲ βούλομαι καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἂν περὶ μεγέθους ἤκιστα ἀποτυγχάνοι τις. ὅτου γὰρ ἂν ὧσιν αἱ κνήμαι εὐθὺς γιγνομένου ὑψηλότεραι, οὗτος μέγιστος γίγνεται. προϊόντος γὰρ τοῦ χρόνου πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων αἱ μὲν κνήμαι εἰς μέγεθος οὐ μάλα αὐξάνονται, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας ὥς ἂν συμμέτρως ἔχει, συναύζεται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα.

[17] Εἶδος μὲν δὴ πώλου οὕτω δοκιμάζοντες μάλιστ' ἂν ἡμῖν δοκοῦσι τυγχάνειν εὐποδος καὶ ἰσχυροῦ καὶ εὐσάρκου καὶ εὐσχήμονος καὶ εὐμεγέθους. εἰ δὲ τινες αὐξανόμενοι μεταβάλλουσιν, ὅμως οὕτω θαρροῦντες δοκιμάζωμεν· πολὺ γὰρ πλείονες εὐχρηστοὶ ἐξ αἰσχυρῶν ἢ ἐκ τοιούτων αἰσχροὶ γίνονται.

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Ὅπως γε μὴν δεῖ πωλεῦειν <οὐ> δοκεῖ ἡμῖν γραπτέον εἶναι· τάττονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἱπεύειν οἱ τοῖς χρήμασί τε ἱκανώτατοι καὶ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μετέχοντες· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον τοῦ πωλοδαμεῖν [εἶναι] τῷ μὲν νέῳ εὐεξίας τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἱππικῆς [ἐν ἣ] ἐπισταμένῳ ἤδη ἱππάζεσθαι μελετᾶν, τῷ δὲ πρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ τε οἴκου καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμφὶ πώλευσιν

διατρίβειν. [2] ὁ μὲν δὴ ὥσπερ ἐγὼ γινώσκων περὶ πωλείας δῆλον ὅτι ἐκδῶσει τὸν πῶλον. χρή μέντοι, ὥσπερ τὸν παῖδα ὅταν ἐπὶ τέχνην ἐκδῶι, συγγραψάμενον ἃ δεήσει ἐπιστάμενον ἀποδοῦναι οὕτως ἐκδιδόναι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπομνήματα ἔσται τῷ πωλοδάμνηι ὧν δεῖ ἐπιμεληθῆναι, εἰ μέλλει τὸν μισθὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι. [3] ὅπως μέντοι πρᾶιός τε καὶ χειροῆτης καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ὁ πῶλος ἐκδιδῶται τῷ πωλοδάμνηι ἐπιμελητέον. τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον οἴκοι τε τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἵπποκόμου ἀποτελεῖται, ἣν ἐπίσθηται τὸ μὲν πεινῆν καὶ διψῆν καὶ μυωπίζεσθαι παρασκευάζειν μετ' ἐρημίας γίνεσθαι τῷ πῶλῳ, τὸ δὲ φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν λυπούντων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι δι' ἀνθρώπων. τούτων γὰρ γιγνομένων ἀνάγκη μὴ μόνον φιλεῖσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ ποθεῖσθαι ὑπὸ πῶλων ἀνθρώπους. [4] καὶ ἄπτεσθαι δὲ χρή ὧν ψηλαφωμένων ὁ ἵππος μάλιστα ἥδεται. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ τε λασιώτατα καὶ οἷς αὐτὸς ἥκιστ' ἂν δύναίτο ὁ ἵππος, ἣν τι λυπῇ αὐτόν, ἐπικουρεῖν. [5] προστετάχθω δὲ τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καὶ τὸ δι' ὄχλου διάγειν καὶ παντοδαπαῖς μὲν ὄψεσι παντοδαποῖς δὲ ψόφοις πλησιάζειν. τούτων δέ, ὅσα ἂν ὁ πῶλος φοβῆται, οὐ χαλεπαίνοντα δεῖ ἀλλὰ πραΰνοντα διδάσκειν ὅτι οὐ δεινὰ ἐστί. καὶ περὶ μὲν πωλείας ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τῷ ιδιώτῃ εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα πράττειν.

Κεφάλαιον γ'

[1] Ὅταν γε μὴν ἵππαζόμενον ὦνῃταί τις, ὑπομνήματα γράψομεν ἃ δεῖ καταμανθάνειν τὸν μέλλοντα μὴ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ἐν ἵππωνίαι. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν μὴ λαθέτω αὐτὸν τίς <ῆ> ἡλικία· ὁ γὰρ μηκέτι ἔχων γνώμονας οὐτ' ἐλπίσιν εὐφραίνει οὔτε ὁμοίως εὐαπάλλακτος γίγνεται. [2] ὁπότε δὲ ἡ νεότης σαφής, δεῖ αὖ μὴ λαθεῖν πῶς μὲν εἰς τὸ στόμα δέχεται τὸν χαλινόν, πῶς δὲ περὶ τὰ ὦτα τὴν κορυφαίαν. ταῦτα δ' ἥκιστ' ἂν λανθάνοι, εἰ ὁπῶντος μὲν τοῦ ὄνουμένου ἐμβάλλοιτο ὁ χαλινός, ὀρῶντος δ' ἐξαιροῖτο. [3] ἔπειτα δὲ προσέχειν δεῖ τὸν νοῦν πῶς ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον δέχεται τὸν ἀναβάτην. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἵπποι χαλεπῶς προσίενται ἃ πρόδηλα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ὅτι προσέμενοι πονεῖν ἀναγκασθήσονται. [4] σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ τόδε, εἰ ἀναβαθεὶς ἐθέλει ἀφ' ἵππων ἀποχωρεῖν ἢ εἰ παρ' ἐστηκότας ἵππεύων μὴ ἐκφέρει πρὸς τούτους. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ διὰ κακὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἴκαδε ἀφόδους φεύγουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἵππασιων. [5] τοὺς γε μὴν ἑτερογνάθους μηνύει μὲν καὶ ἡ πέδη καλουμένη ἵππασία, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἵππασίαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγχειροῦσιν ἐκφέρειν,

ἦν μὴ ἅμα συμβῇ ἢ τε ἄδικος γνάθος καὶ ἡ πρὸς οἶκον ἐκφορά. δεῖ γε μὴν εἰδέναι καὶ εἰ ἀφεθείς εἰς τάχος ἀναλαμβάνεται ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ εἰ ἀποστρέφεσθαι ἐθέλει. [6] ἀγαθὸν δὲ μὴ ἄπειρον εἶναι εἰ καὶ πληγῇ ἐγερθεὶς ἐθέλει ὁμοίως πεῖθεσθαι. ἄχρηστον μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ οἰκέτης καὶ στρατεύμα ἀπειθές· ἵππος δὲ ἀπειθὴς οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστος, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις καὶ ὅσαπερ προδότης διαπράττεται. [7] ἐπεὶ δὲ πολεμιστήριον ἵππον ὑπεθέμεθα ὠνεῖσθαι, ληπτέον πεῖραν ἀπάντων ὅσωνπερ καὶ ὁ πόλεμος πεῖραν λαμβάνει. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα, τάφρους διαπηδᾶν, τειχία ὑπερβαίνειν, ἐπ' ὄχθους ἀνορούειν, ἀπ' ὄχθων καθάλλεσθαι· καὶ πρὸς ἄναντες δὲ καὶ κατὰ πρανοῦς καὶ πλάγια ἐλαύνοντα πεῖραν λαμβάνειν· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα εἰ ὑγιὲς δοκιμάζει. [8] οὐ μέντοι τὸν μὴ καλῶς πάνυ ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἀποδοκιμαστέον. πολλοὶ γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἄπειροι εἶναι τούτων ἐλλείπονται. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐθισθέντες καὶ μελετήσαντες καλῶς ἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιοῖεν, εἴ γ' ἄλλως ὑγιεῖς καὶ μὴ κακοὶ εἴεν. [9] τοὺς γε μέντοι ὑπόπτας φύσει φυλακτέον. οἱ γὰρ ὑπέρφοβοι βλάπτειν μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἔωσι, τὸν δὲ ἀναβάτην ἔσφηλάν τε πολλάκις καὶ εἰς τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐνέβαλον. [10] δεῖ δὲ καὶ εἴ τινα χαλεπότητα ἔχοι ὁ ἵππος καταμανθάνειν, εἴτε πρὸς ἵππους εἴτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ εἰ δυσγάργαλὶς γε εἴη· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα χαλεπὰ τοῖς κεκτημένοις γίγνεται. [11] τὰς δὲ γε τῶν χαλινώσεων καὶ ἀναβάσεων ἀποκωλύσεις καὶ τᾶλλα δὴ νεύματα πολὺ ἂν ἔτι μᾶλλον καταμάθοι τις, εἰ πεπονηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἵππου πάλιν πειρώιτο ποιεῖν ταῦτά ὅσαπερ πρὶν ἄρξασθαι ἵππεύειν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν πεπονηκότες ἐθέλωσι πάλιν ὑποδύεσθαι πόνους ἱκανὰ τεκμήρια παρέχονται ταῦτα ψυχῆς καρτερᾶς. [12] ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅστις εὖπους μὲν εἴη, πρᾶιος δέ, ἀρκούντως δὲ ποδώκης, ἐθέλοι δὲ καὶ δύναιτο πόνους ὑποφέρειν, πείθοιτο δὲ μάλιστα, οὗτος ἂν εἰκότως ἀλυπότατός τ' εἴη καὶ σωτηριώτατος τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἢ διὰ βλακειάν ἐλάσεως πολλῆς δεόμενοι ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπέρθυμοι εἶναι πολλῆς θωπείας τε καὶ πραγματείας ἀσχολίαν μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ τοῦ ἀναβάτου παρέχουσιν, ἀθυμίαν δ' ἐν τοῖς κινδύνους.

Κεφάλαιον δ'

[1] Ὅταν γε μὴν ἀγασθεὶς ἵππον πρίηταί τις καὶ οἴκαδε ἀγάγῃται, καλὸν μὲν ἐν τοιούτῳ τῆς οἰκίας τὸν σταθμὸν εἶναι ὅπου πλειστάκις

ὁ δεσπότης ὄψεται τὸν ἵππον· ἀγαθὸν δὲ οὕτω κατεσκευάσθαι τὸν ἱππῶνα, ὥστε μὴδὲν μᾶλλον οἷόν τ' εἶναι τὸν τοῦ ἵππου σῖτον κλαπῆναι ἐκ τῆς φάτνης ἢ τὸν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου. ὁ δὲ τούτου ἀμελῶν ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐαυτοῦ δοκεῖ ἀμελεῖν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τὸ αὐτοῦ σῶμα τῷ ἵππῳ ὁ δεσπότης παρακατατίθεται. [2] ἔστι δὲ οὐ μόνον τοῦ μὴ κλέπτεσθαι ἕνεκα τὸν σῖτον ἀγαθὸς ὁ ἐχυρὸς ἱππῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὅταν [μὴ] ἐκκομίζῃ τὸν σῖτον ὁ ἵππος φανερόν γίγνεται. τούτου δ' ἂν τις αἰσθανόμενος γινώσκῃ ὅτι ἢ τὸ σῶμα ὑπεραιμοῦν δεῖται θεραπείας ἢ κόπου ἐνόντος δεῖται ἀναπαύσεως, ἢ κριθίας τις ἢ ἄλλη τις ἀρρωστία ὑποδύεται. ἔστι δὲ ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὕτω καὶ ἵππῳ ἀρχόμενα πάντα εὐιατότερα ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἐνσκιρωθῇ τε καὶ ἐξαμαρτηθῇ τὰ νοσήματα.

[3] Ὡς περ τοῦ ἵππου σίτου τε καὶ γυμνασίων ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ σῶμα ἰσχύρῃ, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀσκητέον. τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑγρά τε καὶ λεῖα τῶν σταθμῶν λυμαίνεται καὶ ταῖς εὐφυέσιν ὀπλαῖς· τὰ δέ, ὡς μὲν μὴ ὑγρά εἶναι, ἀπόρρυτα, ὡς δὲ μὴ λεῖα, λίθους ἔχοντα κατορωρυγμένους, προσαλλήλους, παραπλησίους ὀπλαῖς τὸ μέγεθος ... τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα σταθμὰ ... καὶ ἐφεστηκότων ἅμα στερεοῖ τοὺς πόδας. [4] ἔπειτά γε μὴν τῷ ἱπποκόμῳ ἐξακτέον μὲν τὸν ἵππον ὅπου ψήξει, μεταδετέον δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης, ἴν' ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἴῃ. ὧδε δ' ἂν αὖ ὁ ἔξω σταθμὸς βέλτιστος εἴη καὶ τοὺς πόδας καρτερῦνοι, εἰ λίθων στρογγύλων ἀμφιδόχμων ὅσον μνααίων ἀμάξας τέτταρας καὶ πέντε χύδην καταβάλῃ, περιχειλώσας σιδήρῳ, ὡς ἂν μὴ σκεδαννύωνται· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐστηκὼς ὥσπερ ἐν ὁδῷ λιθώδει ἀεὶ μέρος <τι> τῆς ἡμέρας πορεύοιτο <ἂν>. [5] ἀνάγκη δὲ καὶ ψυχόμενον καὶ μυωπιζόμενον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὀπλαῖς καθάπερ ὅταν βαδίζῃ. καὶ τὰς χελιδόνας δὲ τῶν ποδῶν οἱ οὕτω κεχυμένοι λίθοι στερεοῦσιν. ὡς δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὅπως στερεαὶ ἔσονται ἐπιμελητέον, οὕτω καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸ στόμα αὖ ὅπως μαλακὰ ἔσται ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ἀνθρώπου τε σάρκα καὶ ἵππου στόμα ἀπαλύνει.

Κεφάλαιον ε'

[1] Ἴππικοῦ δὲ ἀνδρὸς ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἱπποκόμον πεπαιδευκέναι ἃ δεῖ περὶ τὸν ἵππον πράττειν. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιφατνιδίας φορβειᾶς ἐπίστασθαι αὐτὸν δεῖ μήποτε τὸ ἄμμα ποιῆσθαι ἔνθα περ ἡ κορυφαία περιτίθεται. πολλάκις γὰρ κνῶν ὁ

ἵππος ἐπὶ τῇ φάτνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἰ μὴ ἀσινῆς ἢ φορβεῖα περὶ τὰ ὦτα ἔσται, πολλάκις ἂν ἔλκη ποιοίῃ. ἐλκουμένων γε μὴν τούτων ἀνάγκη τὸν ἵππον καὶ περὶ τὸ χαλινοῦσθαι καὶ περὶ τὸ ψήχεσθαι δυσκολώτερον εἶναι. [2] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τετάχθαι τῷ ἵπποκόμῳ καθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κόπρον καὶ τὰ ὑποστρώματα τοῦ ἵππου ἐκφέρειν εἰς ἓν χωρίον. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν αὐτός τ' ἂν ῥᾷστα ἀπαλλάττοι καὶ ἅμα τὸν ἵππον ὠφελοίῃ. [3] εἰδέναι δὲ χρή τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὸν κημὸν περιτιθέναι τῷ ἵππῳ, καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ ψῆξιν καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ καλίστραν ἐξάγῃ. καὶ αἰεὶ δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἀχαλίνωτον ἄγῃ κημοῦν δεῖ. ὁ γὰρ κημὸς ἀναπνεῖν μὲν οὐ κωλύει, δάκνειν δὲ οὐκ ἔα· καὶ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύειν δὲ περικείμενος μᾶλλον ἐξαίρει τῶν ἵππων. [4] καὶ μὴν δεσμεύειν τὸν ἵππον ἄνωθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς δεῖ· πάντα γὰρ ὅποσα ἂν δύσκολ' ἦι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ ἵππος ἐκνεύειν πέφυκεν ἄνω· ἐκνεύων γε μὴν οὕτω δεδεμένος χαλᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ διασπᾷ τὰ δεσμά. [5] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ψήγῃ, ἄρχεσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς χαίτης· μὴ γὰρ καθαρῶν τῶν ἄνω ὄντων μάταιον τὰ κάτω καθαίρειν. ἔπειτα δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς καθάρσεως ὀργάνοις ἀνιστάντα δεῖ τὴν τρίχα σοβεῖν τὴν κόνον κατὰ φύσιν τῆς τριχός· τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ράχει τριχῶν ἄλλῳ μὲν ὀργάνῳ οὐδενὶ δεῖ ἅπτεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ τρίβειν καὶ ἀπαλύνειν ἥπερ φύσει κέκλινται· ἥκιστα γὰρ ἂν βλάπτοι τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἵππου. [6] ὕδατι δὲ καταπλύνειν τὴν κεφαλὴν χρή· ὁστώδης γὰρ οὖσα, εἰ σιδήρῳ ἢ ξύλῳ καθαίροιτο, λυποῖ ἂν τὸν ἵππον. καὶ τὸ προκόμιον δὲ χρή βρέχειν· καὶ γὰρ αὗται εὐμήκεις οὖσαι αἱ τρίχες ὁρᾷν μὲν οὐ κωλύουσι τὸν ἵππον, ἀποσοβοῦσι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ λυποῦντα. καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ οἶεσθαι χρή δεδωκέναι ταύτας τὰς τρίχας ἵππῳ ἀντὶ τῶν μεγάλων ὧτων ἃ ὄνοις τε καὶ ἡμιόνοις ἔδοσαν ἀλεξητήρια πρὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων. [7] καὶ οὐρὰν δὲ καὶ χαίτην πλύνειν χρή, ἐπεὶ περ αὖξιν δεῖ τὰς τρίχας, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ οὐρᾷ, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξικνούμενος ἀποσοβῇται ὁ ἵππος τὰ λυποῦντα, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, ὅπως τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ὡς ἀφθονωτάτῃ ἀντίληψις ἦι. [8] δέδοται δὲ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ἀγλαίας ἔνεκεν ἵππῳ χαίτη, καὶ προκόμιον δὲ καὶ οὐρά. τεκμήριον δέ· αἱ γὰρ ἀγελαῖαι τῶν ἵππων οὐχ ὁμοίως ὑπομένουσι τοὺς ὄνους ἐπὶ τῇ ὀχεΐᾳ ἕως ἂν κομῶσιν· οὗ ἔνεκα καὶ ἀποκείρουσι πρὸς τὴν ὀχεΐαν τὰς ἵππους ἅπαντες οἱ ὀνοβατοῦντες. [9] τὴν γε μὴν τῶν σκελῶν κατάπλυσιν ἀφαιροῦμεν· ὠφελεῖ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, βλάπτει δὲ τὰς ὀπλὰς ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν βρέξις. καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ γαστέρα δὲ ἄγαν κάθαρσιν μειοῦν χρή· αὕτη γὰρ λυπεῖ μὲν

μάλιστα τὸν ἵππον, ὅσῳ δ' ἂν καθαρώτερα ταῦτα γένηται, τοσούτῳ πλείω τὰ λυποῦντα ἀθροίζει ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα· [10] ἦν δὲ καὶ πάνυ διαπονήσῃται τις ταῦτα, οὐ φθάνει [τ'] ἐξαγόμενος ὁ ἵππος καὶ εὐθὺς ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔαν χρή· ἀρκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν σκελῶν ψῆξις αὐταῖς ταῖς χερσὶ γιγνομένη.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Δηλώσομεν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὡς ἂν ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν τις ἑαυτῷ, τῷ δ' ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατα <τὰ πρόσθεν> ψῆχοι. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ βλέπων τῷ ἵππῳ καθαιρή, κίνδυνος καὶ τῷ γόνати καὶ τῇ ὀπλῇ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον πληγῆναι· [2] ἦν δὲ ἀντία τῷ ἵππῳ ὀπῶν καὶ ἔξω τοῦ σκέλους, ὅταν καθαιρή, κατὰ τὴν ὠμοπλάτην καθίζων ἀποτρίβῃ, οὕτω πάθοι μὲν ἂν οὐδέν, δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν χελιδόνα τοῦ ἵππου θεραπεύειν ἀναπτύσσων τὴν ὀπλήν. ὡς δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὰ ὀπισθεν σκέλη καθαιρέτω. [3] εἰδέναι δὲ χρή τὸν περὶ τὸν ἵππον ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὅσα πράττειν δεῖ ὡς ἥκιστα χρή κατὰ [τὸ] πρόσωπόν τε καὶ οὐρὰν ἀντίον ἑαυτὸν ποιήσαντα προσιέναι· ἦν γὰρ ἐπιχειρῇ ἀδικεῖν, κατ' ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα κρείττων ὁ ἵππος ἀνθρώπου. ἐκ πλαγίου δ' ἂν τις προσιών ἀβλαβέστατα μὲν ἑαυτῷ, πλείστα δ' ἂν ἵππῳ δύναιτο χρησθαι. [4] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄγειν δέῃ τὸν ἵππον, τὴν μὲν ὀπισθεν ἀγωγὴν διὰ τάδε οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ἄγοντι οὕτως ἥκιστα ἔστι φυλάξασθαι, τῷ δὲ ἵππῳ οὕτως μάλιστα ἔξεστι ποιῆσαι ὅ τι ἂν βούληται. [5] τὸ δ' αὖ ἔμπροσθεν μακρῷ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ προΐοντα διδάσκειν ὑφηγεῖσθαι τὸν ἵππον διὰ τάδε αὖ ψέγομεν· ἔξεστι μὲν γὰρ τῷ ἵππῳ καθ' ὅποτερ' ἂν βούληται τῶν πλαγίων κακουργεῖν, ἔξεστι δὲ ἀναστρεφόμενον ἀντίον γίγνεσθαι τῷ ἄγοντι. [6] ἀθρόοι δὲ δὴ ἵπποι πῶς ἂν ποτε ἀλλήλων δύναιντο ἀπέχεσθαι οὕτως ἀγόμενοι; ἐκ πλαγίου δὲ ἵππος ἐθισθεὶς παράγεσθαι ἥκιστα μὲν ἂν καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἀνθρώπους δύναιτ' ἂν κακουργεῖν, κάλλιστα δ' ἂν παρεσκευασμένος τῷ ἀναβάτῃ εἶη καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐν τάχει ἀναβῆναι δεήσειεν. [7] ἵνα δὲ ὁ ἵπποκόμος καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὀρθῶς ἐμβάλῃ, πρῶτον μὲν προσίτω κατὰ τὰ ἀριστερὰ τοῦ ἵππου· ἔπειτα τὰς μὲν ἡνίας περιβαλὼν περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καθέτω ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκρωμῑ, τὴν δὲ κορυφαίαν τῇ δεξιᾷ αἰρέτω, τὸ δὲ στόμιον τῇ ἀριστερᾷ προσφερέτω. [8] κἂν μὲν δέχεται, δῆλον ὅτι περιτιθέναι δεῖ τὸν κεκρύφαλον· ἔαν δὲ μὴ ὑποχάσκη, ἔχοντα δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς ὁδοῦσι τὸν χαλινὸν τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς εἶσω τῆς γνάθου

τῷ ἵππῳ ποιῆσαι. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τούτου γιγνομένου χαλῶσι τὸ στόμα. ἦν δὲ μὴδ' οὕτω δέχεται, πιεσάτω τὸ χεῖλος περὶ τῷ κυνόδοντι· καὶ πάνυ τινὲς ὀλίγοι οὐ δέχονται τοῦτο πάσχοντες. [9] δεδιδάχθω δὲ καὶ τάδε ὁ ἵπποκόμος, πρῶτον μὲν μήποτε ἄγειν τῆς ἡνίας τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ἑτερογνάθων ποιεῖ· ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσον δεῖ ἀπέχειν τὸν χαλινὸν τῶν γνάθων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄγαν πρὸς αὐταῖς τυλοῖ τὸ στόμα, ὥστε μὴ εὐαίσθητον εἶναι, ὁ δὲ ἄγαν εἰς ἄκρον τὸ στόμα καθίμενος ἐξουσίαν παρέχει συνδάκνοντι τὸ στόμιον μὴ πείθεσθαι. [10] χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ τὰ τοιάδε παρατηρεῖν, εἰ μὴ ραιδίως τὸν χαλινὸν ὁ ἵππος δέχεται, αἰσθανόμενος ὅτι δεῖ πονεῖν. οὕτω γὰρ δὴ μέγα ἐστὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐθέλειν τὸν ἵππον τὸν χαλινὸν ὥς ὁ μὴ δεχόμενος παντάπασιν ἄχρηστος. [11] ἦν δὲ μὴ μόνον ὅταν πονεῖν μέλλῃ χαλινῶται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸν σῖτον καὶ ὅταν ἐξ ἵππασίας εἰς οἶκον ἀπάγῃται, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη θαυμαστὸν εἰ ἀρπάξῃ τὸν χαλινὸν αὐτόματος προτεινόμενον. [12] ἀγαθὸν δὲ τὸν ἵπποκόμον καὶ ἀναβάλλειν ἐπιστασθαι τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον, ὅπως αὐτός τε ὁ δεσπότης, ἦν ποτε ἀρρωστήσῃ ἢ πρεσβύτερος γένηται, ἔχῃ τὸν εὐπετῶς ἀναβιβάσοντα καὶ ἄλλῳ ἦν τινι βούλῃται τὸν ἀναβαλοῦντα ἐπιχαρίσῃται. [13] τὸ δὲ μήποτε σὺν ὀργῇ ἵππῳ προσφέρεσθαι, ἐν τοῦτο καὶ δίδαγμα καὶ ἔθισμα πρὸς ἵππον ἄριστον. ἀπρονόητον γὰρ ἡ ὀργή, ὥστε πολλάκις ἐξεργάζεται ὧν μεταμέλειν ἀνάγκη. [14] καὶ ὅταν δὲ ὑποπτεύσας τι ὁ ἵππος μὴ θέλῃ πρὸς τοῦτο προσιέναι, διδάσκειν δεῖ ὅτι οὐ δεινὸν ἐστὶ μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἵππῳ εὐκαρδίῳ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀπτόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δεινοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἵππον πράϊως προσάγοντα. [15] οἱ δὲ πληγαῖς ἀναγκάζοντες ἔτι πλείω φόβον παρέχουσιν· οἶοντα γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι, ὅταν τι χαλεπὸν πάσχωσιν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ τούτου τὰ ὑποπτευόμενα αἷτια εἶναι. [16] ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ὁ ἵπποκόμος τὸν ἵππον παραδῶι τῷ ἀναβάτῃ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίστασθαι ὑποβιβάζεσθαι τὸν ἵππον, ὥστε εὐπετεῖς εἶναι ἀναβῆναι, οὐ μεμφόμεθα· τὸν γε μέντοι ἵππεά νομίζομεν χρῆναι μελετᾶν καὶ μὴ παρέχοντος ἵππου δύνασθαι ἀναβαίνειν. ἄλλοτε μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἵππος παραπίπτει, ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλως ὁ αὐτὸς ὑπηρετεῖ.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Ὅταν γε μὴν παραδέξηται τὸν ἵππον ὥς ἀναβησόμενος, νῦν αὖ γράψομεν ὅσα ποιῶν ὁ ἵππεὺς καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῷ ἵππῳ ὠφελιμώτατος ἂν ἐν τῇ ἵππικῇ εἴῃ. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν τὸν

ρύταγωγέα χρή ἐκ τῆς ὑποχαλινιδίας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ψαλίου ἡρτημένον
εὐτρεπῇ εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὰν χεῖρα λαβεῖν, καὶ οὕτω χαλαρὸν ὥς μήτ’
ἂν [ἀνίων] τῶν τριχῶν παρὰ τὰ ὦτα λαβόμενος μέλλῃ ἀναβήσεσθαι
μήτ’ ἂν ἀπὸ δόρατος ἀναπηδᾷ, σπᾶν τὸν ἵππον. τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ τὰς
ἡνίας παρὰ τὴν ἀκρωμίαν λαμβανέτω ὁμοῦ τῇ χαίτῃ, ὅπως μηδὲ
καθ’ ἓνα τρόπον ἀναβαίνων σπάσῃ τῷ χαλινῷ τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵππου.
[2] ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀνακουφίσῃ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀνάβασιν, τῇ μὲν
ἀριστερᾷ ἀνιμάτω τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν ἐκτείνων συνεπαιρέτω
ἑαυτόν [οὕτω γὰρ ἀναβαίνων οὐδὲ ὀπισθεν αἰσχροὴν θέαν παρέξει
συγκεκαμμένῳ τῷ σκέλει], καὶ μηδὲ τὸ γόνυ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάχιν τοῦ
τιθέτω ἵππου, ἀλλ’ ὑπερβησάτω ἐπὶ τὰς δεξιὰς πλευρὰς τὴν κνήμην.
ὅταν δὲ περιενέγκῃ τὸν πόδα, τότε καὶ τὸ γλουτὸν καθέτω ἐπὶ τὸν
ἵππον. [3] ἢν δὲ τύχῃ ὁ ἵππεὺς τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ ἄγων τὸν ἵππον, τῇ
δὲ δεξιᾷ τὸ δόρυ ἔχων, ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
δεξιῶν μελετῆσαι ἀναπηδᾶν. μαθεῖν δ’ οὐδὲν δεῖ ἄλλο ἢ ἃ μὲν τότε
τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἐποίει τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ποιεῖν, ἃ δὲ τότε τοῖς
ἀριστεροῖς τοῖς δεξιοῖς. [4] τούτου δ’ ἔνεκεν καὶ ταύτην ἐπαινοῦμεν
τὴν ἀνάβασιν, ὅτι ἅμα τε ἀναβεβηκὼς ἂν εἴῃ καὶ κατεσκευασμένος
πάντα, εἴ τι δέοι ἐξάιφνης πρὸς πολεμίους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. [5] ἐπειδὴν γε
μὴν καθέζηται ἔάν τε ἐπὶ ψιλοῦ ἔάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐφιππίου, οὐ τὴν
ὥσπερ ἐπὶ [τοῦ] δίφρου ἔδραν ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὥσπερ εἰ ὀρθὸς
ἂν διαβεβηκὼς εἴῃ τοῖν σκελοῖν. τοῖν τε γὰρ μηροῖν οὕτως ἂν ἔχοιτο
μᾶλλον τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ ὀρθὸς ὢν ἐρρωμενεστέρω ἂν δύναιτο καὶ
ἀκοντίσαι καὶ πατάξαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, [6] εἰ δέοι. χρή δὲ καὶ χαλαρὰν
ἀπὸ τοῦ γόνατος ἀφεῖσθαι τὴν κνήμην σὺν τῷ ποδί. σκληρὸν μὲν
γὰρ ἔχων τὸ σκέλος εἰ προσκόψειέ τῳ, προσκεκλασμένος ἂν εἴῃ·
ὕγρα δὲ οὔσα ἡ κνήμη, εἴ τι καὶ προσπίπτῃ αὐτῇ, ὑπεῖκοι ἂν καὶ τὸν
μηρὸν οὐδὲν μετακινοίῃ. [7] δεῖ δὲ τὸν ἵππεά καὶ τὸ ἄνωθεν τῶν
ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχύων σῶμα ὥς ὑγρότατον ἐθίζειν εἶναι. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν πονεῖν
τε ἔτι μᾶλλον δύναιτο καὶ εἰ ἔλκοι τις αὐτόν ἢ ὠθοίῃ ἥττον ἂν
σφάλλοιο. [8] ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν καθέζηται, πρῶτον μὲν ἡρεμεῖν δεῖ
διδάσκειν τὸν ἵππον, ἕως ἂν καὶ ὑποσπάσῃται, ἢν τι δέηται, καὶ ἡνίας
ἰσώσῃται καὶ δόρυ λάβῃ ὥς ἂν εὐφορώτατον εἴῃ· ἔπειτα δὲ ἐχέτω
τὸν ἀριστερὸν βραχίονα πρὸς ταῖς πλευραῖς· οὕτω γὰρ
εὐσταλέστατός τε ὁ ἵππεὺς ἔσται καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἐγκρατεστάτη. [9] ἡνίας
γε μὴν ἐπαινοῦμεν ὅποια ἴσαι τέ εἰσι καὶ μὴ ἀσθενεῖς μηδὲ
ὀλισθηραὶ μηδὲ παχεῖαι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δόρυ ὅταν δέῃ δέχεσθαι ἡ χεὶρ

δύνηται.

[10] Ὅταν δὲ προχωρεῖν σημήνηι τῷ ἵππῳ, βάδην μὲν ἀρχέσθω· τοῦτο γὰρ ἀταρακτότατον. ἡνιοχεῖται δέ, ἥν μὲν κυφαγωγότερος ἢ ὁ ἵππος, ἀνωτέρω ταῖς χερσίν, ἥν δὲ μᾶλλον ἀνακεκυφώς, κατωτέρω· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα κοσμοίῃ τὸ σχῆμα. [11] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὸν αὐτοφυᾶ διατροχάζων διαχαλώῃ τ' ἂν ἀλυπότατα τὸ σῶμα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιρραβδοφορεῖν ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀφικνοῖτο. ἐπεὶ περ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἄρχεσθαι εὐδοκιμώτερον, ὧδ' ἂν μάλιστα ἀπὸ τούτων ἄρχοιτο, εἰ διατροχάζοντος μὲν, ὁπότε ἐμβαίνει τῷ δεξιῷ, τότε σημαίνει τῷ ἵππῳ τὸ ἐπιρραβδοφορεῖν. [12] τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερὸν μέλλων αἶρειν ἐκ τούτου ἂν ἄρχοιτο, καὶ ὁπότε ἐπὶ τὰ εὐώνυμα ἀναστρέφοι, τότε καὶ τῆς ἐπισκελίσεως ἄρχοιτο. καὶ γὰρ πέφυκεν ὁ ἵππος εἰς μὲν τὰ δεξιὰ στρεφόμενος τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀφηγεῖσθαι, εἰς εὐώνυμα δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς. [13] Ἰππασίαν δ' ἐπαινοῦμεν τὴν πέδην καλουμένην· ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς γνάθους στρέφεσθαι ἐθίζει. καὶ τὸ μεταβάλλεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἰππασίαν ἀγαθόν, ἵνα ἀμφοτέραι αἱ γνάθοι καθ' ἑκάτερον τῆς ἰππασίας ἰσάζωνται.

[14] ἐπαινοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑτερομήκη πέδην μᾶλλον τῆς κυκλοτεροῦς. ἥδιον μὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἂν στρέφοιτο ὁ ἵππος ἥδη πλήρης ὢν τοῦ εὐθέος, καὶ τό τε ὀρθοδρομεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀποκάμπτειν ἅμα μελετώῃ ἂν. [15] δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς· οὐ γὰρ ραίδιον τῷ ἵππῳ οὐδ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐν τῷ τάχει ὄντα κάμπτειν ἐν μικρῷ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπόκροτον ἢ ὀλισθηρὸν ἢ τὸ χωρίον. [16] ὅταν γε μὴν ὑπολαμβάνῃ, ὥς ἥκιστα μὲν χρὴ τὸν ἵππον πλαγιοῦν τῷ χαλινῷ, ὥς ἥκιστα δ' αὐτὸν πλαγιοῦσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι μικρὰ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει κεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον. [17] ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἐκ τῆς στροφῆς εἰς τὸ εὐθὺ βλέπῃ ὁ ἵππος, ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς τὸ θάπτον αὐτὸν ὀρμάτω. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις αἱ στροφαὶ εἰσι τοῦ διώκειν ἢ τοῦ ἀποχωρεῖν ἕνεκα. ἀγαθὸν οὖν τὸ στραφέντα ταχύνειν μελετᾶν. [18] ὅταν δὲ ἱκανῶς ἥδη δοκῇ τὸ γυμνάσιον τῷ ἵππῳ ἔχειν, ἀγαθὸν καὶ διαναπαύσαντα ὀρμῆσαι αὐθις ἐξαίφνης εἰς τὸ τάχιστον, καὶ ἀφ' ἵππων μέντοι, μὴ πρὸς ἵππους· καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ταχέος αὖ ὥς ἐγγυτάτω ἡρεμίζειν, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐστάναι δὲ στρέψαντα [δεῖ] πάλιν ὀρμᾶν· πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἔσται ποτὲ ὅτε ἑκατέρου τούτων δεῖσει· [19] ὅταν γε μὴν καταβαίνειν ἥδη καιρὸς ἦι, μήτε ἐν ἵπποις ποτὲ καταβαίνειν μήτε παρὰ σύστασιν ἀνθρώπων μήτ' ἔξω τῆς ἰππασίας, ἀλλ' ὅπου περ καὶ πονεῖν

ἀναγκάζεται ὁ ἵππος, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῆς ραιστώνης τυγχανέτω.

Κεφάλαιον η΄

[1] Ἐπείπερ δὲ ἔστιν ὅπου τρέχειν δεήσει τὸν ἵππον καὶ πρηνῇ καὶ ὄρθια καὶ πλάγια, ἔστι δ' ὅπου διαπηδᾶν, ἔστι δ' ὅπου καὶ ἐκπηδᾶν, ἔνθα δὲ καθάλλεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διδάσκειν τε δεῖ καὶ μελετᾶν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν ἵππον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν σωτήριοί τε εἶεν ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθόλου χρησιμώτεροι ἂν δοκοῖεν εἶναι. [2] εἰ δέ τις διλογεῖν ἡμᾶς οἶεται, ὅτι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν νῦν τε καὶ πρόσθεν, οὐ διλογία ταῦτ' ἐστίν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἐωνεῖτο, πειρᾶσθαι ἐκελεύομεν εἰ δύναιτο ὁ ἵππος ταῦτα ποιεῖν· νῦν δὲ διδάσκειν φαμὲν χρῆναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ γράψομεν ὥς δεῖ διδάσκειν. [3] τὸν μὲν γὰρ παντάπασιν ἄπειρον τοῦ διαπηδᾶν λαβόντα δεῖ τοῦ ἀγωγέως καταβεβλημένου προδιαβῆναι αὐτὸν τὴν τάφρον, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐντείνειν δεῖ τῷ ἀγωγεῖ ὥς διάλλεται. [4] ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλη, ἔχων τις μάστιγα ἢ ράβδον ἐμβαλέτω ὥς ἰσχυρότατα· καὶ οὕτως ὑπεραλεῖται οὐ τὸ μέτρον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ πλέον τοῦ καιρίου· καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐδὲν δεήσει παίειν, ἀλλ' ἦν μόνον ἴδηι ὀπισθεν τινα ἐπελθόντα, ἀλεῖται. [5] ἐπειδὴν δὲ οὕτω διαπηδᾶν ἐθισθῇ, καὶ ἀναβεβηκῶς ἐπαγέτω τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μικράς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ μείζους. ὅταν δὲ μέλλῃ πηδᾶν, παισάτω αὐτὸν τῷ μύωπι. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀναπηδᾶν καὶ τὸ καταπηδᾶν διδάσκειν παίσαντα τῷ μύωπι. ἄθρόωι γὰρ τῷ σώματι ταῦτα πάντα ποιῶν καὶ ἑαυτῷ ὁ ἵππος καὶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ ἀσφαλέστερον ποιήσει μᾶλλον ἢ ἂν ἐκλείπηι τὰ ὀπισθεν ἢ διαπηδῶν ἢ ἀνορούων ἢ καθαλλόμενος. [6] εἷς γε μὴν τὸ κάταντες πρῶτον χρῆ ἐν μαλακῷ χωρίῳ διδάσκειν, καὶ τελευτῶν, ἐπειδὴν τοῦτο ἐθισθῇ, πολὺ ἥδιον τὸ πρηνὲς τοῦ ὀρθίου δραμεῖται. ἃ δὲ φοβοῦνται τινες μὴ ἀπορρηγνύονται τοὺς ὤμους κατὰ τὰ πρηνῇ ἐλαινόμενοι, θαρρούντων μαθόντες ὅτι Πέρσαι καὶ Ὀδρύσαι ἅπαντες τὰ κατάντη ἀμιλλώμενοι οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑγιεῖς τοὺς ἵππους ἔχουσι.

[7] Παρήσομεν δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπως τὸν ἀναβάτην ὑπηρετεῖν δεῖ πρὸς ἕκαστα τούτων. χρῆ γὰρ ὀρμῶντος μὲν ἐξαίφνης τοῦ ἵππου προνεύειν· ἥττον γὰρ ἂν καὶ ὑποδύοι ὁ ἵππος καὶ ἀναβάλλοι τὸν ἀναβάτην· ἐν μικρῷ δὲ ἀναλαμβάνομένου ἀναπίπτειν· ἥττον γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς κόπτοιτο. [8] τάφρον δὲ διαλλομένου καὶ πρὸς ὀρθιον ἰέμενου καλὸν χαίτης ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὁ ἵππος τῷ τε χωρίῳ ἅμα καὶ τῷ χαλινῷ βαρύνηται. εἷς γε μὴν τὸ πρηνὲς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὑπτιώτερον

ποιητέον καὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἀντιληπτέον τῷ χαλινῷ, ὥς μὴ προπετῶς εἰς τὸ κάταντες μῆτε αὐτὸς μῆτε ὁ ἵππος φέρεται.

[9] Ὅρθῳς δ' ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἄλλοτε μὲν ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις, ἄλλοτε δὲ μακράς, ἄλλοτε δὲ βραχείας τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἀμισέστερα γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις καὶ ὁμοίας τὰς ἵππασίας ποιεῖσθαι. [10] ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ ἐν παντοίοις τε χωρίοις τὸν ἵππεα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντα ἔποχον εἶναι καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου τοῖς ὅπλοις καλῶς δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι, ὅπου μὲν ἐστὶ χωρία ἐπιτήδεια καὶ θηρία, ἄμεμπτος ἢ ἐν θήραις μελέτη τῆς ἵππικῆς· ὅπου δὲ ταῦτα μὴ ὑπάρχει, ἀγαθὴ ἄσκησις καὶ ἦν δύο ἱππότης συνθεμένῳ ὁ μὲν φεύγει ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου παντοῖα χωρία καὶ τὸ δόρυ εἰς τοῦπισθεν μεταβαλόμενος ὑποχωρῇ, ὁ δὲ διώκει ἐσφαιρωμένα τε ἔχων ἀκόντια καὶ δόρυ ὡσαύτως πεπραγματευμένον, καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἂν εἰς ἀκόντιον ἀφικνῇται, ἀκοντίζει τὸν φεύγοντα τοῖς σφαιρωτοῖς, ὅπου δ' ἂν εἰς δόρατος πληγῇ, τῷ δόρατι παίη τὸν ἀλίσκόμενον. [11] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ ποτε συμπέσωσιν, ἐλκύσαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὸν πολέμιον ἐξαίφνης ἀπῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ καταβλητικόν. ὁρθῳς δὲ ἔχει καὶ τῷ ἐλκομένῳ ἐπελαύνειν τὸν ἵππον· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ὁ ἐλκόμενος καταβάλῃ ἂν μᾶλλον τὸν ἔλκοντα ἢ καταπέσοι. [12] ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ στρατοπέδου ἀντικαθημένου ἀνθιππεύωσιν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ διώκῃσι μὲν μέχρι τῆς πολεμίας φάλαγγος τοὺς ἀντίους, φεύγῃσι δὲ μέχρι τῆς φιλίας, ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπίστασθαι ὅτι ἕως μὲν ἂν παρὰ τοὺς φίλους τις ᾖ, καλὸν καὶ ἀσφαλὲς τὸ ἐν πρώτοις ἀναστρέψαντα ἀνὰ κράτος ἐπικεῖσθαι, ὅταν δ' ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐναντίων γίγνηται, ὑποχείριον τὸν ἵππον ἔχειν. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς μάλιστα δύναιτο βλάπτων τοὺς ἐναντίους μὴ βλάπτεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. [13] ἀνθρώποις μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἔδοσαν οἱ θεοὶ λόγῳ διδάσκειν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, ἵππον δὲ δῆλον ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν διδάξαις· ἦν δὲ ὅταν μὲν ποιήσῃ ὥς ἂν βούλοιο, ἀντιχαρίσῃ τι αὐτῷ, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθῇ, κολάζῃς, οὕτω μάλιστ' ἂν μάθοι τὸ δέον ὑπηρετεῖν. [14] καὶ ἔστι μὲν τοῦτο ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς ἵππικῆς παρακολουθεῖ. καὶ γὰρ χαλινὸν μᾶλλον ἂν λαμβάνοι, εἴ ὁπότε δέξαιτο ἀγαθόν τι αὐτῷ ἀποβαίνει· καὶ διαπηδῶν δ' ἂν καὶ ἐξάλλοιτο καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα ὑπηρετοίῃ ἂν, εἰ προσδοκῶν, ὁπότε τὰ σημαινόμενα πράξειε, ραιστώνῃ τινά.

Κεφάλαιον θ'

[1] Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ εἰρημένα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὥς ἂν ἥκιστα μὲν

ἐξαπατῶιτο καὶ πῶλον καὶ ἵππον ὠνούμενος, ἥκιστα δ' ἂν διαφθείροι χρώμενος, μάλιστα δ' ἂν ἵππον ἀποδεικνύοι, εἰ δέοι, ἔχοντα ὦν ἵππεὺς δεῖται εἰς πόλεμον. καιρὸς δ' ἴσως γράψαι καί, εἴ ποτε συμβαίῃ θυμοειδεστέρῳ ἵππῳ τοῦ καιρίου χρῆσθαι ἢ βλακωδεστέρῳ, ὥς ἂν ὀρθότατα ἐκατέρῳ χρῶιτο. [2] πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ τοῦτο γνῶναι, ὅτι ἐστὶ θυμὸς ἵππῳ ὅπερ ὀργὴ ἀνθρώπῳ. ὥσπερ οὖν ἄνθρωπον ἥκιστ' ἂν ὀργίζοι τις [ὁ] μῆτε λέγων χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μῆτε ποιῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἵππον θυμοειδῆ ὁ μὴ ἀνιῶν ἥκιστ' ἂν ἐξοργίζοι. [3] εὐθύς μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὥς ἂν ἥκιστ' ἀναβαίνων λυποίῃ· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἀναβῇ, ἡρεμήσαντα πλείω χρόνον ἢ τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα οὕτω προκινεῖν αὐτὸν ὥς πραιοτάτοις σημείοις· ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ τοῦ βραδυτάτου ἀρχόμενον οὕτως αὖ εἰς τὸ θᾶττον προάγειν, ὥς ἂν μάλιστα λανθάνοι αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππος εἰς τὸ ταχὺ ἀφικνούμενος. [4] ὅ τι δ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης σημήνηι, θυμοειδῆ ἵππον ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον ταράττει τὰ ἐξαπίναια καὶ ὀράματα καὶ ἀκούσματα καὶ παθήματα. εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι καὶ ἐν ἵππῳ τὰ ἐξαπίναια τάραχον ἐξεργάζεται. [5] ἦν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ θᾶττον ὀρμώμενον τοῦ καιροῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν βούλῃ τὸν θυμοειδῆ, οὐ δεῖ ἐξαπιναιῶς σπᾶν, ἀλλ' ἡρεμαίως προσάγεσθαι τῷ χαλινῷ, πραύνοντα, οὐ βιαζόμενον ἡρεμεῖν. [6] καὶ αἱ τε μακραὶ ἐλάσεις μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ πυκναὶ ἀποστροφαὶ πραύνουσι τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ αἱ ἡσυχαῖοι μὲν, πολυχρόνιοι δὲ καθέψουσι καὶ πραύνουσι καὶ οὐκ ἀνεγείρουσι τὸν θυμοειδῆ. [7] εἰ δὲ τις οἶεται, ἦν ταχὺ καὶ πολλὰ ἐλαύνηται, ἀπειπεῖν ποιήσας τὸν ἵππον πραύνειν, τάναντία γινώσκει τοῦ γιγνομένου. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ θυμοειδὴς καὶ ἄγειν βίαι μάλιστα ἐπιχειρεῖ καὶ σὺν τῇ ὀργῇ, ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπος ὀργίλος, πολλάκις καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὸν ἀναβάτην πολλὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐποίησεν. [8] ἐπιλαμβάνειν δὲ χρὴ ἵππον θυμοειδῆ καὶ τότε τοῦ εἰς τὸ τάχιστον ὀρμαῖν, τοῦ δὲ δὴ παραβάλλειν ἵππῳ καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπέχεσθαι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ θυμοειδέστατοι καὶ φιλονικότατοι τῶν ἵππων γίνονται. [9] καὶ χαλινοὶ δὲ οἱ λεῖοι ἐπιτηδειότεροι τῶν τραχέων. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τραχὺς ἐμβληθῇ, τῇ χαλαρότητι λείῳ δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀφομοιοῦν. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐθίζειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἡρεμεῖν, μάλιστα ἐπὶ θυμοειδοῦς ἵππου, καὶ τὸ ὥς ἥκιστα ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἄπτεσθαι ἢ οἷς τοῦ καθῆσθαι ἀσφαλῶς ἔνεκα ἀπτόμεθα. [10] εἰδέναι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι δίδαγμα τί ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ποππυσμῷ μὲν πραύνεσθαι, κλωσμῷ δὲ ἐγείρεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ μὲν κλωσμῷ τὰ πραέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ποππυσμῷ τὰ χαλεπὰ προσφέρει, μάθοι ἂν ὁ ἵππος

ποπτυσμῶι μὲν ἐγείρεσθαι, κλωσμῶι δὲ πρᾶύνεσθαι. [11] οὕτως οὖν δεῖ καὶ παρὰ κραυγὴν καὶ παρὰ σάλπιγγα μῆτ' αὐτὸν φαίνεσθαι τεθορυβημένον τῶι ἵππῳ μῆτε μὴν ἐκείνῳι θορυβῶδες μηδὲν προσφέρειν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἀναπαύειν ἐν τῶι τοιούτῳ καὶ ἄριστα καὶ δεῖπνα, εἰ ἐγχωροίη, προσφέρειν. [12] κάλλιστον δὲ συμβούλευμα τὸ ἄγαν θυμοειδῆ ἵππον μὴ κτᾶσθαι εἰς πόλεμον. βλᾶκα γε μὴν ἵππον ἄρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ γράψαι πάντα τὰναντία ποιεῖν ὅσων τῶι θυμοειδεῖ χρῆσθαι συμβουλευόμεν.

Κεφάλαιον ι'

[1] Ἦν δέ τις ποτε βουληθῆι χρῆσθαι τῶι χρησίμῳι εἰς πόλεμον ἵππῳ ὥς μεγαλοπρεπεστέρωι τε καὶ περιβλεπτοτέρῳι ἱπάζεσθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἔλκειν τε τὸ στόμα τῶι χαλινῶι καὶ μυωπίζειν τε καὶ μαστιγοῦν τὸν ἵππον, ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦντες λαμπρύνειν οἶονται, ἀπέχεσθαι δεῖ· πάντα γὰρ τὰναντία οὗτοί γε ποιοῦσιν ὧν βούλονται. [2] τά τε γὰρ στόματα ἔλκοντες ἄνω ἀντὶ τοῦ προορᾶν ἐκτυφλοῦσι τοὺς ἵππους καὶ μυωπίζοντες καὶ παίοντες ἐκπλήττουσιν, ὥς τεταράχθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἵππων ἔργα τῶν μάλιστα ἀχθομένων ἱπασίαι καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ οὐ καλὰ ποιούντων. [3] ἐὰν δέ τις διδάξῃ τὸν ἵππον ἐν χαλαρῶι μὲν τῶι χαλινῶι ἱππεύειν, ἄνω δὲ τὸν αὐχένα αἶρειν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς κυρτοῦσθαι, οὕτως ἂν ἀπεργάζοιτο ποιεῖν τὸν ἵππον οἷοισπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδεταί τε καὶ ἀγάλλεται. [4] τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τούτοις ἤδεταί· ὅταν γὰρ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖσθαι θέλῃ παρ' ἵππους, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν παρὰ θηλείας, τότε αἶρει τε τὸν αὐχένα ἄνω καὶ κυρτοῖ μάλιστα τὴν κεφαλὴν γοργοῦμενος, καὶ τὰ μὲν σκέλη ὑγρὰ μετεωρίζει, τὴν δὲ σὺρὰν ἄνω ἀνατείνει. [5] ὅταν οὖν τις αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα προάγῃ ἅπερ αὐτὸς σχηματοποιεῖται, ὅταν μάλιστα καλλωπίζεται, οὕτως ἡδόμενόν τε τῇ ἱπασίᾳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῇ καὶ γοργὸν καὶ περιβλεπτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἵππον. ὥς οὖν ἡγούμεθα ταῦτ' ἂν ἀπεργασθῆναι νῦν αὖ πειρασόμεθα διηγεῖσθαι.

[6] Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν χρὴ οὐ μείον δυοῖν χαλινοῖν κεκτῆσθαι. τούτων δὲ ἕστω ὁ μὲν λειῖος, τοὺς τροχοὺς εὐμεγέθεις ἔχων, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τοὺς μὲν τροχοὺς καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ ταπεινοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἐχίνους ὀξεῖς, ἵνα, ὅποταν μὲν τοῦτον λάβῃ, ἀσχάλλων τῇ τραχύτητι διὰ τοῦτο ἀφίη, ὅταν δὲ τὸν λειῖον μεταλάβῃ, τῇ μὲν λειότητι αὐτοῦ ἡσθῇ, ἃ δ' ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ τραχέος παιδευθῇ, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐν τῶι λείῳ

ποιῆι. [7] ἦν δ' αὖ καταφρονήσας τῆς λειότητος θαμινὰ ἀπερείδεται ἐν αὐτῷ, τούτου ἔνεκα τοὺς τροχοὺς μεγάλους τῷ λείῳ προστίθεμεν, ἵνα χάσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίηι τὸ στόμιον. οἷόν τε δὲ καὶ τὸν τραχὺν παντοδαπὸν ποιεῖν καὶ κατελθόντα καὶ κατατείνοντα. ὅποιοι δ' ἂν ὧσι χαλινοί, πάντες ὕγροί ἔστωσαν. [8] τὸν μὲν γὰρ σκληρόν, ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ ἵππος λάβῃ, ὅλον ἔχει πρὸς ταῖς γνάθοις, ὥσπερ καὶ ὀβελίσκον, ὁπόθεν ἂν τις λάβῃ, ὅλον αἶρει. [9] ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ὥσπερ ἡ ἄλυσις ποιεῖ· ὁ γὰρ ἂν ἔχῃ τις αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο μόνον ἄκαμπτον μένει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ἀπήρηται. τὸ δὲ φεῦγον ἐν τῷ στόματι ἀεὶ θηρεύων ἀφίησιν ἀπὸ τῶν γνάθων τὸ στόμιον· τούτου ἔνεκα καὶ οἱ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τῶν ἄξόνων δακτύλιοι κρεμάννυνται, ὅπως τούτους διώκων τῇ τε γλώττῃ καὶ τοῖς ὁδοῦσιν ἀμελῇι τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν πρὸς τὰς γνάθους τὸν χαλινόν. [10] εἰ δέ τις ἀγνοεῖ, τί τὸ ὑγρὸν τοῦ χαλινοῦ καὶ τί τὸ σκληρόν, γράψομεν καὶ τοῦτο. ὑγρὸν μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὅταν οἱ ἄξονες εὐρείας καὶ λείας ἔχῃσι τὰς συμβολάς, ὥστε ραϊδίως κάμπτεσθαι· καὶ πάντα δὲ ὁπόσα περιτίθεται περὶ τοὺς ἄξονας ἦν εὐρύστομα ἢ καὶ μὴ σύμπυκνα, ὑγρότερα ἐστίν. [11] ἦν δὲ χαλεπῶς ἕκαστα τοῦ χαλινοῦ διατρέχει καὶ συνθέῃ, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ σκληρὸν εἶναι. ὅποῖος δ' ἂν τις ἦι, τούτῳ τάδε γε πάντα ταῦτα ποιητέον, ἥνπερ γε βούληται ἀποδείξασθαι τὸν ἵππον οἷον περ εἴρηται· [12] ἀνακρουστέον μὲν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἵπου οὔτε ἄγαν χαλεπῶς ὥστ' ἐκνεύειν, οὔτε ἄγαν ἡσυχῶς ὥς μὴ αἰσθάνεσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνακρουόμενος αἶρῃ τὸν αὐχένα, δοτέον εὐθύς τὸν χαλινόν. καὶ τᾶλλα δὲ δεῖ, ὥσπερ οὐ παυόμεθα λέγοντες, ἐν ᾧ ἂν καλῶς ὑπηρετῇ, χαρίζεσθαι τῷ ἵππῳ. [13] καὶ ὅταν δ' αἰσθηται ἡδόμενον τὸν ἵππον τῇ τε ὑψαυχενία καὶ τῇ χαλαρότητι, ἐν τούτῳ οὐδὲν δεῖ χαλαρὸν προσφέρειν ὥς πονεῖν ἀναγκάζοντα, ἀλλὰ θωπεύειν ὥς ἱπάσασθαι βουλόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ μάλιστα θαρρῶν πρόεισιν εἰς τὴν ταχεῖαν ἵππασίαν. [14] ὥς δὲ καὶ τῷ ταχὺ θεῖν ἵππος ἡδεταί τεκμήριον· ἐκφυγὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς βάδην πορεύεται, ἀλλὰ θεῖ. τούτῳ γὰρ πέφυκεν ἡδεσθαι, ἦν μὴ τις πλείω τοῦ καιροῦ θεῖν ἀναγκάζῃ· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἡδὺ οὔτε ἵππῳ οὔτε ἀνθρώπῳ. [15] ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς τὸ ἱπάζεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ κυδροῦ ἀφιγμένος ἦι, εἰθισμένος μὲν δήπου ἡμῖν ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἵππασίᾳ ἐκ τῶν στροφῶν εἰς τὸ θάπτον ὀρμᾶσθαι. ἦν δέ τις τοῦτο [μὲν] μεμαθηκότος αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἀντιλαμβάνηται τε τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ σημήνῃ τῶν ὀρμητηρίων τι, οὕτως ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ χαλινοῦ

πιεσθείς, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὀρμᾶν σημανθῆναι ἐγερθεῖς, [καί] προβάλλεται
μὲν τὰ στέρνα, αἶρει δὲ ἄνω τὰ σκέλη ὀργίζομενος, οὐ μέντοι ὑγρά
γε· οὐ γὰρ μάλα ὅταν λυπῶνται ὑγροῖς τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἵπποι χρῶνται.
[16] ἦν δὲ τις οὕτως ἀνεξωπυρημένῳ αὐτῷ δῶι τὸν χαλινόν, ἐνταῦθ’
ὕφ’ ἡδονῆς τῷ διὰ τὴν χαλαρότητα τοῦ στομίου λελύσθαι νομίζειν,
κυδρῶι μὲν τῷ σχήματι, ὑγροῖν δὲ τοῖν σκελοῖν γαυριώμενος
φέρεται, παντάπασιν ἐκμιμούμενος τὸν πρὸς ἵππους καλλωπισμόν.
[17] καὶ οἱ θεώμενοι τὸν ἵππον τοιοῦτον ἐπικαλοῦσιν ἐλευθερίον τε
καὶ ἐθελουργὸν καὶ ἵππαστήν καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ σοβαρὸν καὶ ἅμα
ἡδύν τε καὶ γοργὸν ἰδεῖν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δή, ἦν τούτων τις
ἐπιθυμήσῃ, μέχρι τούτων ἡμῖν γεγράφθω.

Κεφάλαιον ια’

[1] Ἦν δὲ τις ἄρα βουληθῇ καὶ πομπικῶι καὶ μετεώρῳι καὶ
λαμπρῶι ἵππῳ χρῆσασθαι, οὐ μάλα μὲν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐκ παντὸς ἵππου
γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ὑπάρξαι αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν μεγαλόφρονα καὶ τὸ
σῶμα εὖρωστον. [2] οὐ μέντοι ὅ γε οἴονταί τινες τὸν τὰ σκέλη ὑγρά
ἔχοντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα αἶρειν δυνήσεσθαι, οὕτως ἔχει· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅς
ἂν τὴν ὀσφύν ὑγρὰν τε καὶ βραχεῖαν καὶ ἰσχυρὰν ἔχη [καὶ οὐ τὴν
κατ’ οὐρὰν λέγομεν, ἀλλ’ ἣ πέφυκε μεταξύ τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ τῶν
ἰσχίων κατὰ τὸν κενεῶνα], οὗτος δυνήσεται πόρρῳ ὑποτιθέναι τὰ
ὀπίσθια σκέλη ὑπὸ τὰ ἐμπρόσθια. [3] ἦν οὖν τις ὑποτιθέντος αὐτοῦ
ἀνακρούῃ τῷ χαλινῷ, ὀκλάζει μὲν τὰ ὀπίσθια ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις,
αἶρει δὲ τὸ πρόσθεν σῶμα, ὥστε τοῖς ἐξ ἐναντίας φαίνεσθαι τὴν
γαστέρα καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα. δεῖ δὲ καὶ ὅταν ταῦτα ποιῇ διδόναι αὐτῷ τὸν
χαλινόν, ὅπως τὰ κάλλιστα ἵππου ἐκόντα ποιῆσαι δοκῇ τοῖς ὀρῶσιν.
[4] εἰσὶ μέντοι οἱ καὶ ταῦτα διδάσκουσιν οἱ μὲν ράβδῳ ὑπὸ τοὺς
ἀστραγάλους κρούοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ βακτηρίαι παρατρέχοντά τινα
κελεύοντες ὑπὸ τὰς μηριαίας παίειν. [5] ἡμεῖς γε μέντοι τὸ κράτιστον
τῶν διδασκαλίων νομίζομεν, ὥσπερ αἰεὶ λέγομεν, ἦν ἐν παντὶ
παρέπῃται τὸ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ποιήσῃ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ κατὰ γνώμην τυγχάνειν
ῥαιστώνης παρ’ αὐτοῦ. [6] ἃ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἵππος ἀναγκαζόμενος ποιεῖ,
ὥσπερ καὶ Σίμων λέγει, οὗτ’ ἐπίσταται οὔτε καλὰ ἐστὶν οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον ἢ εἴ τις ὀρχηστὴν μαστιγῶν καὶ κεντρίζων <ρύθμιζοι>· πολὺ
γὰρ ἂν πλείω ἀσχημονοίῃ ἢ καλὰ ποιοίῃ ὁ τοιαῦτα πάσχων καὶ ἵππος
καὶ ἄνθρωπος. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἀπὸ σημείων ἐκόντα πάντα τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ
λαμπρότατα ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. [7] ἦν δὲ καί, ὅταν μὲν ἱπάζηται μέχρι,

πολλοῦ ἰδρωτός ἐλαύνηται, ὅταν δὲ καλῶς μετεωρίζῃ ἐαυτόν, ταχύ τε καταβαίνεται καὶ ἀποχαλινῶται, εὖ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἐκὼν εἴσιν εἰς τὸ μετεωρίζειν ἐαυτόν· [8] ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δὴ ἵππαζόμενοι ἵππων καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἥρωες γράφονται, καὶ ἄνδρες οἱ καλῶς χρώμενοι αὐτοῖς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς φαίνονται. [9] οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ὁ μετεωρίζων ἐαυτὸν ἵππος σφόδρα [ἢ καλὸν ἢ δεινὸν ἢ] ἀγαστὸν [ἢ θαυμαστόν], ὡς πάντων τῶν ὁρώντων καὶ νέων καὶ γεραιτέρων τὰ ὄμματα κατέχειν. οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὔτε ἀπολείπει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἀπαγορεύει θεώμενος, ἔστ' ἂν περ ἐπιδεικνύηται τὴν λαμπρότητα. [10] ἦν γε μὴν ποτε συμβῇ τινι τῶν τοιοῦτον ἵππον κεκτημένων ἢ φυλαρχήσαι ἢ ἵππαρχήσαι, οὐ δεῖ αὐτὸν τοῦτο σπουδάζειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς μόνος λαμπρὸς ἔσται, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ὅπως ὅλον τὸ ἐπόμενον ἀξιοθέατον φανεῖται. [11] ἦν μὲν οὖν ἡγήται [ὡς μάλιστα ἐπαινοῦσι τοὺς τοιούτους ἵππους,] ὃς ἂν ἀνωτάτω αἰρόμενος καὶ πυκνότατα τὸ σῶμα βραχύτατον προβαίνει, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ βάδην ἔποιнт' ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι ἵπποι αὐτῷ. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ὄψεως τί ἂν καὶ λαμπρὸν γένοιτ' ἂν; [12] ἦν δὲ ἐξεγείρας τὸν ἵππον ἡγήτῃ μῆτε τῷ ἄγαν ταχεῖ μῆτε τῷ ἄγαν βραδεῖ, ὡς δ' εὐθυμότατοι ἵπποι καὶ γοργότατοι καὶ [πονεῖν] εὐσχημονέστατοι γίνονται, – ἐὰν ἡγήτῃ αὐτοῖς οὕτως, ἀθρόος μὲν <ἂν> ὁ κτύπος, ἀθρόον δὲ τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸ φύσημα τῶν ἵππων συμπαρέποιτο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπαρεπόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι ἂν φαίνοντο.

[13] Ἦν γε μὴν τις καλῶς μὲν ἵππωνήσῃ, τρέφῃ δὲ ὡς πόνους δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν, ὀρθῶς δὲ χρῆται καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς πόλεμον μελετήμασι καὶ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἵππασiais καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγωνίσμασι, τί ἔτι ἐμποδὼν τούτῳ μὴ οὐχὶ πλείονός τε ἀξίους ἵππους ποιεῖν ἢ οἴους ἂν παραλαμβάνῃ, καὶ εὐδοκίμους μὲν ἵππους ἔχειν, εὐδοκιμεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἵππικῃ, ἦν μὴ τι δαιμόνιον κωλύῃ;

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Γράψαι δὲ βουλόμεθα καὶ ὡς δεῖ ὠπλίσθαι τὸν μέλλοντα ἐφ' ἵππου κινδυνεύειν. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνον φαμέν χρῆναι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα τὸν θώρακα πεποιῆσθαι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ καλῶς ἀρμόττοντα [ἐκεῖνον] φέρει τὸ σῶμα, τὸν δὲ ἄγαν χαλαρὸν οἱ ὦμοι μόνον φέρουσιν. ὁ γε μὴν λίαν στενὸς δεσμός, οὐχ ὄπλον ἐστίν. [2] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐχὴν ἐστὶ τῶν καιρίων, φαμέν χρῆναι καὶ τούτῳ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ θώρακος ὅμοιον

τῷ αὐχένι στέγασμα πεποιῆσθαι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἅμα κόσμον τε παρέξει καί, ἣν οἶον δεῖ εἰργασμένον ἦι, δέξεται ὅταν βούληται τῷ ἀναβάτῃ τὸ πρόσωπον μέχρι τῆς ῥινός. [3] κράνος γε μὴν κράτιστον εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ βοιωτιουργές· τοῦτο γὰρ αὖ στεγάζει μάλιστα πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ θώρακος, ὁρᾶν δὲ οὐ κωλύει. ὁ δ' αὖ θώραξ οὕτως εἰργάσθω ὥς μὴ κωλύειν μήτε καθίζειν μήτ' ἐπικύπτειν. [4] τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸ ἦτρον καὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα [καὶ τὰ] κύκλωι αἱ πτέρυγες τοσαῦται καὶ τοιαῦται ἔστωσαν ὥστε στέγειν τὰ βέλη. [5] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀριστερὰ χεὶρ ἦν τι πάθῃ, καταλύει τὸν ἵππεά, καὶ ταύτῃ ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ ἡρῆμένον ὄπλον τὴν χεῖρα καλουμένην. τὸν τε γὰρ ὦμον σκεπάζει καὶ τὸν βραχίονα καὶ τὸν πῆχυν καὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον τῶν ἡνιῶν, καὶ ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ συγκάμπτεται· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ διαλείπον τοῦ θώρακος ὑπὸ τῇ μασχάλῃ καλύπτει. [6] τὴν γε μὴν δεξιὰν ἐπαίρειν δεῖ, ἣν τε ἀκοντίσαι ἦν τε πατάξαι βουληθῇ. τοῦ μὲν δὴ θώρακος τὸ κωλῶν ταύτῃ ἀφαιρετέον· ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου πτέρυγας ἐν τοῖς γιγγλῦμοις προσθετέον ὅπως, ὅταν μὲν διαίρηται, ὁμοίως ἀναπτύσσωνται, ὅταν δὲ καταίρηται, ἐπικλείωνται. [7] τῷ γε μὴν βραχίονι τὸ ὥσπερ κνημὶς παρατιθέμενον βέλτιον ἢ μῖν δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ συνδεθὲν <τῷ> ὄπλῳ. τό γε μὴν ψιλούμενον αἰρομένης τῆς δεξιᾶς στεγαστέον ἐγγὺς τοῦ θώρακος ἢ μοσχεῖωι ἢ χαλκεῖωι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐν τῷ ἐπικαιροτάτῳ ἀφύλακτον ἔσται.

[8] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦνπερ τι πάσχῃ ὁ ἵππος, ἐν παντὶ κινδύνου καὶ ὁ ἀναβάτης γίγνεται, ὀπλίζειν δεῖ καὶ τὸν ἵππον προμετωπιδίῳ καὶ προστερνιδίῳ καὶ παραμυριδίῳ· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ἀναβάτῃ παραμυριδία γίγνεται. πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τοῦ ἵππου τὸν κενεῶνα δεῖ σκεπάζειν· καιριώτατον γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἀφαιρότατόν ἐστι· δυνατὸν δὲ σὺν τῷ ἐπιπῖωι καὶ αὐτὸν σκεπάσαι. [9] χρὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔποχον τοιοῦτον ἐρράφθαι ὥς ἀσφαλέστερόν τε τὸν ἵππεά καθῆσθαι καὶ τὴν ἔδραν τοῦ ἵππου μὴ σίνεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἵππος καὶ ὁ ἵππεὺς ὠπλισμένοι ἂν εἶεν. [10] κνῆμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες ὑπερέχοιεν μὲν ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμυριδίων, ὀπλισθείη δ' ἂν καὶ ταῦτα, εἰ ἐμβάδες γένοιτο σκύτους, ἐξ οὐπερ αἱ κρητῖδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὄπλον τε κνήμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδήματ' ἂν εἴη.

[11] Ὡς μὲν δὴ μὴ βλάπτεσθαι θεῶν ἵλεων ὄντων ταῦτα ὄπλα. ὥς δὲ τοὺς ἐναντίους βλάπτειν, μάχαιραν μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ ξίφος ἐπαινοῦμεν· ἐφ' ὕψηλοῦ γὰρ ὄντι τῷ ἵππεϊ κοπίδος μᾶλλον ἢ πληγῇ ἢ ξίφους ἀρκέσει. [12] ἀντὶ γε μὴν δόρατος καμακίνου, ἐπειδὴ καὶ

ἀσθενὲς καὶ δύσφορόν ἐστι, τὰ κρανέϊνα δύο παλτὰ μᾶλλον ἐπαινοῦμεν. καὶ γὰρ ἐξαφεῖναι τὸ ἕτερον δυνατόν τῳ ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ τῳ λειπομένῳ οἷόν τε χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀντίον καὶ εἰς τὰ πλάγια καὶ εἰς τοῦπισθεν· καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυρότερα τε τοῦ δόρατος καὶ εὐφορώτερα ἐστίν.

[13] Ἀκόντισμά γε μὴν τὸ μακρότατον ἐπαινοῦμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἀποστρέψαι καὶ μεταλαβεῖν παλτὸν οὕτω μᾶλλον ὁ χρόνος ἐγγωρεῖ. γράψομεν δὲ ἐν βραχεῖ καὶ ὥς ἄν τις κράτιστα ἀκοντίζοι. ἦν γὰρ προβαλλόμενος μὲν τὰ ἀριστερά, ἐπανάγων δὲ τὰ δεξιὰ, ἐξανιστάμενος δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν, μικρὸν ἐπανακύπτουσιν τὴν λόγχην ἀφῆι, οὕτω σφοδρότατόν τε καὶ μακρότατον οἴσεται τὸ ἀκόντιον, εὐστοχώτατον μέντοι, ἐὰν κατὰ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφιεμένη ἀεὶ ὀραῖ ἡ λόγχη. [14] καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτη καὶ ὑπομνήματα καὶ μαθήματα καὶ μελετήματα γεγράφθω ἡμῖν. ἃ δὲ ἱπάρχει προσῆκεν εἰδέναι τε καὶ πράττειν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ δεδήλωται.

THE CAVALRY GENERAL - Ἱππαρχικός

[1.1] Πρῶτον μὲν θύοντα χρὴ αἰτεῖσθαι θεοὺς ταῦτα διδόναι καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν, ἀφ' ὧν θεοῖς μὲν κεχαρισμενώτατα ἄρξαις ἄν, σαντῶι δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ τῇ πόλει προσφιλέστατα καὶ εὐκλέεστατα καὶ πολυωφελέστατα. [1.2] θεῶν δὲ ἵλεων ὄντων ἀναβιβαστέον μὲν σοι ἱππέας, καὶ ὅπως ἀναπληρῶται ὁ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀριθμὸς καὶ ὅπως τὸ ὄν ἱππικὸν μὴ μειῶται. εἰ δὲ μὴ προσαναβήσονται ἱππεῖς, μείονες ἀεὶ ἔσονται. ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς μὲν γήραι ἀπαγορεύειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκλείπειν. [1.3] πληρουμένου γε μὴν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἐπιμελητέον μὲν ὅπως τρέφονται οἱ ἵπποι ὥς ἂν δύνωνται πόνους ὑποφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ ἥττους τῶν πόνων οὔτε αἰρεῖν οὔτε ἀποφεύγειν δύναιнт' ἄν. ἐπιμελητέον δὲ ὅπως εὐχρηστοὶ ᾖσιν· οἱ γὰρ αὐτὸ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς φίλοις συμμαχοῦσι. [1.4] καὶ οἱ λακτίζοντες δὲ ἀναβεβαμένοι ἵπποι ἐκποδὼν ποιητέοι· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι ποιοῦσι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως δύνωνται καὶ ἐν τραχείᾳ χώρᾳ ἱππεύειν, εἰδότα ὅτι ὅπου ἂν ἀλγῶσιν ἐλαυνόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα οὐ χρήσιμοι εἰσι. [1.5] τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἷων δεῖ τοὺς ἱππέας αὐτὸ ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναπηδᾶν δύνωνται· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἥδη ἡ σωτηρία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐγένετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως ἐν παντοίοις χωρίοις ἱππάζεσθαι δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἄλλοτε ἐν ἀλλοίοις τόποις γίνονται. [1.6] ὅταν δὲ ἥδη ἔποχοι ᾖσι, δεῖ αὐτὸ σκοπεῖσθαι ὅπως ἀκοντιοῦσί τε ὥς πλείστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἄλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς ἱππικούς. μετὰ ταῦτα ὀπλιστέον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἱππέας ὥς αὐτοὶ μὲν ἥκιστα τιτρώσκοντ' ἄν, βλάπτειν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους μάλιστα δύναιнт' ἄν. [1.7] ἐκ τούτων παρασκευαστέον ὅπως εὐπειθεῖς οἱ ἄνδρες ᾖσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὔθ' ἵππων ἀγαθῶν οὔθ' ἱππέων ἐπόχων οὔθ' ὅπλων καλῶν ὄφελος οὐδέν. προστατεύειν μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅπως καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν Ἱππαρχον εἰκὸς ἐστίν. [1.8] ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγήσαμένη πάντα ταῦτα τὸν Ἱππαρχον μόνον ὄντα ἀπεργάζεσθαι προσαιρεῖται μὲν αὐτῶι συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι τῶν καλῶν τῶι ἱππικῶι, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας ἐπιτηδεῖους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσί

τε τοὺς ἱππέας [βελτίονες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν φοβούμενοι], καταπραύνωσί τε τὴν βουλήν, ἣν τι παρὰ καιρὸν χαλεπαίνει. [1.9] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήματα ὧν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· ὥς δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τούτων βέλτιστα περαίνωτο, τοῦτο δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν.

Τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν ἱππέας δῆλον ὅτι καθιστάναι δεῖ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ χρήμασι καὶ σώμασιν ἢ εἰσάγοντα εἰς δικαστήριον ἢ πείθοντα.

[1.10] ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι εἰς μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τούτους εἰσακτέον εἶναι οὓς μὴ εἰσάγων διὰ κέρδος ἂν τις δοκοίη τοῦτο ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἥττον δυναμένοις εὐθὺς ἂν εἴη ἀποστροφή, εἰ μὴ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρῶτους ἀναγκάζοις. [1.11] ἔστι δὲ καὶ οὓς ἂν μοι δοκεῖ τις νέους μὲν τὰ ἐν ἱπικῇ λαμπρὰ λέγων εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστάναι τοῦ ἱππεύειν, τοὺς δὲ κυρίους αὐτῶν ἥττον ἀντιτείνοντος ἔχειν, τάδε διδάσκων ὥς ἀναγκασθήσονται μὲν ἱπποτροφεῖν, ἣν μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὑπ' ἄλλου <γε> διὰ τὰ χρήματα· [1.12] ἦν δ' ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀναβῶσιν, ὥς ἀποτρέψεις μὲν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τῶν πολυτελῶν τε καὶ μανικῶν ἱππωνιῶν, ἐπιμελήσῃ δὲ ὥς ἂν ταχὺ ἱπτικοὶ γίγνωντο· λέγοντα δὲ οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ταῦτα πειρατέον.

[1.13] Τοὺς γε μὴν ὄντας ἱππέας ἢ βουλή ἂν μοι δοκεῖ προειποῦσα ὥς τὸ λοιπὸν δεήσει διπλάσια ἱπάζεσθαι <καί> ὥς τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἵππον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποδοκιμάσει ἐπιτεῖναι ἂν τρέφειν τε ἄμεινον καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τῶν ἵππων. [1.14] καὶ τοὺς βιαίους δὲ ἵππους ἀγαθὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται. αὕτη γὰρ ἢ ἀπειλή πωλεῦειν ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους μᾶλλον παρορμήσειε καὶ ἱππωνεῖν σωφρονέστερον. [1.15] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱππασίαις λακτίζοντας ἵππους προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ συντάττειν τοὺς τοιούτους δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, ἂν ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους δέῃ ἐλαύνειν, ὑστάτους [ἂν] αὐτοὺς ἔπεσθαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου κακουργίαν ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ ἱππεὺς καθίσταται.

[1.16] Ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἶεν τῷ ἵππῳ κράτιστοι, εἰ μὲν τις ἄλλην ἔχει ραίῳ καὶ εὐτελεστέραν ἄσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι πεῖραν ἔχων χύδην καταβαλόντα λίθους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅσον μνααίους καὶ πλέον καὶ μείον ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἵππον καὶ ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῇ· βαδίζων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λίθοις οὐποτε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὐθ' ὅταν ψήχῃται οὐθ' ὅταν μυωπίζῃται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα ἃ λέγω πιστεύσει καὶ

στρογγύλους τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὄψεται.

[1.17] Ὅποτε γε μὴν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἴους δεῖ, ὥς ἂν αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι γίγνοιτο, τοῦτο διηγῆσομαι. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους πείθοιμεν ἂν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν διδάζοντα δὲ παρασχὼν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοις. τοὺς γε μὴν πρεσβυτέρους τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων προσεθίσας καὶ τούτους ὠφελήσας ἂν. [1.18] ὅπως γε μὴν ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἔποχοι οἱ ἱππεῖς δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἐξάγειν μὴ πολέμου ὄντος ἴσως ὀχληρόν· συγκαλέσαντα δὲ χρή τοὺς ἱππέας συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς μελετᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσέ ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παντοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ὠφελεῖ μὲν παραπλησίως τῷ ἐξάγειν, ὄχλον δ' οὐχ ὁμοίως παρέχει. [1.19] ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν 7τοι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνέχεται δαπαμῶσα εἰς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὥς ἦν πόλεμος γίγνηται, μὴ ζητεῖν δέηι ἱππικόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐτοίμου ἔχῃ παρεσκευασμένῳ χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμουμένους εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας μᾶλλον <ἂν> ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἱππικὴν, ὅπως, ἦν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται, μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δέηι περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς. [1.20] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖπεῖν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, ὅτι ἐξάξεις ποτὲ καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοίων χωρίων ἡγήσῃ. καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ ταῖς πρὸ τῆς ἀνθιππασίας καλὸν ἐξάγειν ἄλλοτ' εἰς ἄλλοιον τόπον· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις βέλτιον.

[1.21] Ἀκοντίζειν γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὧδ' ἂν πλείστοι μοι δοκοῦσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὖ προεῖποις τοῖς φυλάρχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἡγουμένους τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἀκοντισταῖς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμοῖντο γὰρ ἂν, ἥ τι τὸ εἰκός, ὥς πλείστους ἕκαστος ἀποδεῖξαι ἀκοντιστὰς τῇ πόλει. [1.22] ἀλλὰ μὴν <καὶ> τοῦ καλῶς γε ὀπλισθῆναι τοὺς ἱππέας οἱ φύλαρχοι ἂν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν, εἰ πεισθεῖησαν ὅτι πολὺ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῆς πόλεως εὐδοξότερον τῇ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμηθῆναι ἢ μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῶν στολῇ. [1.23] εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπεῖστους εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἳ γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, δυνατοὶ δ' εἰσὶ [καὶ] τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ πορίσαι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοὶ δαπανᾶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὀπλίζεσθαι. [1.24] εἷς γε μὴν τὸ εὐπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα μὲν τὸ [καὶ] λόγῳ διδάσκειν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἐνὶ ἐν τῷ πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ

ἔργοι [κατὰ τὸν νόμον] πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς εὐτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. [1.25] ἰσχυροτάτη δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένης ἑκάστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι, <εἰ> τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους κοσμήσαις μὲν ὄπλοις ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσαις ὡς μάλιστα, ἡγοῖο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα μεμελετηκώς. [1.26] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄθλά τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς φυλαῖς πάντων ὅποσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς θέαις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, τοῦτο πάντας οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε μάλιστ' ἂν προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονικίαν. δηλὸν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς, ὡς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἕνεκεν πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι, μεγάλα δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τοὺς μέντοι κριτὰς τοιοῦτους δεῖ εὐρίσκειν παρ' οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ' ἂν ἀγάλλοιντο.

[2.1] Ἦν δὲ δὴ σοὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐξησκημένοι ὧσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς, δεῖ δήπου καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπίστασθαι αὐτοὺς ἐξ ἧς καλλίστας μὲν θεοῖς πομπὰς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα δὲ ἱππάσονται, ἄριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται, ἦν δέη, ρᾶιστα δὲ καὶ ἀταρακτότατα ὁδοῦ πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις περάσουσιν. ἦι τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην νῦν ἤδη πειράσομαι δηλοῦν. [2.2] οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διηρημέναι φυλαὶ <δέκα>. τούτων δ' ἐγὼ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκάστου γνώμῃ καταστῆσαι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλὸν τι ποιεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν· καὶ τούτους μὲν πρωτοστάτας δεῖ εἶναι. [2.3] μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσους χρή τοῦτοις ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τῶν πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἐλέσθαι οἵτινες τελευταῖοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ ἀπεικάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον, ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρωμένον ἦ καὶ τὸ ἐπελαυνόμενον ἱκανόν. [2.4] τοὺς γε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάτας ἔλαιντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλαιντο, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐκάστωι πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι. [2.5] τὸν μέντοι ἀφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖ ἱκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν, εἴτε ποτὲ δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκελεύων ρώμην ἂν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, εἴτ' αὖ καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν καιρὸς συμβαίνει, φρονίμως ἀφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, σώιζοι τοὺς φυλέτας. [2.6] οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἄρτιοι ὄντες πλείω ἴσα μέρη παρέχοιεν ἂν διαιρεῖν ἢ εἰ περιττοὶ εἶεν. αὕτη δέ μοι ἡ τάξις ἀρέσκει διὰ τὰς, ὅτι

πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πρωτοστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες γίνονται· οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ ἄνδρες ὅταν ἄρχωσι, μᾶλλον πῶς οἴονται ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν καλὸν τι ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἰδιῶται ὧσιν· ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν πρακτέον τι ᾖ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἰδιώταις ἀλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικώτερον. [2.7] τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτω χρή, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἡ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱπάρχου ἐν ᾗ ἐκάστωι ἐλατέον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλθαι ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ὅπη πορευτέον ἐκάστωι. οὕτω γὰρ προειρημένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἂν ἔχοι ἢ εἰ ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου ὡς ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπιόντες λυποῦσιν ἀλλήλους. [2.8] καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν οἱ τε πρῶτοι, ἦν τι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ, ὅταν εἰδῶσιν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι, ἦν τι ὀπισθεν ἐπιφαίνεται, ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν. [2.9] ἄτακτοι δ' ὄντες ἀλλήλους μὲν ταραττοῦσι καὶ ἐν στεναῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν ἑαυτὸν τάττει μάχεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντα ὑπάρχειν δεῖ ἐκπεπονημένα πᾶσι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀπροφάσιστοι ἔσεσθαι συνεργοὶ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.

[3.1] Τῶνδ' γε μὴν αὐτῶι ἡδὴ μέλειν δεῖ τῷ ἱπάρχῳ· πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως καλλιερῇσει τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἔπειτα ὅπως τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσῃ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐπιδεικνύειν δεῖ τῇ πόλει ὅπως ᾗ δυνατόν κάλλιστα ἐπιδείξει, τὰ τε ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα· ὥς δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα κάλλιστ' ἂν πράττειτο, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέξω.

[3.2] Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ, ὅσων ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστί, ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ [περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ] περιελαύνουσιν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες. ἐπειδὴν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες, ἐντεῦθεν καλὸν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου. [3.3] οὐδὲ δόρατα μὴν παραλείψω ὥς ἥκιστα ἂν ἀλλήλοις ἐπαλλάττειτο. δεῖ γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῖν ὧτοιν τοῦ ἵππου ἕκαστον σχεῖν, εἰ μέλλει φοβερά τε καὶ εὐκρινῇ ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἅμα πολλὰ φαινέσθαι. [3.4] ἐπειδὴν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελάσεως λήξωσι, τὴν ἄλλην καλὸν ἡδὴ σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ, ἥτις καὶ πρόσθεν, διελαύνειν. καὶ οὕτως ὅσα ἔστιν ἡδέα ἰδεῖν ἐν ἵππῳ

ἀναβεβαμένῳ πάντα ἐπιδεδειγμένα ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. [3.5] καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰθισμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ ἵππεις εἰσιν οἶδα· γινώσκω δὲ ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ἡδέα ἔσται. αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα τοὺς ἵππείας κεκαινουργηκότας, ἐπεὶδὴ οἱ ἵππαρχοι ἱκανοὶ ἐγένοντο πεῖσαι ἃ ἐβουλήθησαν. [3.6] ὅταν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοντισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν ἐν Λυκείῳ, καλὸν ἑκατέρας τὰς πέντε φυλάς ἐπὶ [τοῦ] μετώπου ἐλαύνειν, ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἱπάρχου καὶ τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ τάξει ἀφ' ἧς πληρῶσεται τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος. [3.7] ἐπειδὰν δ' ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἂν οἶομαι φανῆναι καὶ εἰ καθ' ὁπόσους μέτριον εἰς τὸ κάταντες δυναμένους ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν ἐπιδείξαις τοὺς ἵππείας. [3.8] οὐ μέντοι ἀγνοῶ ὅτι, ἦν μὲν πιστεῦσιν δυνήσεσθαι ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν, πάννυ ἂν ἡδέως ἐπιδείξαιντο· ἦν δὲ ἀμελέητοι ὦσιν, ὅρᾳν χρή ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμοι αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀναγκάσουσιν.

[3.9] Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ἡ μὲν τάξις εἴρηται μεθ' ἧς ἂν κάλλιστα ἱπάζοιντο. ἦν δὲ ὁ ἡγούμενος, ἦν περ ἔχη δυνατόν ἵππον, ἐν τῷ ἔξωθεν ἀεὶ στίχῳ περιφέρηται, οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀεὶ ταχὺ ἐλᾷ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξωθεν γινόμενοι πάλιν αὖ ταχὺ ἐλῶσιν· ὥστε ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἀεὶ τὸ ταχὺ ἐλαυνόμενον θεάσεται, οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀναπαυόμενοι. [3.10] ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις ᾖ, καλὸν μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον τάξασθαι ὥς ἂν ἐπὶ μετώπου ἐμπλήσαντες ἵππων τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους· [3.11] καλὸν δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσιν τε ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσιν ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵππαρχοι ἡγῶνται ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἑκατέρας διελαύνειν τὰς φυλάς δι' ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας τό τε ἀντιμετώπους προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις γοργόν, τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν ἵπποδρομον ἀντίους πάλιν στήναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνόν, [3.12] καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ σάλπιγγος αἷ τὸ δεύτερον θάπτον ἐπελαύνειν καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἤδη τὸ τρίτον αὖ ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος χρή τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις ἐπελαύνειν, καὶ διελάσαντας εἰς κατάλυσιν ἤδη ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας, ὥσπερ εἰώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν. [3.13] ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερά τε φαίνεσθαι ἂν καὶ καινότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων ἐλαύνειν, τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἵππεύειν, οὐκ ἄξιον ἱππαρχίας. [3.14] ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημαίᾳ ἵππεύειν δέη, ἔχω τάδε παραινέσαι· εἰς μὲν τὸ μὴ ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν

ἵππων, ὑπτίους ἀναπεπτωκότας ἐλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν, τοὺς ἵππους ὑπολαμβάνειν ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς. τὰ μέντοι ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεάζεται ἡ βουλή.

[4.1] Ἐν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείαις αἰεὶ δεῖ τὸν ἵππαρχον προνοεῖν ὅπως ἀναπαύημι μὲν τῶν ἵππων τὰς ἔδρας, ἀναπαύημι δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας τῷ βαδίζειν, μέτριον μὲν ὀχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· αὐτὸς γὰρ μέτρον ἕκαστος τοῦ μὴ λαθεῖν ὑπερπονοῦντας. [4.2] ὅταν μέντοι ἀδήλου ὄντος εἰ πολέμοις ἐντεύξῃ πορεύῃ ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρή τὰς φυλάς ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν γὰρ εἰ πᾶσι καταβεβηκόσι πλησιάσειαν οἱ πολέμοι. [4.3] καὶ ἦν μὲν γε διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἐλαύνῃς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον· ἦν δὲ πλατείαις ἐπιτυγχάνῃς ὁδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως αὖ πλατυντέον τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τὸ μέτωπον· ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς πεδίον ἀφικνησθε, ἐπὶ φάλαγγος πάσας τὰς φυλάς ... ἀκτέον ἀγαθὸν γὰρ καὶ μελέτης ἕνεκα ταῦτα ποιεῖν καὶ τοῦ ἥδιον διαπερᾶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ποικίλλοντας ἱππικαῖς τάξεσι τὰς πορείας. [4.4] ὅταν μέντοι ἔξω τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ δυσχωριῶν ἐλαύνῃτε, μάλα χρήσιμον καὶ ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν φιλίας προελαύνειν τῆς φυλῆς ἐκάστης τῶν ὑπηρετῶν οἵτινες, ἦν ἀπόροις νάπαις ἐντυγχάνωσι, παριόντες ἐπὶ τὰ εὖπορα δηλώσουσι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἢ χρή τὴν ἔλασιν ποιεῖσθαι, ὥς μὴ ὅλαι αἱ τάξεις πλανῶνται. [4.5] ἦν δὲ δι' ἐπικινδύνων ἐλαύνῃτε, φρονίμου ἱπάρχου τὸ τῶν προόδων ἄλλους προόδους διερευνωμένους προηγεῖσθαι [τὸ γὰρ ὥς ἐκ πλείστου προαισθάνεσθαι πολέμιων χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ φυλάξασθαι], καὶ τὸ ἀναμένειν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαβάσεσιν, ὥς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες. ἴσασι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σχεδὸν ἅπαντες, καρτερεῖν δ' ἐπιμελούμενοι οὐ πολλοὶ ἐθέλουσι.

[4.6] Προσῆκει δὲ ἱπάρχει ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως ἐμπείρως ἔξει τῆς τε πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας χώρας· ἦν δ' ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχει, τῶν ἄλλων γε δὴ τοὺς ἐπιστημονεστάτους ἐκάστων τόπων παραλαμβάνειν. πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει ἡγούμενος ὁ εἰδὼς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ μὴ εἰδότος, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ πολέμοις ὁ εἰδὼς τοὺς τόπους τοῦ μὴ εἰδότος πολὺ διαφέρει. [4.7] καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὶν πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ μεμεληκέναι, ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφοτέροις φιλίων καὶ ἐξ ἐμπόρων· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τοὺς εἰσάγοντάς τι αἰεὶ ὥς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται· καὶ ψευδαντόμολοι δ' ἔστιν ὅτε χρήσιμον. [4.8] οὐ μέντοι τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα

φυλακῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ' αἰ οὕτως κατεσκευάσθαι χρή, ὥσπερ ἦν ἥζοντες εἰσηγγελμένοι ὧσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν πάνυ πιστοὶ ὧσιν οἱ κατάσκοποι, χαλεπὸν ἐν καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια συμπίπτει. [4.9] τὰς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἵππικοῦ ἦττον ἢ οἱ πολέμιοι αἰσθάνονται, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλλεως γίνονται μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οὖν καὶ [τὸ] πρὸς τὸ διὰ παραγγέλλεως ἐξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχους καθιστάναι, καὶ <ἐπὶ> τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις πεμπαδάρχους, ἵνα ὡς ἐλαχίστοις ἕκαστος παραγγέλλῃ. [4.10] καὶ τὸ μέτωπον δὲ οὕτως μηκύνουσιν ἅν τῆς τάξεως ἀταράκτως οἱ πεμπαδάρχοι παράγοντες, ὁπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη. ὅταν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δέῃ, ἐγὼ μὲν αἰ ἐπαινῶ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπὰς τε καὶ φυλακάς· οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίνονται, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται. [4.11] καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροί εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς ὄντες, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερώτεροι. τὸ γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν ὅτι εἰσὶ που φυλακαί, ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ εἰδέναι, τοῦτο θαρσεῖν μὲν κωλύει τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑποπτεῦν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα τὰ χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ φυλακαὶ δῆλα παρέχουσι καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ. [4.12] ἔτι δὲ τῷ [μὲν] κρυπτὰς ἔχοντι φυλακὰς ἐξέσται μὲν φανεροῖς ὀλίγοις ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλάττοντα πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἐνέδρας ὑπάγειν· ἀγρευτικὸν δὲ καὶ ὀπισθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν ἄλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε φυλάττειν· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων ὁμοίως τῷ πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.

[4.13] Ἀλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε κινδυνεύειν ἐκόντα, πλὴν ὅπου ἂν πρόδηλον ᾖ ὅτι πλέον ἐξεῖ τῶν πολεμίων· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ ἥδιστα τοῖς πολεμίοις προδοσίᾳ τῶν ξυμμάχων δικαίως ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρεία κρίνοιτο. [4.14] σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὁρμᾶν ὅπου ἂν ἀσθενῇ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἦ, κἂν πρόσω ὄντα τυγχάνῃ. τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα πονῆσαι ἀκινδυνότερον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους ἀγωνίζεσθαι. [4.15] ἦν δὲ πῃ εἰς μέσον φίλων τειχέων εἰσίσιν οἱ πολέμιοι, κἂν πολλὸν κρείττους ὄντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁποτέρῳ ἂν λελήθῃς παρών, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρῳθεν. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνοντες τάραττοιεν μὲν ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους, σώζουσιν δ' ἂν τοὺς φίλους. [4.16] καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι τὰ τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἴρηται ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἔστιν· ἐγὼ δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν πειρᾶσθαι, ἦν ἦ ποθεν ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς,

θεώμενον τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρεῖν ἢν τι ἁμαρτάνωσι. [4.17] καὶ τὸ μὲν κλαπῆναι δυνατόν πέμπειν χρή τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἀρπασθῆναι ἐγγωροῦν ἐφίεναι τοὺς ἀρπάσσοντας. ἢν δὲ πορευομένων ποι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπαρτᾶται τι ἀσθενέστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἢ θαρροῦν ἀποσκεδαννύηται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο χρή λανθάνειν· ἀεὶ μέντοι <τῷ> ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον θηρᾷν. [4.18] δυνατόν δὲ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταῦτα καταμανθάνειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπου θηρία, οἳ τε ἵκτινοι δύνανται ὃ ἂν ἀφύλακτον ἢ ἀφαρπάσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν ληφθῆναι, καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ τὰ τε ἐρημούμενα φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς δυσοπάτοις κλέπτουσι, [4.19] καὶ μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται κύων, ἢν μὲν ἦττον ἦι, τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται, ἢν δὲ κρείττων, ἀποσπάσας ὃ τι ἂν ἔχη ἀποχωρεῖ. ὅταν δέ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι λύκοι, τάξαντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελάσαι τὴν φυλακὴν, τοὺς δὲ ἀρπάζειν, οὕτω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζονται. [4.20] θηρίων γε μὴν δυναμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονίμως λήϊζεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τούτων φαίνεσθαι ἢ καὶ αὐτὰ τέχνη ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου ἀλίσκεται;

[5.1] Κάκεϊνό γε μὴν εἰδέναι ἵππικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐκ πόσου ἂν ἵππος πεζὸν ἔλοι καὶ ἐξ ὁπόσου βραδεῖς ἵπποι ταχεῖς ἂν ἀποφύγοιεν. ἵππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ χωρία γινώσκειν ἔνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἵππεων καὶ ἔνθα πεζῶν κρείττους ἱππῆς. [5.2] χρή δὲ μηχανητικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ὀλίγους ἵππεας, πάλιν δ' ὀλίγους τοὺς πολλοὺς, καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρόντα μὲν ἀπεῖναι, ἀπόντα δὲ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον κλέπτειν ἐπιστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἵππεας ἅμα κλέπτοντα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. [5.3] ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχανήμα καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχη, φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὥς μὴ ἐπίθωνται, ὅταν δ' ἐρρωμένως, θάρσος αὐτοῖς ἐμποιεῖν ὥς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἂν ἥκιστα κακῶς πάσχοις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μάλιστ' ἂν ἁμαρτάνοντας λαμβάνοις.

[5.4] Ὅπως δὲ μὴ προστάττειν δοκῶ ἀδύνατα, γράψω καὶ ὥς ἂν γίνοιτο τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν χαλεπώτατα εἶναι. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα διώκειν ἢ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων δυνάμεως. πῶς δ' ἂν ἐμπείρως ἔχοις; εἰ προσέχοις τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ φιλίας ἀνθιππασίαις οἷοι ἀποβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεων τε καὶ φυγῶν. [5.5] ὅταν μέντοι βούλῃ τοὺς ἵππεας πολλοὺς φαίνεσθαι, ἐν

μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἥνπερ ἐγχωρῇ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ πρόσω καὶ ἀπατητικώτερον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ζώου, διασπειρόμενοι δ' εὐαριθμητοὶ γίνονται. [5.6] ἔτι δ' ἂν πλεόν σοι τὸ ἱππικὸν τοῦ ὄντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἱπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας ἐνισταίης μάλιστα μὲν δόπατα, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἥν τε ἐστηκὸς ἐπιδεικνύῃς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἥν τε παράγῃς· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ὄγκον τῆς τάξεως οὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον φαίνεσθαι. [5.7] ἥν δ' αὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀλίγους βούλῃ δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἥν μὲν σοι χωρία ὑπάρχηι οἷα συγκρύπτειν, δηλὸν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἔχων, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὸ ἀδηλὸν ἀποκρύπτων κλέπτοις ἂν τοὺς ἱππέας· ἥν δὲ πᾶν καταφανὲς ἦι τὸ χωρίον, δεκάδας χρὴ στοιχοῦσας ποιήσαντα διαλειπούσας παράγειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἱππέας ἐκάστης δεκάδος ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα ἔχειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταπεινὰ καὶ μὴ ὑπερφανῇ. [5.8] φοβεῖν γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἷόν τε καὶ ψευδοβοηθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρσοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν <ὄντα> τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράγματα καὶ ἀσχολίας πυθνάνωνται. [5.9] τούτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανᾶσθαι αὐτὸν χρὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αἰεὶ ἀπατᾶν· ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν κερδαλεώτερον ἀπάτης ἐν πολέμῳ. [5.10] ὁπότε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδες, ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται ἀπατᾶν προϊέσκοντες ὥστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προέχοντες ὀλίγους φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν, πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν δύναντ' ἂν τοιαῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι; [5.11] καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ἂν τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεονεκτήματα εὖροι ἂν τις τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ γεγεννημένα. ὧν ἕνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέον ἄρχειν ἢ τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέον δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον. [5.12] οἷς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσσεστιν, ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα παρασκευαζόμενον πεζῇ τι πρᾶξαι καὶ τὸ πεζῇ προσποιοῦμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρήσαι.

[5.13] Ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν ὥς ἀσθενὲς τὸ πεζῶν ἔρημον ἱππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον. ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρηῖσθαι· ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐντὸς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀπισθεν ἱππέων ἀποκρύψασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ μείζων ὁ ἱππεὺς τοῦ πεζοῦ. [5.14] ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγὼ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις μηχανήσεται ἢ βίαι ἢ τέχνῃ αἰρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους βουλόμενος σὺν

τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω, ἵνα καὶ ἡ τύχη συνεπαινῇ θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων. [5.15] ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάνυ ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν φυλακτικὸν προσποιήσασθαι εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς φιλοκίνδυνον· τοῦτο γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας μᾶλλον ἀμαρτάνειν. ἦν δ' ἅπαξ δόξει τις φιλοκίνδυνος εἶναι, ἔξεστι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ πράξειν τι, πράγματα παρέχειν τοῖς πολεμίους.

[6.1] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἂν τις δύναιτο πλάσαι οἷον βούλεται, εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν γε πλάττοιο παρεσκευασμένα εἴη ὡς πείθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου γνώμῃ· οὐδὲ γ' ἂν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται ὡς φιλικῶς τε ἔχῃν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιμώτερον σφῶν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώνων.

[6.2] Εὐνοϊκῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν [καὶ] ἐκ τῶνδε εἰκὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἔχηι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προνοῶν φαίνεται ὅπως τε σίτον ἔξουσιν καὶ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσι, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ ἀναπαύσονται. [6.3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς φρουραῖς χρὴ καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ ὕδατος καὶ φρυγάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανερόν εἶναι ἐπιμελόμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα ἔνωκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν γε πλέον ἔχηι τι, τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέον τῷ προεστηκότι.

[6.4] Ἦκιστα δ' ἂν καταφρονοῖεν ἄρχοντος, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὅποσα ἐκείνοις παραινοίη, αὐτὸς ταῦτα βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοιτο ποιῶν. [6.5] ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους πάντα τὰ ἐν ἱππικῇ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ὀρῶσι τὸν ἄρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τάφρους ἀσφαλῶς περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν καὶ ἀπ' ὄχθων κατοροῦειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἱκανῶς· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι. [6.6] ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ τάττειν γνώσιν ἐπιστάμενόν τε καὶ δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν ὡς ἂν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν πολέμιων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν γνώμην, ὡς οὕτ' ἂν εἰκῇ οὕτ' ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγήσασιν· ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα πιθανωτέρους τῷ ἄρχοντι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ποιεῖ.

[7.1] Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμωι εἶναι· πολὺ μέντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἵππαρχον διαφέρειν δεῖ καὶ τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ πολεμικόν εἶναι, ὧι γε ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ὁμοροὶ ἀντίπαλοι ἵππεῖς τε παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὀπλῖται πολλοί. [7.2] κἂν μὲν εἰς

τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρῇ ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τούτους μόνοις ἂν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι διακινδυνεύοι. ἦν δ' οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν ἐμβάλωσι, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔλθοιεν εἰ μὴ σὺν ἄλλοις τε ἱππεῦσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀπλίταις ὁπόσοις ἂν οἶωνται πάντας Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι μάχεσθαι. [7.3] πρὸς οὖν τοσοῦτους πολεμίους ἦν μὲν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα ἐπεξίη ἀρήξουσα τῇ χώρῃ, ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἱππεῖς τε γὰρ σὺν θεῷ ἀμείνους, ἦν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῆται ὥς δεῖ, ὀπλίται τε οὐ μείους ἔσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα τοίνυν οὐ χεῖρῳ ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι, ἦν ὀρθῶς ἀσκηθῶσι σὺν θεῷ. καὶ μὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῖς προγόνοις οὐ μείον Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φρονοῦσιν. [7.4] ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πόλις τρέπεται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικά καὶ ἀρκῇ αὐτῇ τὰ τεῖχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁπότε Λακεδαιμόνιοι σὺν ἅπασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐνέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας ἀξιόσῃ τά τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τεύχους διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς μόνοις διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ θεῶν μὲν οἶμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἰσχυρῶν δεῖ, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτετελεσμένον ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολὺ πλείους καὶ τόλμης, ὁπότε καιρὸς παραπέσοι. [7.5] δεῖ δέ, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸν προνοεῖν ἱκανὸν εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα διακινδυνεύων, ὧι μὴδὲ ὅλη ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθίστασθαι, δηλὸν ὅτι πάσχοι ἂν ὃ τι οἱ κρείττους βούλοιντο, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη. [7.6] εἰ δὲ φυλάττοι μὲν τὰ ἔξω τεύχους τοσοῦτοις ὅσοι σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ ἀναχωρίζειν εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὥς ἐκ πλείστου – ἱκανοὶ δὲ καὶ προορᾶν οὐδὲν ἥττον οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ ἀναχωρίζειν τὰ φίλια οὐκ ἀκαιρότεροι οἱ μήτε αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις πιστεύοντες. [7.7] ὁ γὰρ φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι – τοὺς μὲν <οὖν> φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἂν τις ποιῶν ἴσως ὀρθῶς βουλευέοιτο· τοὺς δὲ περιττοὺς τῆς φυλακῆς εἰ μὲν τις στρατιὰν ἔχειν ἡγήσεται, ὀλίγη αὐτῷ φανεῖται· τοῦ παντὸς γὰρ ἐνδεήσεται ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διακινδυνεύειν· ἦν δὲ ὥς ληισταῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆται, πάντῃ ἂν ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς ἱκανὴν τοῦτο πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν. [7.8] δεῖ δέ, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τούτους παρεσκευασμένους ἀεὶ ἔχοντα ὥς ποιεῖν τι μὴ καταφανῆ ὄντα φυλάττειν, ἦν τι ἀμαρτάνῃ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα. [7.9] φιλοῦσι δὲ πῶς στρατιῶνται, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ὦσι, τοσοῦτοι πλείω ἀμαρτάνειν. ἦ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπιμελείαι σκεδάννυνται ἢ

πορευομένων ἀταξίαι οἱ μὲν προέρχονται, οἱ δ' ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καιροῦ. [7.10] τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτήματα οὐ χρή παρίεναι ἀκόλαστα [εἰ δὲ μή, ὅλη ἡ χώρα στρατόπεδον ἔσται] ἐκεῖνο καλῶς προνοοῦντα, καὶ ποιήσαντά τι φθάσαι ἀποχωρήσαντα πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν ἐπιγενέσθαι. [7.11] πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς ὁδοὺς ἔρχεται ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλέον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων δύνανται. καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσιν γε ἔστι τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμιεύσασθαι ὥστε ὅποσους ἂν βούληται τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτίθεσθαι. [7.12] ἔστι δ' ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπεδευομένοις καὶ ἀριστῶσι καὶ δειπνοποιουμένοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἅπλοι στρατιῶται γίνονται, μείονα μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὀπλῖται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς. [7.13] σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακαῖς οὐδέποτε δεῖ παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὗτοι γὰρ αὖ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἀεὶ καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἐνίστε ἀποστατοῦσιν. [7.14] ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, καλὸν ἐστὶ σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν μεμελετηκότα ὡς ... <πός>οι τε ἐκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς χώρας προφυλάττουσιν. οὐδεμία γὰρ οὕτω καλὴ λεία ὡς αἱ φυλακαί, ἣν κρατηθῶσι. [7.15] καὶ εὐεξαπάτητοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες· διώκουσι γὰρ ὅ τι ἂν ὀλίγον ἴδωσι, νομίζοντες σφίσι τοῦτο προστετάχθαι. τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἐναντία τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἔσονται.

[8.1] Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνήσεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς τὸ πολὺ κρεῖττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρειν ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐν ἱπικῇ ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας. [8.2] τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη πρῶτον μὲν <εἰ οἱ> λήζεσθαι μέλλοντες ἐκπεπονημένοι εἶεν τῇ ἐλάσει, ὥστε δύνασθαι στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ γυναῖκες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγωνίζοντο. [8.3] οἱ δὲ γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους διαπηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχθους ἀνάλλεσθαι καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δ' αὖ τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσιν ἂν τῶν ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα ὅσον περ πτηνοὶ πεζῶν· οἱ δὲ γε αὖ τοὺς πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι τῶν ἀτρίβων πρὸς τραχέα ὅσον περ ὑγιεῖς χολῶν· καὶ οἱ γε τῶν τόπων ἔμπειροι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπείρους τοσοῦτον ἐν ταῖς προελάσεσι καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσι διαφέρουσιν ἂν ὅσον περ οἱ ὀρῶντες τῶν τυφλῶν.

[8.4] Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅτι [οἱ] εὐωχοῦμενοι <μὲν οἱ> ἵπποι, [μὴ] ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὥστε <μὴ> ἀποπνίγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις, εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσὶ. χρὴ δέ, ἐπεὶ περ χαλिनοὶ καὶ ἐφίππια ἐξ ἱμάντων ἡρτημένα ἐστὶ [χρήσιμα], μήποτε τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἔρημον εἶναι· μικρᾷ γὰρ δαπάνῃ τοὺς ἀποροῦντας χρησίμους ἂν παρέχοιτο.

[8.5] Εἰ δέ τις νομίζοι πολλὰ ἔχειν ἂν πράγματα, εἰ οὕτω δεήσει ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἵππικὴν, ἐνθυμηθήτω ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀσκοῦντες πολὺ πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἔχουσιν ἢ οἱ τὴν ἵππικὴν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες. [8.6] καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν ἰδρώτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἵππικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα μεθ' ἡδονῆς. ὅπερ γὰρ εὖ ξαίτ' ἂν τις πτηνὸς γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων ἔοικεν αὐτῷ. [8.7] καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐν πολέμῳ νικᾷ πολλῷ ἐνδοξότερον ἢ πυγμῇ· μετέχει μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταύτης τῆς δόξης· ὥς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκῃ καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν, ὥστ' οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε τί προσήκει ἄλλ' ἅττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ πολεμικά. [8.8] ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν ληισταὶ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἡσκηκεῖναι δύνανται ζῆν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πολὺ κρείττωνων. προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρποῦμένοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς στερισκομένοις τῆς τροφῆς λήιζεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐργαστέον ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰργασμένων θρεπτέον· ἄλλως δ' οὐ ράδιον οὔτε βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.

[8.9] Μεμνησθαι δὲ κάκεῖνο χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἐλαύνειν ὀπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατα ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι σφαλῆναι. [8.10] ἔτι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνησαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττεσθαι. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ, ὅταν μὲν ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τούτους ὧν ἂν οἶωνται κρείττους εἶναι, παντάπασιν ἀσθενεῖ δυνάμει ἔρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἔπαθον ἃ ὥιοντο ποιήσιν· ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ὧν ἂν σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται ἥττους ὄντες, πᾶσαν ὅσῃν ἂν ἔχῃσι δύναμιν ἄγουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ φημι χρῆναι τάναντία τούτων ποιεῖν. [8.11] ὅταν μὲν κρατήσῃν οἰόμενος ἄγῃ, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως ὅσῃν ἂν ἔχη· τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾷ οὐδενὶ πώποτε μεταμέλειαν παρέσχεν. [8.12] ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ προγινώσκηι ὅτι ποιήσαντα ὃ τι ἂν δύνῃται φευκτέον ἐστίν, εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτά φημι πολὺ κρείττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἢ πάντας προσάγειν, τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς κρατίστους. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ποιῆσαι

ἂν τι καὶ ἀποχωρῆσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν δύναιντο. [8.13] ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγὼν ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βραδυτάτων ἵππων ἀλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' ἀφιππίαν πίπτειν, τοὺς δὲ διὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολὺν τόπον χαλεπὸν εὔρεῖν οἷον ἂν τις εὔξαιτο. [8.14] ὑπὸ γε μὴν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ συμπίπτειν ἂν καὶ ἐμποδίζοντες πολλὰ ἂν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῖεν. οἱ δ' ἀγαθοὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἱππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ' αὐτῶν διαφεύγειν ἄλλως τε ἂν καὶ μηχανᾶται τις τοῖς διώκουσι φόβον ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν ἱππέων. [8.15] σύμφορον δ' εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψευδενέδραι· χρήσιμον δὲ κάκεῖνο, τὸ εὐρίσκειν πόθεν ἂν οἱ φίλοι ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς διώκοντας παρέχοιεν. [8.16] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε δῆλον, ὥς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων περιγίγνουντ' ἂν. καὶ οὐ λέγω ὥς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι καὶ πονεῖν μᾶλλον δυνήσονται καὶ θάττους ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ὅτι ῥᾷον εὔρεῖν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὥς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς φρονίμως μελετήσοντας τὴν ἱππικὴν.

[8.17] Ἦν δέ ποτε συμβαίνειν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς παραπλησίους ἱππέας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἂν χεῖρον εἶναι εἴ τις δύο τάξεις ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσειεν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁ φύλαρχος ἡγοῖτο, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὅστις ἄριστος δοκοίη εἶναι, [8.18] οὗτος δὲ τέως μὲν ἔποιτο κατ' οὐρὰν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλάρχου τάξεως, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἤδη εἶεν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως παρελαύνει ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ ἐκπληκτικωτέρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἂν εἶναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέρους. [8.19] εἰ δὲ καὶ πεζοὺς ἔχοιεν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀποκεκρυσμένοι ὀπισθεν τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξαπίνης δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ ὁμόσε ἰόντες δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ μᾶλλον κατεργάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἦν μὲν ἀγαθὰ ἦι, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἦν δὲ δεινά, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα. [8.20] ταῦτα δὲ γνοίῃ ἂν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος ὥς οἱ τε ἐνέδραις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἐὰν πολὺ πλείους ᾧσι, καὶ ὅταν πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικάθωνται, ὥς πολὺ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις φοβερώτατα ἔχουσιν. [8.21] ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπὸν· τὸ δ' εὔρεῖν τοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ εὐψύχως παρελῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦτο ἤδη ἀγαθοῦ ἱπάρχου. [8.22] δεῖ γὰρ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν τοιαῦτα ἀφ' ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γνῶσκονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό τε πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἔπεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμόσε ἐλαύνειν τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ

ἐπιθυμήσουσι τοῦ καλόν τι ἀκούειν καὶ δυνήσονται ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν. [8.23] ἐὰν δέ ποτε αὖ ἡ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων ἡ χωρίων ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἀναστροφαί τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεις γίνωνται, εἰώθασι μὲν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὁρμᾶν μὲν [ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν] βραδέως ἀμφοτέροι, τὸ δ' ἐν μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν. [8.24] ἦν δέ τις οὕτω προδείξας ἔπειτα [δ'] ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν ταχέως τε διώκηι καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῇ, βλάπτειν τ' ἂν μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύναιτο καὶ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν διάγοι, ταχὺ μὲν διώκων ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἐγγὺς ἦι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἀποχωρῶν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἰσχυρῶν. [8.25] εἰ δὲ καὶ λαθεῖν δύναιτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐκάστης καταλιπὼν ἢ τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων ἵππων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολλὸν ἂν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ ἐπαναστρεφόμενοις τοῖς πολεμίῳ ἐμπίπτειν.

[9.1] Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὀλιγάκις ἀρκεῖ, ἐννοεῖν δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον αὐτῷ ἀεὶ δεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ παριστάμενον σκοποῦντα τὸ συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι δὲ πάντα ὅποσα δεῖ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἢ τὰ μέλλοντα πάντα εἰδέναι. [9.2] πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι τὸ ὅσα ἂν γνῶι ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς ἂνπραχθῇ. ὀρθῶς δὲ γινωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει καρπὸν οὔτ' ἐν γεωργίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὔτ' ἐν ἀρχῇ, ἦν μὴ τις ἐπιμέλῃται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκπεραίνηται.

[9.3] Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ [ταῦτα] καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἱππικὸν ᾧδ' ἂν πολλὸν θᾶπτον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ πολλὸν ῥᾷον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους ἱππέας ξένους καταστήσαιντο· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἂν μοι οὗτοι προσγενόμενοι καὶ εὐπειστότερον ἂν πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ φιλοτιμότερον πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας. [9.4] οἶδα δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱππικὸν ἀρξάμενον εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐπεὶ ξένους ἱππέας προσέλαβον. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις δὲ πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τὰ ξενικὰ ὁπῶ εὐδοκιμοῦντα· ἡ γὰρ χρεια μεγάλην προθυμίαν συμβάλλεται. [9.5] εἰς δὲ τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων νομίζω ἂν αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὑπάρξαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν σφόδρα ἀπεχομένων μὴ ἱππεύειν, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς καθίστησι τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐθέλουσι τελεῖν ἀργύριον ὡς μὴ ἱππεύειν, <καὶ> παρὰ πλουσίων μὲν, ἀδυνάτων δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ παρ' ὀρφανῶν τῶν δυνατοῦς οἴκους ἐχόντων. [9.6] νομίζω δὲ καὶ μετοίκων φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἂν τινες εἰς ἱππικὸν καθισταμένους· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσων ἂν καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδῶσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολῖται,

φιλοτίμως ἐνίους ἐθέλοντας τὸ προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι. [9.7] δοκεῖ δ' ἄν μοι καὶ πεζὸν σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐνεργότατον εἶναι, εἰ συσταθείη ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων τοῖς πολεμίοις. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ' ἄν. [9.8] εἰ δέ τις τοῦτο θαυμάζει, ὅτι πολλάκις γέγραπται τὸ σὺν θεῷ πράττειν, εὖ ἴστω ὅτι ἦν πολλάκις κινδυνεύῃ, ἥττον τοῦτο θαυμάσεται, καὶ ἦν γε κατανοῇ ὅτι, ὅταν πόλεμος ᾖ, ἐπιβουλεύουσι μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἴσασι πῶς ἔχει τὰ ἐπιβουλευόμενα. [9.9] τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα οὐδ' ὅτωι συμβουλεύσεται τις οἷόν τε εὐρεῖν πλὴν θεῶν· οὗτοι δὲ πάντα ἴσασι καὶ προσημαίνουσιν ὧι ἂν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις καὶ ἐν ὀνείρασιν. εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλῃν αὐτοὺς συμβουλεύειν τούτοις, οἳ ἂν μὴ μόνον ὅταν δέωνται ἐπερωτῶσι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις θεραπεύωσιν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται τοὺς θεούς.

HUNTING WITH DOGS - Κυνηγετικός

[1.1] Τὸ μὲν εὖρημα θεῶν, Απόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, ἄγραι καὶ κύνες· ἔδοσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτίμησαν τούτῳ Χεῖρωνα διὰ δικαιοσύνην. [1.2] ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐχάρη τῷ δώρῳ καὶ ἐχρῆτο· καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ μαθηταὶ κυνηγεσίῳ τε καὶ ἐτέρων καλῶν Κέφαλος, Ἀσκληπιός, Μειλανίων, Νέστωρ, Ἀμφιάρεος, Πηλεὺς, Τελαμών, Μελέαγρος, Θησεύς, Ἴππόλυτος, Παλαμίδης, Μενεσθεύς, Ὀδυσσεύς, Διομήδης, Κάστωρ, Πολυδεύκης, Μαχάων, Ποδαλείριος, Ἀντίλοχος, Αἰνείας, Ἀχιλλεύς, ὧν κατὰ χρόνον ἕκαστος ὑπὸ θεῶν ἐτιμήθη. [1.3] θαυμάζετο δὲ μηδεὶς ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀρέσκοντες θεοῖς ὅμως ἐτελεύτησαν· τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις· ἀλλ' οἱ ἔπαινοι αὐτῶν μεγάλοι ἐγένοντο· μηδὲ ὅτι οὐχ αἱ αὐταὶ ἡλικίαι πᾶσι τούτοις· ὁ γὰρ Χεῖρωνος βίος πᾶσιν ἐξήρκει. Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Χεῖρων ἀδελφοὶ πατὴρ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοῦ, μητὴρ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ῥέας, ὁ δὲ Ναΐδος νύμφης· [1.4] ὥστε ἐγγόνει μὲν Χεῖρων πρότερος τούτων, ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὕστερος, ἐπεὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἐπαίδευσεν. [1.5] ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς [ἐκ] τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ <ἐκ> τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας πολλὸν διενεγκόντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐθαυμάσθησαν. [1.6] Κέφαλος μὲν [καὶ] ὑπὸ θεᾶς ἠρπάσθη, Ἀσκληπιὸς δὲ <καὶ> μεϊζόνων ἔτυχεν, ἀνίστασθαι μὲν τεθνεῶτας, νοσοῦντας δὲ ἰᾶσθαι· διὰ δὲ ταῦτα θεὸς ὥς παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἀείμνηστον κλέος ἔχει. [1.7] Μειλανίων δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχε φιλοπονίαι, ὥστε ὧν αὐτῷ ἀντερασταὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ τότε ἄριστοι τῶν τότε μεγίστων γάμων μόνος ἔτυχεν Ἀταλάντης. Νέστωρ δὲ προδιελήλυθεν ἡ ἀρετὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὰς ἀκοάς, ὥστε εἰδῶσιν ἂν λέγοιμι. [1.8] Ἀμφιάρεος δὲ ὅτ' ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστράτευσε, πλεῖστον κτησάμενος ἔπαινον ἔτυχε παρὰ θεῶν ἀείζως τιμᾶσθαι. Πηλεὺς δ' ἐπιθυμίαν παρέσχε καὶ θεοῖς δοῦναι τε Θέτιν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γάμον παρὰ Χεῖρῳι ὑμνῆσαι. [1.9] Τελαμών δὲ τοσοῦτος ἐγένετο, ὥστ' ἐκ μὲν πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης ἦν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο γῆμαι Περίβοιαν τὴν Ἀλκάθου· ὅτε δὲ ὁ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐδίδου τάριστεϊα Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Διός, ἐλὼν Τροίαν, Ἡσιόνην αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν. [1.10] Μελέαγρος δὲ τὰς μὲν τιμὰς ἃς ἔλαβε φανεραὶ· πατὴρ δ' ἐν γῇ ἐπιλανθανομένου τῆς θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ αἰτίας ἐδυστύχησε. Θησεὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐχθροὺς πάσης μόνος ἀπώλεσε· τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ πατρίδα πολλὸν μεῖζω ποιήσας ἔτι καὶ νῦν θαυμάζεται. [1.11] Ἴππόλυτος δὲ ὑπὸ

μὲν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἐν λόγοις συνῆν, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ ὀσιότητι μακαρισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε. Παλαμήδης δὲ ἕως μὲν περιῆν πάντων τῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὑπερέσχε σοφία. ἀποθανὼν δὲ ἀδίκως τοσαύτης ἔτυχε τιμωρίας ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅσης οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ οὐχ ὑφ' ὧν οἴονται τινες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὁ μὲν σχεδόν τι ἄριστος, ὁ δὲ ὅμοιος ἀγαθοῖς· κακοὶ δὲ ἔπραξαν τὸ ἔργον. [1.12] Μενεσθεὺς δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς [ἐκ] τῶν κυνηγεσιῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερέβαλε φιλοπονία, ὥστε ὁμολογεῖται τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτους ὑστέρους εἶναι τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκείνου πλὴν Νέστορος· καὶ οὗτος οὐ προέχειν λέγεται, ἀλλὰ ἐρίζειν. [1.13] Ὀδυσσεὺς δὲ καὶ Διομήδης λαμπροὶ μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον, τὸ δὲ ὅλον αἴτιοι τοῦ Τροίαν ἀλῶναι. Κάστωρ δὲ καὶ Πολυδεύκης ὅσα ἐπεδειξάντο ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τῶν παρὰ Χείρωνος διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκ τούτων ἀθάνατοὶ εἰσι. [1.14] Μαχάων δὲ καὶ Ποδαλείριος παιδευθέντες τὰ αὐτὰ ἐγένοντο καὶ τέχνας καὶ λόγους καὶ πολέμους ἀγαθοί. Ἀντίλοχος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑπεραποθανὼν τοσαύτης ἔτυχεν εὐκλείας, ὥστε μόνος φιλοπάτωρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀναγορευθῆναι. [1.15] Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώιους καὶ μητρώιους θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνωι ἐκείνωι ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι. [1.16] Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ παιδείᾳ τραφεὶς οὕτω καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα μνημεῖα παρέδωκεν, ὥστε οὔτε λέγων οὔτ' ἀκούων περὶ ἐκείνου οὐδεὶς ἀπαγορεύει. [1.17] οὗτοι δὲ τοιοῦτοι ἐγένοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ Χείρωνος, ἧς οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ φθονοῦσιν, ὥστ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἑλλάδι εἴ τωι συμφοραὶ ἐγίνοντο ἢ πόλει ἢ βασιλεῖ, ἐλύοντο <δι> αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάντας πάσῃ τῇ Ἑλλάδι νεῖκος ἢ πόλεμος ἦν, διὰ τούτους οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκράτουν, ὥστε ἀνίκητον τὴν Ἑλλάδα παρέχεσθαι.

[1.18] Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν παραινῶ τοῖς νέοις μὴ καταφρονεῖν κυνηγεσιῶν μηδὲ τῆς ἄλλης παιδείας· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ γίνονται τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀγαθοὶ καὶ [εἰς] τὰ ἄλλα ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καλῶς νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν.

[2.1] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τὸ τῶν κυνηγεσιῶν τὸν ἤδη ἐκ παιδὸς ἀλλάττοντα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εἴτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα παιδεύματα, [τὸν μὲν ἔχοντα] σκεψάμενον τὴν οὐσίαν, ὧι μὲν ἔστιν ἰκανή, ἀξίως τῆς αὐτοῦ ὠφελείας, ὧι δὲ μὴ ἔστιν, ἀλλ'

οὖν τὴν γε προθυμίαν παρεχέσθω μηδὲν ἐλλείπων τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
δυνάμεως. [2.2] ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα δεῖ παρεσκευασμένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸ
φράσω καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐκάστου, ἵνα προειδῶς ἐγχειρῇ
τῷ ἔργῳ. καὶ μηδεὶς αὐτὰ φαῦλα νομισάτω εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ
τούτων οὐκ ἂν εἴη πρᾶξις. [2.3] χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄρκυωρὸν εἶναι
ἐπιθυμοῦντα τοῦ βεργου καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἑλληνα, τὴν δὲ ἡλικίαν περὶ
ἑτι εἴκοσι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐλαφρόν, ἰσχυρόν, ψυχὴν δὲ ἱκανόν, ἵνα τῶν
πόνων τούτοις κρατῶν χαίρηι τῷ ἔργῳ. [2.4] τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς Φασιανοῦ
ἢ Καρχηδονίου λεπτοῦ λίνου καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ τὰ δίκτυα. ἔστωσαν
δὲ αἱ μὲν ἄρκυς ἐννεάλινοι <ἐκ τριῶν τόνων, ἕκαστος δὲ τόνος ἐκ
τριῶν λίνων>, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος πεντεσπίθαμοι, διπάλαστοι δὲ τοὺς
βρόχους, περικεῖσθωσαν δὲ τοὺς περιδρόμους ἀναμμάτων, [2.5] ἵνα
εὐτροχοὶ ᾖσι, τὰ δ’ ἐνόδια δωδεκάλινα, <τὰ δὲ δίκτυα
ἐκκαιδεκάλινα>, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια διώρυγα, τριώρυγα,
τετρώρυγα, πεντώρυγα, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα δεκώρυγα, εἰκοσώρυγα,
τριακοντώρυγα· ἐὰν δὲ ἤ μείζω, δυσμεταχείριστα ἔσται· ἀμφοτέρω
δὲ τριακονθάμματα, καὶ τῶν βρόχων τὸ διάστημα ἴσον ταῖς ἄρκυσιν.
[2.6] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀκρωλενίοις τὰ μὲν ἐνόδια ἐχέτω μαστούς, τὰ δὲ
δίκτυα δακτυλίους, τοὺς δὲ περιδρόμους ἀπὸ στροφείων. [2.7] αἱ δὲ
σχαλίδες αἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρκύων τὸ μήκος δέκα παλαιστῶν, ἔστωσαν δὲ
καὶ ἐλάττους· αἱ μὲν ἄνισοι αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ἑτεροκλινέσι τῶν χωρίων,
ἵνα ἴσα τὰ ὕψη ἐξαίρῳσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁμαλέσιν αἱ ἴσαι· αὗται δ’
εὐπερίσπαστοι τὰ ἄκρα καὶ [αὗται] λεῖαι· αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐνοδίων τῶν
ἀρκύων διπλάσιαι, αἱ δὲ τῶν δικτύων τὸ μὲν μέγεθος πεντεσπίθαμοι,
δίκρα ἔχουσαι μικρά, τὰ ἐντμήματα μὴ βαθέα· εὐπαγεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ
μὴ ἀσύμμετροι τὰ πάχη πρὸς τὰ μήκη. [2.8] τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν
σχαλίδων οἷόν τ’ ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ δίκτυα πολλῶι καὶ ὀλίγῳ·
ἐλάττονι μὲν, ἂν σφόδρα τείνηται ἐν τῇ στάσει, πλέονι δ’, ἂν
ἡσυχῇ. [2.9] ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔσονται αἱ ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ ἐνόδια καὶ
<τὰ> δίκτυα κυνοῦχος μόσχειος, καὶ τὰ δρέπανα, ἵνα ἤ τῆς ὕλης
τέμνοντα φράττειν τὰ δεόμενα.

[3.1] Τὰ δὲ γένη τῶν κυνῶν διττά, αἱ μὲν καστόριαι, αἱ δὲ
ἄλωπεκίδες. ἔχουσι δ’ αἱ μὲν καστόριαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ταύτην ὅτι
Κάστωρ ἡσθεὶς τῷ ἔργῳ μάλιστα αὐτὰς διεφύλαξεν· αἱ δ’
ἄλωπεκίδες διότι ἐκ κυνῶν τε καὶ ἄλωπέκων ἐγένοντο· ἐν πολλῶι δὲ
χρόνῳ συγκέκραται αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις. [3.2] χεῖρους δὲ καὶ πλείους αἱ
τοιαίδε, μικραί, γρυπαί, χαροποί, μυωποί, ἄμορφοι, σκληραί,

ἀσθενεῖς, ψιλαί, ὑψηλαί, ἀσύμμετροι, ἄψυχοι, ἄρρινες, οὐκ εὐποδες.
[3.3] αἱ μὲν οὖν μικραὶ πολλάκις ἀποστεροῦνται τῆς ἐργασίας διὰ τὸ
μικρόν· αἱ δὲ γρυπαὶ ἄστομοι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ κατέχουσι τὸν λαγῶ·
<αἱ> χαροποὶ δὲ καὶ μυωποὶ χεῖρω τὰ ὄμματα ἔχουσιν· <αἱ> ἄμορφοι
δὲ καὶ αἰσχραὶ ὀραῖσθαι· αἱ δὲ σκληραὶ τὰ εἶδη χαλεπῶς ἀπὸ τῶν
κυνηγεσίων ἀπαλλάττουσιν· πονεῖν δὲ ἀδύνατοι αἱ ἀσθενεῖς καὶ αἱ
ψιλαί· αἱ δὲ ὑψηλαί καὶ αἱ ἀσύμμετροι ἀσύντακτα ἔχουσαι τὰ
σώματα βαρέως διαφοιτῶσιν· αἱ ἄψυχοι δὲ καὶ λείπουσι τὰ ἔργα καὶ
ἀφίστανται <καὶ ὑποφεύγουσι> τὸν ἥλιον ὑπὸ τὰς σκιάς καὶ
κατακλίνονται· αἱ δὲ ἄρρινες μόλις καὶ ὀλιγάκις αἰσθάνονται τοῦ
λαγῶ· αἱ δὲ ἄποδες οὐδ' ἂν ὥσιν εὐψυχοὶ τοὺς πόνους δύνανται
ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀπαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν ποδῶν.

[3.4] Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἰχνεύσεως πολλοὶ τρόποι ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κυνῶν·
αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπειδὴν λάβωσι τὰ ἵχνη, πορεύονται ἀσήμως ὥστε μὴ
γινώσκεσθαι ὅτι ἰχνεύουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μόνον διακινουῖσι, τὴν δὲ
οὐρὰν ἡσυχῇ ἔχουσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ ὦτα μὲν ἀκίνητα ἔχουσιν, ἄκραν δὲ
τὴν οὐρὰν σείουσιν. [3.5] ἄλλαι δὲ συνάγουσι τὰ ὦτα καὶ
ἐπισκυθρωπάσασαι διὰ τοῦ ἵχνους, σχάσασαι τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ
φράξασαι διατρέχουσι· πολλαὶ δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι,
μανικῶς δὲ περιφερόμεναι ὑλακτοῦσι περὶ τὰ ἵχνη, ὅτε δὲ
εἰσπίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτά, ἀφρόνως καταπατοῦσαι τὰς αἰσθήσεις. [3.6]
εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ κύκλοις πολλοῖς χρώμεναι καὶ πλάνοις, ὑπολαμβάνουσαι
ἐκ τοῦ πρόσω τὰ ἵχνη παραλείπουσι τὸν λαγῶ, ὅσάκις δ' ἐπιτρέχουσι
τὰ ἵχνη, εἰκάζουσι, προορώμεναι δὲ τὸν λαγῶ τρέμουσι καὶ οὐκ
ἐπέρχονται πρὶν <ἂν> ἰδῶσιν ὑποκινουῖντα. [3.7] ὅσαι δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων
κυνῶν εὐρήματα ἐν ταῖς ἰχνεῖαις καὶ μεταδρομαῖς προθέουσαι
θαμινὰ σκοποῦσιν, ἑαυταῖς ἀπίστως ἔχουσι· θρασεῖαι δ' αἱ οὐκ ἐῶσι
τῶν συνεργῶν τὰς σοφωτέρας εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προιέναι, ἀλλ'
ἀνείργουσι θορυβοῦσαι· αἱ δὲ ἀσπαζόμεναι τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ
ὑπερλαμπρυνόμεναι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν τύχωσι προάγουσι συνειδυῖαι
ἑαυταῖς ὅτι ἐξαπατῶσιν· αἱ δ' οὐκ εἰδυῖαι τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσι ταύταις·
φαῦλαι δὲ αἱ οὐκ ἀπαλλαττόμεναι ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν τὰ ὀρθὰ οὐ
γινώσκουσιν. [3.8] ὅσαι δὲ τῶν κυνῶν τὰ ἵχνη τὰ μὲν εὐναῖα
ἀγνοοῦσι, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχὺ διατρέχουσιν, οὐκ εἰσὶ γνήσιαι·
διώκουσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀρχόμεναι σφόδρα, διὰ δὲ μαλακίαν ἀνιᾶσιν, αἱ
δὲ ὑποθέουσιν, εἴτα ἀμαρτάνουσιν, ἕτεραι δὲ ἀνοήτως ἐμπίπτουσαι
εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσι, τὸ ἀνήκουστον πολὺ ἔχουσαι. [3.9] πολλαὶ

δὲ τὰ διώγματα ἀφιεῖσαι ἐπανερχονται διὰ τὸ μισόθηρον, πολλαὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον· αἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἰχνῶν κεκλαγγυῖαι ἐξαπατᾶν πειρῶνται, ἀληθῆ τὰ ψευδῆ ποιοῦμεναι. [3.10] εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ ποιοῦσι, μεταξὺ δὲ θεούσαι ἅν ποθεν ἀκούσωσι κραυγῆς, καταλείπουσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα ἀπρονοήτως ἐπὶ τοῦτο φέρονται· μεταθέουσι δὲ αἱ μὲν ἀσαφῶς, αἱ δὲ πολὺ ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, δοξάζουσαι δὲ ἐτέρως· αἱ δὲ πεπλασμένως, φθονερῶς δὲ ἄλλαι ἐκκυνοῦσι παρὰ τὸ ἵχνος διὰ τέλους συμπεριφερόμεναι. [3.11] τὰ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστα τούτων φύσει ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ ἡγμέναι ἀνεπισημόνως δύσχρηστοὶ εἰσιν· αἱ τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν κύνες ἀποτρέψειαν ἂν τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦντας κυνηγεσίων. οἷας δὲ δεῖ εἶναι τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους τὰ τε εἶδη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα φράσω.

[4.1] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρή εἶναι μεγάλας, εἴτα ἐχούσας τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐλαφράς, σιμάς, ἄρθρώδεις, ἰνώδη τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν μετώπων, ὄμματα μετέωρα, μέλανα, λαμπρά, μέτωπα πλατέα, τὰς διακρίσεις βαθείας, ὅτα μικρά, λεπτά, ψιλὰ ὀπισθεν, τραχήλους μακροῦς, ὕγρους, περιφερεῖς, στήθη πλατέα, μὴ ἄσαρκα ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων, τὰς ὠμοπλάτας διεστῶσας μικρόν, σκέλη τὰ πρόσθια μικρά, ὀρθά, στρογγύλα, στιφρά, ὀρθοὺς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, πλευρὰς μὴ ἐπὶ γῆν βαθείας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πλάγιον παρηκούσας, ὀσφὺς σαρκώδεις, τὰ μεγέθη μεταξὺ μακρῶν <καὶ> βραχειῶν, μήτε ὕγρὰς λίαν μήτε σκληράς, λαγόνας μεταξὺ μεγάλων <καὶ> μικρῶν, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, ὀπισθεν σαρκώδη, ἄνωθεν δὲ μὴ συνδεδεμένα, ἔνδοθεν δὲ προσεσταλμένα, τὰ κάτωθεν τῶν κενεῶνων λαγαρὰ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς κενεῶνας, οὐρὰς μακράς, ὀρθάς, λιγυράς, μηριαίας [μὴ] σκληράς, ὑποκόλια μακρά, περιφερῆ, εὐπαγῆ, σκέλη πολὺ μείζω τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐπίρρικνα, πόδας περιφερεῖς. [4.2] καὶ ἐὰν ὥσι τοιαῦται αἱ κύνες, ἔσονται ἰσχυραὶ τὰ εἶδη, ἐλαφραί, σύμμετροι, ποδώκεις, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προσώπων φαιδραὶ καὶ εὐστομοὶ. [4.3] ἰχνεύετωσαν δὲ ἐκ τῶν τριμῶν ταχὺ ἀπαλλαττόμεναι, τιθεῖσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ γῆν λεγρίας, ἐμμειδιῶσαι μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἵχνη, ἐπικαταβάλλουσαι δὲ τὰ ὅτα· καὶ τὰ μὲν ὄμματα πυκνὰ διακινεῖν, ταῖς δὲ οὐραῖς διασαίνουσαι κύκλους πολλοὺς <ποιοῦμεναι> πρὸς τὰς εὐνὰς προΐτωσαν ὁμοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵχνους ἅπασαι. [4.4] ὅταν δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὥσι τὸν λαγῶν, δῆλον ποιεῖτωσαν τῷ κυνηγέτῃ θᾶπτον φοιτῶσαι, μᾶλλον γνωρίζουσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ἀπὸ τῆς μεταλλάξεως τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

ἀναβλεμμάτων καὶ ἐμβλεμμάτων εἰς τὴν ὕλην καὶ ἀναστρεμμάτων τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς καθέδρας τοῦ λαγῶ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν καὶ ὀπισθεν καὶ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον διαρριμμάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς ἤδη αἰωρεῖσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ ὑπερχαίρειν ὅτι τοῦ λαγῶ ἐγγὺς εἰσι. [4.5] διωκέτωσαν δὲ ἐρρωμένως καὶ μὴ ἐπανιῆσαι σὺν πολλῇ κλαγγῇ καὶ ὕλαγμῳ, συνεκπερῶσαι μετὰ τοῦ λαγῶ πάντη. μεταθείτωσαν δὲ ταχὺ καὶ λαμπρῶς, πυκνὰ μεταφερόμεναι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι δικαίως· πρὸς δὲ τὸν κυνηγέτην μὴ ἐπανάτωσαν λιποῦσαι τὰ ἴχνη. [4.6] μετὰ δὲ τοῦ εἶδους καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου εὐψυχοὶ ἔστωσαν καὶ εὕρινες καὶ εὐποδες καὶ εὐτριχες. εὐψυχοὶ μὲν οὖν ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ λείπωσι τὰ κυνηγέσια ὅταν ἦι πνίγη· εὕρινες δέ, ἐὰν τοῦ λαγῶ ὀσφραίνωνται ἐν τόποις ψιλοῖς, ξηροῖς, προσηλίοις τοῦ ἄστρου ἐπιόντος· εὐποδες δέ, ἐὰν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥραι μὴ καταρρηγνύωνται αὐτῶν οἱ πόδες τὰ ὄρη θεουσῶν· εὐτριχες δέ, ἐὰν ἔχωσι λεπτὴν καὶ πυκνὴν καὶ μαλακὴν τὴν τρίχα. [4.7] τὰ δὲ χρώματα οὐ χρὴ εἶναι τῶν κυνῶν οὔτε πυρρὰ οὔτε μέλανα οὔτε λευκὰ παντελῶς· ἔστι γὰρ οὐ γενναῖον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ θηριῶδες. [4.8] αἱ μὲν οὖν πυρραὶ ἔχουσαι ἔστωσαν λευκὴν τρίχα ἐπανθοῦσαν περὶ τὰ μέτωπα καὶ αἱ μέλαιναι, αἱ δὲ λευκαὶ πυρράν· ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς μηριαίαις ἄκραις τρίχας ὀρθάς, βαθείας, καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὀσφύσι καὶ ταῖς οὐραῖς κάτω, ἄνωθεν δὲ μετρίας.

[4.9] Ἄγειν δὲ ἄμεινον τὰς κύνας <εἰς> τὰ ὄρη πολλάκις, τὰ δὲ ἔργα ἦττον· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄρη οἶόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἰχνεύειν καὶ μεταθεῖν καθαρῶς, τὰ δὲ ἔργα οὐδέτερα διὰ τοὺς τριμμούς. [4.10] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ εὐρίσκειν τὸν λαγῶ ἀγαθὸν ἄγειν τὰς κύνας <εἰς> τὰ τραχέα· καὶ γὰρ εὐποδες γίνονται καὶ τὰ σώματα διαπονοῦσαι ἐν τόποις τοιούτοις ὠφελοῦνται. [4.11] ἀγέσθωσαν δὲ θέρους μὲν μέχρι μεσημβρίας, χειμῶνος δὲ δι' ἡμέρας, μετοπώρου δ' ἔξω μεσημβρίας, ἐντὸς δὲ ἐσπέρας τὸ ἔαρ. ταῦτα γὰρ μέτρια.

[5.1] Τὰ δὲ ἴχνη τοῦ λαγῶ τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος μακρὰ ἐστὶ διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῶν νυκτῶν· τοῦ δὲ θέρους βραχέα διὰ τὸ ἐναντίον. χειμῶνος μὲν οὖν πρῶι οὐκ ὄζει αὐτῶν, ὅταν πάχνη ἦ ἢ παγετὸς· ἢ μὲν γὰρ πάχνη τῇ αὐτῇ ἰσχύϊ ἀντισπάσασα τὸ θερμὸν ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ, ὁ δὲ παγετὸς ἐπιπήξας. [5.2] καὶ αἱ κύνες μαλκίους τὰς *πῖνας οὐ δύνανται αἰσθάνεσθαι ὅταν ἦι τοιαῦτα, πρὶν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος διαλύσῃ αὐτὰ ἢ προϊῶσα ἢ ἡμέρα· τότε δὲ καὶ αἱ κύνες ὀσφραίνονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐπαναφερόμενα ὄζει. [5.3] ἀφανίζει δὲ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ δρόσος

καταφέρουσα αὐτά, καὶ οἱ ὄμβροι οἱ γιγνόμενοι διὰ χρόνου ὁσμάς ἄγοντες τὴν γῆν ποιοῦσι δύσοσμον, ἕως ἂν ψυχθῇ· χεῖρω δὲ καὶ τὰ νότια ποιεῖ· ὑγραίνοντα γὰρ διαχεῖ· τὰ δὲ βόρεια, ἐὰν ᾗ ἄλυτα, συνίστησι καὶ σώζει. [5.4] οἱ δὲ ὑετοὶ κατακλύζουσι καὶ αἱ ψακάδες, καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἁμαυροῖ τῷ θερμῷ, μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ᾗ πανσέληνος· καὶ μανότατα τότε· χαίροντες γὰρ τῷ φέγγει ἐπαναρριπτοῦντες μακρὰν διαίρουσιν ἀντιπαίζοντες· ταραχώδη δὲ ὅταν ἀλώπεκες προδιεξέλθωσι γίγνεται. [5.5] τὸ δὲ ἔαρ κεκραμένον τῇ ὥρᾳ καλῶς παρέχει τὰ ἵχνη λαμπρά, πλὴν εἴ τι ἡ γῆ ἐξανθοῦσα βλάπτει τὰς κύνας, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συμμιγνύουσα τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰς ὁσμάς. λεπτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀσαφῆ τοῦ θέρους· διάπυρος γὰρ οὖσα ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει τὸ θερμὸν ὃ ἔχουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ λεπτόν· καὶ αἱ κύνες ἤττον ὀσφραίνονται τότε διὰ τὸ ἐκλελίσθαι τὰ σώματα. τοῦ δὲ μετοπώρου καθαρὰ· ὅσα γὰρ ἡ γῆ φέρει, τὰ μὲν ἡμερα συγκεκόμισται, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια γήραι διαλέλυνται· ὥστε οὐ παραλυποῦσι τῶν καρπῶν αἱ ὁσμαι εἰς ταῦτά φερόμεναι. [5.6] ἔστι δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ μετοπώρου τὰ ἵχνη ὀρθὰ ἐπὶ πολὺ, τοῦ δ' ἥρος συμπεπλεγμένα· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον συνδυάζεται μὲν ἀεὶ, μάλιστα δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὥραν· ὥστε διὰ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετ' ἀλλήλων πλανώμενοι τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν. [5.7] ὄζει δὲ τῶν ἱχνῶν ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον τῶν εὐαίων ἢ τῶν δρομαίων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ εὐναῖα <ποιῶν> ὁ λαγῶς πορεύεται ἐφιστάμενος, τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα ταχύ· ἡ γῆ οὖν τῶν μὲν πυκνοῦται, τῶν δὲ οὐ πίμπλαται. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑλώδεσι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς ὄζει· διατρέχων γὰρ καὶ ἀνακαθίζων ἅπτεται πολλῶν.

[5.8] Κατακλίνονται δ' εἰς ἃ ἡ γῆ φύει ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ὑπὸ παντί, ἐπ' αὐτῶν, ἐν αὐτοῖς, παρ' αὐτά, ἄπωθεν πολὺ, μικρόν, μεταξὺ τούτων· ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ διαρριπτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ δυνατόν καὶ ἐν ὕδατι, ἐὰν τι ᾗ ὑπερέχον ἢ ἐμπεφυκὸς ἐν τούτῳ. [5.9] ὁ μὲν οὖν εὐναῖος ποιούμενος εὐνὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ ὅταν μὲν ᾗ ψύχη, ἐν εὐδιεινοῖς, ὅταν δὲ καύματα, ἐν παλισκίοις, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον ἐν προσηλίοις· οἱ δὲ δρομαῖοι οὐχ οὕτως διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἐκπληκτοὶ γίνεσθαι. [5.10] κατακλίνεται δὲ ὑποθεῖς τὰ ὑποκώλια ὑπὸ τὰς λαγόνας, τὰ δὲ πρόσθεν σκέλη τὰ πλεῖστα συνθεῖς καὶ ἐκτείνας, ἐπ' ἄκρους δὲ τοὺς πόδας τὴν γένυν καταθεῖς, τὰ δὲ ὦτα ἐπιπετάσας ἐπὶ τὰς ὠμοπλάτας· οὕτω δὲ ὑποστέγει τὰ ὑγρά· ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν τρίχα στεγανήν· πυκνὴ γὰρ καὶ μαλακὴ. [5.11] καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐγρηγόρη, καταμύει τὰ βλέφαρα, ὅταν δὲ καθεύδῃ, τὰ μὲν βλέφαρα

ἀναπέπταται ἀκίνητα, οἱ δὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀτρέμας ἔχουσι· τοὺς δὲ μυκτῆρας, ὅταν μὲν εὐδῇ, κινεῖ πυκνά, ὅταν δὲ μή, ἤττον. [5.12] ὅταν δὲ ἡ γῆ βρύῃ, μᾶλλον τὰ ἔργα ἢ τὰ ὄρη ἔχουσιν. ὑπομένει δὲ πανταχοῦ ἰχνευόμενος, ἐὰν μῆτι περίφοβος τῆς νυκτὸς γένηται· παθὼν δὲ τοῦτο ὑποκινεῖ.

[5.13] Πολύγονον δ' ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὥστε τὰ μὲν τέτοκε, τὰ δὲ τίκτει, τὰ δὲ κύει. τῶν δὲ μικρῶν λαγίων ὄζει μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν μεγάλων· ἔτι γὰρ ὑγρομελῆ ὄντα ἐπισύρεται ὅλα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. [5.14] τὰ μὲν οὖν λίαν νεογνὰ οἱ φιλοκυνηγέται ἀφιαῖσι τῇ θεῷ. οἱ δὲ ἤδη ἔτειοι τάχιστα θέουσι τὸν πρῶτον δρόμον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους οὐκέτι· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἐλαφροί, ἀδύνατοι δέ.

[5.15] Λαμβάνειν δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ τὰ ἴχνη ὑπάγοντα τὰς κύνας ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἄνωθεν· ὅσοι δὲ μὴ ἔρχονται αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ἐργάσιμα, ... τοὺς λειμῶνας, τὰς νάπας, τὰ ρεῖθρα, τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὑλώδη· καὶ ἐὰν ὑποκινῇ, μὴ ἀναβοᾷν, ἵνα μὴ αἱ κύνες ἔκφρονες γιγνόμεναι χαλεπῶς τὰ ἴχνη γνωρίζωσιν. [5.16] εὕρισκόμενοι δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ διωκόμενοι ἔστιν ὅτε διαβαίνουσι τὰ ρεύματα καὶ ὑποκάμπτουσι καὶ καταδύονται εἰς φάραγγας καὶ εἰς ἰλεούς· πεφόβηνται γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὰς κύνας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς· ὑπερβάλλοντες γὰρ τὰ σιμὰ καὶ τὰ ψιλὰ ἀναρπάζονται, ἕως ἂν ὧσιν ἔτειοι· [5.17] τοὺς δὲ μείζους ἐπιτρέχουσιν αἱ κύνες ἀναιροῦνται. ποδωκέστατοι μὲν οὖν εἰσιν οἱ ὄρειοι, οἱ πεδινοὶ δὲ ἤττον, βραδύτατοι δὲ οἱ ἔλαιοι· οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς τόπους πλανῆται χαλεποὶ πρὸς τοὺς δρόμους· τὰ γὰρ σύντομα ἴσασι· θέουσι γὰρ μάλιστα μὲν τὰ ἀνάντη ἢ τὰ ὁμαλά, τὰ δὲ ἀνώμαλα ἀνομοίως, [5.18] τὰ δὲ κατάντη ἥκιστα. διωκόμενοι δὲ εἰσι κατάδηλοι μάλιστα μὲν διὰ γῆς κεκινημένης, ἐὰν ἔχωσιν ἔνιον ἐρύθημα, καὶ διὰ καλάμης διὰ τὴν ἀνταύγειαν· κατάδηλοι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τριμμοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐὰν ὧσιν ισόπεδοι· τὸ γὰρ φανὸν τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνὸν ἀντιλάμπει· ἄδηλοι δέ, ὅταν <κατὰ> τοὺς λίθους, τὰ ὄρη, τὰ φελλία, τὰ δασέα ἀποχωρῶσι, διὰ τὴν ὁμόχροιαν. [5.19] προλαμβάνοντες δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐφίστανται καὶ ἀνακαθίζοντες ἐπαίρουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπακούουσιν, εἴ που πλησίον κλαγγὴ ἢ ψόφος τῶν κυνῶν· καὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἀκούσωσιν ἀποτρέπονται. [5.20] ὅτε δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλὰ δόξαντες ἢ πεισθέντες ὑφ' αὐτῶν, παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπαλλάττοντες ἄλματα, ἐμποιοῦντες ἴχνεσιν ἴχνη, ἀποχωροῦσι. [5.21] καὶ εἰσι μακροδρομώτατοι μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν ψιλῶν εὕρισκόμενοι διὰ τὸ καταφανές, βραχυδρομώτατοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν δασέων· ἐμποδὼν γὰρ τὸ

σκοτεινόν.

[5.22] Δύο δὲ τὰ γένη ἐστὶν αὐτῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ μεγάλοι τὸ χρῶμα ἐπίπερκνοι καὶ τὸ λευκὸν τὸ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ μέγα ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττους ἐπίξανθοι, μικρὸν τὸ λευκὸν ἔχοντες. [5.23] τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν οἱ μὲν κύκλῳ περιποίκιλον, οἱ δὲ παράσειρον, καὶ τὰ ὄμματα οἱ μὲν χαροποί, οἱ δ' ὑπόγλαυκοι· καὶ τὰ μέλανα τὰ περὶ τὰ ὦτα ἄκρα οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πολὺ, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μικρὸν. [5.24] ἔχουσι δὲ αὐτῶν αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν νήσων τοὺς ἐλάττους, αἱ τ' ἔρημοι καὶ οἰκοῦμεναι· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πλείους ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἡπείροις· οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν οὔτ' ἀλώπεκες ἐν ταῖς πολλαῖς αὐτῶν, αἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐπιούσαι ἀναιροῦνται, οὔτε ἀετοί· τὰ μεγάλα γὰρ ὄρη ἔχουσι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ μικρά· ἐλάττω δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὰ ἐν ταῖς νήσοις. [5.25] κυνηγέται δὲ εἰς μὲν τὰς ἐρήμους ὀλιγάκις ἀφικνοῦνται, ἐν δὲ ταῖς οἰκουμέναις ὀλίγοι γίνονται καὶ οὐ φιλόθηροι οἱ πολλοί· εἰς δὲ τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν νήσων οὐδὲ διαβιβάζειν οἶόν τε κύνας. ὅταν οὖν τῶν τε ὑπαρχόντων ὀλίγους ἐκθηρῶνται καὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων, ἀνάγκη ἀφθόνους εἶναι.

[5.26] Βλέπει δὲ οὐκ ὁξὺ διὰ πολλὰ· τά τε γὰρ ὄμματα ἔχει ἔξω καὶ τὰ βλέφαρα ἐλλείποντα καὶ οὐκ ἔχοντα προβολὴν ταῖς αὐγαῖς· ἡ ὄψις οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἀμαυρά, ἐσκεδασμένη. [5.27] ἅμα δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐν ὕπνῳ ὄν τὰ πολλὰ τὸ θηρίον οὐκ ὠφελεῖται πρὸς τὸ ὅπᾶν· καὶ ἡ ποδῶκεια πρὸς τὸ ἀμβλυώττειν αὐτῷ πολὺ συμβάλλεται· ταχὺ γὰρ ἐκάστου παραφέρει τὴν ὄψιν πρὶν νοῆσαι ὅ τι ἐστί. [5.28] καὶ οἱ φόβοι τῶν κυνῶν ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐπόμενοι μετὰ τούτων συνεξαίρουνται τὸ προνοεῖσθαι. ὥστε διὰ ταῦτα προσπίπτων λανθάνει πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτων. [5.29] εἰ δ' ἔφευγεν ὀρθόν, ὀλιγάκις ἂν ἔπασχε τὸ τοιοῦτον· νῦν δὲ περιβάλλων καὶ ἀγαπῶν τοὺς τόπους ἐν οἷς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐτράφη ἀλίσκεται. κατὰ πόδας δὲ οὐ πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν διὰ <τὸ> τάχος κρατεῖται· ὅσοι δὲ ἀλίσκονται, παρὰ φύσιν τοῦ σώματος, τύχη δὲ χρώμενοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῶν ὄντων ἰσομέγεθες τούτῳ ὁμοίον ἐστὶ πρὸς ἄρμόν. σύγκειται γὰρ ἐκ τοιούτων τὸ σῶμα. [5.30] ἔχει γὰρ κεφαλὴν κούφην, μικράν, κατωφερῇ, στενὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν, <ὥτα ὑψηλά,> τράχηλον λεπτόν, περιφερῇ, οὐ σκληρόν, μήκος ἱκανόν, ὠμοπλάτας ὀρθάς, ἀσυνδέτους ἄνωθεν, σκέλη τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐλαφρά, σύγκωλα, στῆθος οὐ βαρύτονον, πλευράς ἐλαφράς, συμμετρους, ὀσφὺν περιφερῇ, κωλὴν σαρκώδη, λαγόνas ὑγράς, λαπαράς ἱκανῶς, ἰσχία στρογγύλα, πλήρη κύκλῳ, ἄνωθεν δὲ ὡς χρὴ διεστῶτα, μηροὺς μικροὺς, εὐπαγεῖς,

ἔξωθεν μῦς ἐπιτεταμένους, ἔνδοθεν δὲ οὐκ ὀγκώδεις, ὑποκόλια μακρά, στιφρά, πόδας τοὺς πρόσθεν ἄκρως ὑγρούς, στενοὺς, ὀρθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ὀπισθεν στερεοὺς, πλατεῖς, πάντας δὲ οὐδενὸς τραχέος φροντίζοντας, σκέλη τὰ ὀπισθεν μείζω πολὺ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένα μικρὸν ἔξω, τρίχωμα βραχύ, κοῦφον. [5.31] ἔστιν οὖν ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐκ εἶναι ἐκ τοιούτων συνηρμοσμένον ἰσχυρόν, ὑγρόν, ὑπερέλαφρον. τεκμήριον δὲ ὥς ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν· ὅταν ἀτρέμα διαπορεύηται, πηδαῖ – βαδίζοντα δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐώρακεν οὐδ’ ὄψεται – τιθεὶς εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ποδῶν τοὺς ὀπισθεν καὶ ἔξω· καὶ θεῖ οὕτως. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο ἐν χιόνι. [5.32] οὐρὰν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτηδεῖαν ἔχει πρὸς δρόμον· ἐπευθύνειν γὰρ οὐχ ἱκανὴ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα· ἀλλὰ τῷ ὥτι ἐκατέρωι τοῦτο ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅταν ἀνιστῇται ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν, καταβάλλων [γὰρ] καὶ παραβάλλων τὸ ἕτερον οὗς πλάγιον, ὁποτέραι ἂν λυπῇται, ἀπεριδόμενος [διὸ] δὴ εἰς τοῦτο ὑποστρέφεται ταχύ, ἐν μικρῷ πολὺ καταλιπὼν τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον. [5.33] οὕτω δὲ ἐπίχαρὶ ἐστὶ τὸ θέαμα, ὥστε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἰδὼν ἰχνεύομενον, εὐρισκόμενον, μεταθεόμενον, ἀλισκόμενον, ἐπιλάθοιτ’ ἂν εἰ τοῦ ἐρώη.

[5.34] Ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις κυνηγετοῦντα ἀπέχεσθαι ὧν ὥραι φέρουσι καὶ τὰ νάματα καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα ἔαν· τὸ γὰρ ἅπτεσθαι τούτων αἰσχρὸν καὶ κακόν, καὶ ἵνα μὴ τῷ νόμῳ ἐναντίοι ᾧσιν οἱ ἰδόντες· καὶ ὅταν ἀναγρία ἐμπίπτῃ, ἀναλύειν χρὴ τὰ περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πάντα.

[6.1] Κυνῶν δὲ κόσμος δέραια, ἱμάντες, στελμονίαι· ἔστω δὲ τὰ μὲν δέραια μαλακά, πλατεά, ἵνα μὴ θραύῃ τὰς τρίχας τῶν κυνῶν, οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες ἔχοντες ἀγκύλας τῇ χειρί, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· οὐ γὰρ καλῶς τηροῦσι τὰς κύνας οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰργασμένοι τὰ δέραια· αἱ δὲ στελμονίαι πλατεῖς τοὺς ἱμάντας, ἵνα μὴ τρίβωσι τὰς λαγόνας αὐτῶν· ἐγκατερραμμέναι δὲ ἐγκεντρίδες, ἵνα τὰ γένη φυλάττωσιν. [6.2] ἐξάγειν δ’ αὐτὰς οὐ χρὴ ἐπὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια, ὅταν μὴ τὰ προσφερόμενα δέχωνται ἡδέως [τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦτο ὅτι οὐκ ἔρρωνται] μηδὲ ὅταν ἄνεμος πνέῃ μέγας· διαρπάζει γὰρ τὰ ἵχνη καὶ οὐ δύνανται ὀσφραίνεσθαι οὐδὲ αἱ ἄρκυς ἐστάναι οὐδὲ τὰ δίκτυα. [6.3] ὅταν δὲ τούτων μηδέτερον κωλύῃ, ἄγειν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας. τὰς δὲ ἀλώπεκας μὴ ἐθίζειν τὰς κύνας διώκειν· διαφθορά γὰρ μεγίστη καὶ ἐν τῷ δέοντι οὐποτε πάρεσιν. [6.4] εἰς δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια μεταβάλλοντα ἄγειν, ἵνα ᾧσιν ἔμπειροι τῶν κυνηγεσίων, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς χώρας. ἐξίεναι δὲ πρῶι, ἵνα τῆς ἰχνεύσεως μὴ ἀποστερῶνται, ὥς οἱ ὀψιζόμενοι

ἀφαιροῦνται τὰς μὲν κύνας τοῦ εὐρεῖν τὸν λαγῶ, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῆς ὠφελείας· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμένει τοῦ ἵχνους ἡ φύσις λεπτὴ οὕσα πᾶσαν ὥραν.

[6.5] Τὴν δὲ στολὴν ὁ ἄρκυωρὸς ἐξίτω ἔχων ἐπὶ θήραν μὴ ἔχουσαν βάρος. τὰς δὲ ἄρκυς ἰστάτω εἰς ἄγκη, δρυμῶνας τραχείας, σιμάς, λαγαράς, σκοτεινάς, ῥοῦς, χαράδρας, χειμάρρους ἀενάους· εἰς ταῦτα γὰρ μάλιστα φεύγει· [6.6] <εἰς> ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα [εἰς] ἄπειρον εἰπεῖν· τούτων δὲ παρόδους, διόδους, καταφανεῖς, λεπτὰς <καταλιπών>, εἰς ὄρθρον καὶ μὴ πρῶι, ἵνα ἐὰν ᾗι πλησίον τὸ ἀρκυστάσιον τῶν ζητησίμων, μὴ φοβῆται ἀκούων ὁμοῦ τὸν ψόφον [ἐὰν δὲ ᾗι ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ἦττον κωλύει πρῶι], καθαρὰς ποιούμενος τὰς ἀρκυσταστίας, [6.7] ἵνα [δ'] αὐτῶν μηδὲν ἀντέχεται. πηγνύειν <δὲ> τὰς σχαλίδας ὑπτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἐπαγόμεναι ἔχωσι τὸ σύντονον· ἐπὶ δὲ ἄκρας ἴσους τοὺς βρόχους ἐπιβαλλέτω καὶ ὁμοίως ἀντεριδέτω, ἐπαίρων εἰς μέσον τὸν κεκρύφαλον. [6.8] εἰς δὲ τὸν περίδρομον ἐναπτέτω λίθον μακρὸν καὶ μέγαν, ἵνα ἡ ἄρκυς, ὅταν ἔχη τὸν λαγῶ, μὴ ἀντιτείνῃ. στοιχιζέτω δὲ μακρά, ὑψηλά, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὑπερπηδαί. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰχνεῖαις μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· ἔστι γὰρ θηρατικὸν μὲν οὐ, φιλόπονον δὲ τὸ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐλεῖν ταχύ. [6.9] τὰ δὲ δίκτυα τεινέτω ἐν ἀπέδοις, ἐμβαλλέτω δὲ τὰ ἐνόδια εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς, καὶ ἐκ τῶν τριμμῶν εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα, καθάπτων τοὺς περιδρόμους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἀκρωλένια συνάγων, πηγνύων τὰς σχαλίδας μεταξὺ τῶν σαρδόνων, ἐπὶ ἄκρας ἐπιβάλλων τοὺς ἐπιδρόμους καὶ τὰ παράδρομα συμφράττων. [6.10] φυλαττέτω δὲ ἐκπεριών· ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκλίνῃ τὸν στοῖχον ἡ ἄρκυς, ἀνιστάτω. διωκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προθεῖτω, καὶ ἐπιθέων μὲν ἐμβοάτω· ἐμπεπτωκότος δὲ τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν κυνῶν παυέτω, μὴ ἀπτόμενος ἀλλὰ παραμυθοῦμενος· καὶ δηλούτω τῶι κυνηγέτῃ, ὅτι ἐάλωκεν ἀναβοήσας ἢ ὅτι παραδεδράμηκε παρὰ τάδε ἢ τάδε ἢ ὅτι οὐχ ἐώρακε.

[6.11] Τὸν δὲ κυνηγέτην ἐξιέναι ἔχοντα ἡμελημένην ἐλαφρὰν ἐσθῆτα ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ ὑπόδεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ χειρὶ ρόπαλον, τὸν δὲ ἀρκυωρὸν ἔπεσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τὸ κυνηγέσιον σιγῇ προσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ ὁ λαγῶς, ἐὰν ποῦ ᾗι πλησίον, ὑποκινήῃ ἀκούων τῆς φωνῆς. [6.12] δῆσαντα δ' ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς κύνας ἐκάστην χωρὶς, ὅπως ἂν εὐλυτοὶ ᾧσιν, ἰστάναι τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ὡς εἴρηται. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὸν μὲν ἀρκυωρὸν εἶναι ἐν φυλακῇ· αὐτὸν δὲ τὰς κύνας λαβόντα ἰέναι

πρὸς τὴν ὑπαγωγὴν τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, [6.13] καὶ εὐξάμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Ἀγροτέραι μεταδοῦναι τῆς θήρας λῦσαι μίαν κύνα, ἥτις ἂν ᾖ σοφωτάτη ἰχνεύειν, ἐὰν μὲν ᾖ χειμῶν, ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι, ἐὰν δὲ θέρος, πρὸ ἡμέρας, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ὥρας μεταξὺ τούτου. [6.14] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ κύων λάβῃ τὸ ἵχνος ὀρθὸν ἐκ τῶν ἐπηλλαγμένων, παραλῦσαι καὶ ἐτέραν· περαιομένου δὲ τοῦ ἵχνους διαλιπόντα μὴ πολὺ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀφιέναι κατὰ μίαν, καὶ ἔπεσθαι μὴ ἐγκείμενον, ὀνομαστί ἐκάστην προσαγορεύοντα, μὴ πολλὰ, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνωνται πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ. [6.15] αἱ δ' ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μένους προΐασιν ἐξίλλουσαι τὰ ἵχνη, ὥς πέφυκε, διπλᾶ, τριπλᾶ, προφορούμεναι παρὰ τὰ αὐτά, διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπηλλαγμένα, περιφερῇ, ὀρθά, καμπύλα, πυκνά, μανά, γνώριμα, ἄγνωστα, ἐαυτὰς παραθέουσαι, ταχὺ τὰς οὐρὰς διασείδουσαι, καὶ ἐπικλίνουσαι τὰ ὅλα καὶ ἀστράπτουσαι τοῖς ὄμμασιν. [6.16] ἐπειδὰν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ὥσι, δῆλον ποιήσουσι τῷ κυνηγέτῃ σὺν ταῖς οὐραῖς τὰ σώματα ὅλα συνεπικραδαίνουσαι, πολεμικῶς ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλονίκως παραθέουσαι, συντρέχουσαι φιλοπόνως, συνιστάμεναι ταχύ, διστάμεναι, πάλιν ἐπιφερόμεναι· τελευτῶσαι δὲ ἀφίζονται πρὸς τὴν εὐνὴν τοῦ λαγῶ, καὶ ἐπιδραμοῦνται ἐπ' αὐτόν. [6.17] ὁ δ' ἐξαίφνης ἀνάξας [ἐφ' αὐτόν] ὑλαγμὸν ποιήσει τῶν κυνῶν καὶ κλαγγὴν φεύγων. ἐμβοάτω δὲ αὐτῷ διωκομένῳ Ἴω κύνες, ἰώ, καλῶς, σοφῶς γε ὧ κύνες. καὶ κυνοδρομεῖν περιελίζαντα ὁ ἀμπέχεται περὶ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὸ ρόπαλον ἀναλαβόντα κατὰ τὸν λαγῶ, καὶ μὴ ὑπαντᾶν· ἄπορον γάρ. [6.18] ὁ δὲ ὑποχωρῶν ταχὺ ἐκλείπων τὴν ὄψιν πάλιν περιβάλλει ὄθεν εὐρίσκεται ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ. ἀναβοᾶν δ' ἐκείνον μὲν αὐτῷ Παισάτω παῖς· παῖ δὴ, παῖ δὴ. ὁ δέ, ἐὰν τε ἐαλωκῶς ᾖ ἢ ἐὰν τε μὴ, δηλούτω. [6.19] καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἐαλωκῶς ᾖ ἢ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ δρόμῳ, ἀνακαλεσάμενον τὰς κύνας ζητεῖν ἄλλον· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, κυνοδρομεῖν ὥς τάχιστα καὶ μὴ ἀνιέναι, ἀλλ' ἐκπερᾶν φιλοπόνως. καὶ ἐὰν πάλιν ἀπαντῶσι διώκουσαι αὐτόν, ἀναβοᾶν Εὖ γε, εὖ γε ὧ κύνες, ἔπεσθε ὧ κύνες· ἐὰν δὲ πολὺ προειληφυῖαι ὥσι καὶ μὴ οἶός τ' ᾖ κυνοδρομῶν ἐπιγίγνεσθαι αὐταῖς, ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκῶς ᾖ τῶν δρόμων, ἢ καὶ πλησίον που φοιτώσας ἢ ἐπιστάσας ἢ ἐχομένας τῶν ἰχνῶν μὴ δύνηται ἰδεῖν, πυνθάνεσθαι παραθέοντα ἅμα ὅτῳ ἂν προσπελάξῃ ἀναβοᾶντα [6.20] Ἥ κατεῖδες ὦ ἡ τὰς κύνας; ἐπειδὰν δὲ πύθῃται ἤδη, ἐὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵχνει ὥσι, προσστάντα ἐγκελεύειν, τοῦνομα μεταβάλλοντα ἐκάστης τῆς κυνός, ὅποσα χῆι οἶόν τ' ἂν ᾖ τοὺς

τόνους τῆς φωνῆς ποιούμενον, ὀξύ, βαρύ, μικρόν, μέγα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις κελεύσμασιν, ἐὰν ᾧσιν ἐν ὄρει αἱ μεταδρομαί, ἐπικελεύειν τόδε, Εὐὰ κύνες, εὐ· ᾧ κύνες. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ᾧσι τοῖς ἴχνεσιν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβάλλωσι, καλεῖν αὐτάς, Οὐ· πάλιν, οὐ· πάλιν ᾧ κύνες; [6.21] ἐπειδὴν δὲ προσσχῶσι τοῖς ἴχνεσι, περιάγειν αὐτάς κύκλους πολλοὺς ποιούμενον· ὅπου δ' ἂν ᾗ αὐταῖς ἀμαυρὸν τὸ ἶχνος, σημεῖον θέσθαι στοῖχον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου συνείρειν μέχρι ἂν σαφῶς γνωρίσωσιν ἐγκελεύοντα καὶ θωπεύοντα. [6.22] αἱ δ' ἐπειδὴν λαμπρὰ ᾗ τὰ ἶχνη ἐπιρριπτοῦσαι, παραπηδῶσαι, κοινωνοῦσαι, ὑπολαμβάνουσαι, ἐνσημαινόμεναι, ὄρους τιθέμεναι ἑαυταῖς γνωρίμους ταχὺ μεταθεύσονται· ὅταν δὲ οὕτω διὰ τοῦ ἴχνους πυκνῶς διάιττωσι, μὴ κατέχοντα κυνοδρομεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ὑπερβάλλωσι τὰ ἶχνη. [6.23] ἐπειδὴν δὲ περὶ τὸν λαγῶ ᾧσι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύονται σαφῶς τῷ κυνηγέτῃ, προσέχειν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὑποκινῇ εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πεφοβημένος τὰς κύνας· αἱ δὲ διαρριπτοῦσαι τὰς οὐράς καὶ ἑαυταῖς ἐμπίπτουσαι καὶ πολλὰ ὑπερπηδῶσαι καὶ ἐπανακλαγγάνουσαι, ἐπαναίρουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς, εἰσβλέπουσαι εἰς τὸν κυνηγέτην, ἐπιγνωρίζουσαι ἀληθῆ ἤδη εἶναι ταῦτα ὑφ' αὐτῶν ἀναστήσουσι τὸν λαγῶ καὶ ἐπίασι κεκλαγγυῖαι. [6.24] ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμπίπτῃ ἢ ἐντὸς ἢ ἔξω παρενεχθῇ, καθ' ἐν ἑκαστον τούτων ὁ ἀρκυωρὸς γεγωνεῖτω. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ᾗ ἐαλωκῶς, ἕτερον ἐπιζητεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν χρώμενον τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγκελεύσμασιν. [6.25] ἐπειδὴν δὲ μεταθέουσαι αἱ κύνες ἤδη ὑπόκοποι ᾧσι καὶ ᾗ ὅψε ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας, τότε δεῖ τὸν κυνηγέτην τὸν λαγῶ ἀπειρηκότα ζητεῖν, μὴ παραλείποντα μηδὲν ὧν ἡ γῆ ἀνίσιν ἢ ἔχει ἐφ' αὐτῆς, τὰς ἀναστροφὰς ποιούμενον πυκνάς, ὅπως ἂν μὴ παραλειφθῇ [κατακλίνεται γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ τὸ θηρίον καὶ οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὑπὸ κόπου καὶ φόβου], τὰς κύνας ἐπαγόμενον, ἐγκελεύοντα, παραμυθούμενον τὴν φιλόφρων πολλά, τὴν αὐθάδη ὀλίγα τὴν μέσην μέτρια, ἕως ἂν ἡ ἀποκτείνῃ αὐτὸν κατὰ πόδας ἢ εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ἐμβάλη. [6.26] μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνελόντα τὰς ἄρκυς καὶ τὰ δίκτυα, ἀνατρίψαντα τὰς κύνας ἀπιέναι ἐκ τοῦ κυνηγεσίου, ἐπιμείναντα, ἐὰν ᾗ θερινὴ μεσημβρία, ὅπως ἂν τῶν κυνῶν οἱ πόδες μὴ καίωνται ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ.

[7.1] Σκυλακεύειν δὲ αὐτάς ἐπανιέντα τῶν πόνων τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἵνα ἔχουσαι τὴν ἡσυχίαν πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπάγωνται τὴν φύσιν γενναίαν· ἡ γὰρ ὥρα πρὸς τὰς αὐξήσεις τῶν κυνῶν κρατίστη αὕτη· εἰσὶ δὲ

τέτταρες καὶ δέκα ἡμέραι ἐν αἷς ἡ ἀνάγκη αὕτη ἔχει. [7.2] ἄγειν δὲ καταπαυομένας, ἵνα θᾶπτον ἐγκύμονες γίνωνται, πρὸς κύνας ἀγαθούς· ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὧσιν ἐπίφοροι, μὴ ἐξάγειν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον ἐνδεδελεχῶς, ἀλλὰ διαλείπειν, ἵνα μὴ φιλοπονίαι διαφθείρωσι. κύουσι δ' ἐξήκονθ' ἡμέρας. [7.3] ἐπειδὴν δὲ γένηται τὰ σκυλάκια, ὑπὸ τῇ τεκούσῃ ἔαν καὶ μὴ ὑποβάλλειν ὑφ' ἑτέραν κύνα· αἱ γὰρ θεραπέαι αἱ ἀλλότριαι οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐξίμοι· τὸ δὲ τῶν μητέρων καὶ τὸ γάλα ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ φίλαι αἱ περιβολαί. [7.4] ἐπειδὴν δὲ πλανᾶται τὰ σκυλάκια ἤδη, διδόναι γάλα μέχρι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ οἷς μέλλει τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον βιώσεσθαι, ἄλλο δὲ μηδέν· αἱ γὰρ βαρεῖαι πλησμοναὶ τῶν σκυλακίων διαστρέφουσι τὰ σκέλη, <τοῖς> σώμασι νόσους ἐμποιοῦσι, καὶ τὰ ἐντὸς ἄδικα γίνεταί.

[7.5] Τὰ δ' ὀνόματα αὐταῖς τίθεσθαι βραχέα, ἵνα εὐανάκλητα ᾖ. εἶναι δὲ χρὴ τοιάδε· Ψυχὴ, Θυμός, Πόρπαξ, Στύραξ, Λογχή, Λόχος, Φρουρά, Φύλαξ, Τάξις, Ξίφων, Φόναξ, Φλέγων, Ἀλκή, Τεύχων, Ὑλεύς, Μήδας, Πόρθων, Σπέρχων, Ὀργή, Βρέμων, Ὑβρις, Θάλλων, Ῥώμη, Ἀνθεύς, Ἥβα, Γηθεύς, Χαρά, Λεύσων, Αὐγώ, Πολεύς, Βία, Στίχων, Σπουδή, Βρύας, Οἰνάς, Στέρρος, Κραύγη, Καίνων, Τύρβας, Σθένων, Αἰθήρ, Ἀκτίς, [7.6] Αἰχμή, Νόης, Γνώμη, Στίβων, Ὀρμή. ἄγειν δὲ τὰς σκύλακας ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον, τὰς μὲν θηλείας ὀκταμήνους, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας δεκαμήνους· πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἵχνη τὰ εὐναῖα μὴ λύειν, ἀλλ' ἔχοντα ὑψημμένας μακροῖς ἱμάσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ταῖς κυσὶν ἰχνευούσαις, ἐῶντα αὐτὰς διαθεῖν τὰ ἵχνη. [7.7] καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ λαγῶς εὐρίσκηται, ἐὰν μὲν καλαὶ ὧσι πρὸς τὸν δρόμον τὰ εἶδη, μὴ ἀνιέναι εὐθύς· ἐπειδὴν δὲ προλάβῃ ὁ λαγῶς τῷ δρόμῳ, ὥστε μὴ ἐφορᾶν ἔτι αὐτόν, τὰς σκύλακας ἰέναι. [7.8] ἐὰν γὰρ ὁμόθεν καλὰς τὰ εἶδη οὖσας καὶ εὐψύχους πρὸς τὸν δρόμον ἐπιλύῃ, ὀρῶσαι τὸν λαγῶ ἐντεινόμεναι ρήγνυνται, οὕτω ἔχουσαι συνεστῶτα τὰ σώματα· διαφυλάττειν οὖν δεῖ τοῦτο τὸν κυνηγέτην. [7.9] ἐὰν δὲ αἰσχίους ὧσι <καὶ ἄψυχοι> πρὸς τὸν δρόμον, οὐδὲν κωλύει ἰέναι· εὐθύς γὰρ δὴ ἀνέλπιστοι οὖσαι τοῦ ἐλεῖν οὐ πείσονται τοῦτο. τὰ δὲ δρομαῖα, ἕως ἂν ἔλωσι [τῷ ἵχνει], μεταθεῖν ἔαν· ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ λαγῶ διδόναι αὐταῖς ἀναρρηγνύναι. [7.10] ἐπειδὴν δὲ μηκέτι θέλωσι προσμένειν τοῖς ἵχνεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀποσκεδαννύωνται, ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἕως ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν εὐρίσκειν προσθέουσαι τὸν λαγῶ, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐν κόσμῳ αἰεὶ τοῦτον ζητοῦσαι τελευτῶσαι γίνονται ἔκκυνοι, πονηρὸν μάθημα. [7.11] πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ἄρκυσι διδόναι τὰ σιτία αὐταῖς, ἕως ἂν νέαι ᾖσιν, ὅταν

ἀναιρῶνται, ἴν' ἐὰν πλανηθῶσιν ἐν τῷ κυνηγεσίῳ δι' ἀπειρίαν, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπανιοῦσαι σώζονται. ἀφεθήσονται δὲ τούτου, ὅταν ἤδη τῷ θηρίῳ ἔχῃσι πολεμίως, ἐπιμέλειαν δὲ ποιήσονται τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνου φροντίζειν. [7.12] χρή δὲ καὶ ὥς τὰ πολλὰ δεομέναις διδόναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ταῖς κυσὶν αὐτόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ <μῆ> ἐνδεεῖς ᾧσι, τούτου τὸν αἴτιον οὐκ ἴσασιν, ὅταν δὲ ἐπιθυμοῦσαι λάβωσι, τὸν διδόντα στέργουσιν.

[8.1] Ἰχνεύεσθαι δὲ τὸν λαγῶ ὅταν νίφῃ ὁ θεὸς ὥστε ἠφανίσθαι τὴν γῆν· εἰ δ' ἐνέσται μεγάγχιμα, δυσζήτητος ἔσται. ἔστι δέ, ὅταν μὲν ἐπινεφῇ καὶ ἡ βόρειον, τὰ ἵχνη ἔξω πολὺν χρόνον δῆλα· οὐ γὰρ ταχὺ συντήκεται· ἐὰν δὲ νότιόν τε ἡ καὶ ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπῃ, ὀλίγον χρόνον· ταχὺ γὰρ διαχεῖται. ὅταν δ' ἐπινίφῃ συνεχῶς, οὐδὲν δεῖ· ἐπικαλύπτει γάρ· οὐδὲ ἂν πνεῦμα ἡ μέγα· συμφοροῦν γὰρ τὴν χιόνα ἀφανίζει. [8.2] κύνας μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν δεῖ ἔχοντα ἐξέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ταύτην· ἡ γὰρ χιὼν καίει τῶν κυνῶν τὰς ῥίνας, <ρήγνυσι> τοὺς πόδας, τὴν ὁσμὴν τοῦ λαγῶ ἀφανίζει διὰ τὸ ὑπερπαγές· λαβόντα δὲ τὰ δίκτυα μετ' ἄλλου ἐλθόντα πρὸς τὰ ὄρη παριέναι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων, καὶ ἐπειδὰν λάβῃ τὰ ἵχνη, πορεύεσθαι κατὰ ταῦτα. [8.3] ἐὰν δ' ἐπηλλαγμένα ἦι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἤκοντα κύκλους ποιούμενον ἐκπεριέναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητοῦντα ὅποια ἔξεισι. πολλὰ δὲ πλανᾶται ὁ λαγῶς ἀπορούμενος ὅπου κατακλινῇ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ εἴθισται τεχνάζειν τῇ βαδίσει διὰ τὸ διώκεσθαι αἰεὶ [8.4] ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων. ἐπειδὰν <δὲ> φανῇ τὸ ἵχνος, προῖέναι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἄξει δὲ ἢ πρὸς σύσκιον τόπον ἢ πρὸς ἀπόκρημνον· τὰ γὰρ πνεύματα ὑπερφορεῖ τὴν χιόνα ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων. παραλείπεται οὖν εὐνάσιμα πολλά· ζητεῖ δὲ τοῦτο. [8.5] ἐπειδὰν δὲ τὰ ἵχνη πρὸς τοιαῦτα φέρῃ, μὴ προσιέναι ἐγγύς, ἵνα μὴ ὑποκινῇ, ἀλλὰ κύκλῳ ἐκπεριέναι· ἐλπίς γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἶναι. δῆλον δ' ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ ἵχνη ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων οὐδαμοῦ περάσει. [8.6] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἦι σαφές ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστίν, ἔάν· μενεῖ γάρ· ἕτερον δὲ ζητεῖν πρὶν τὰ ἵχνη ἄδηλα γενέσθαι, τῆς ὥρας ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως, ἂν καὶ ἐτέρους εὕρισκῃ, ἔσται ἡ λειπομένη ἱκανὴ περιστήσασθαι. [8.7] ἤκοντος δὲ τούτου περιτείνειν αὐτῶν ἐκάστωι τὰ δίκτυα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥνπερ ἐν τοῖς μελαγχίμοις, περιλαμβάνοντα ἐντὸς πρὸς ὅτῳ ἂν ἦι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐστηκότα ἦι, προσελθόντα κινεῖν. [8.8] ἐὰν δὲ ἐκκυλισθῇ ἐκ τῶν δικτύων, μεταθεῖν κατὰ τὰ ἵχνη· ὁ δὲ ἀφίζεται πρὸς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα χωρία, ἐὰν μὴ ἄρα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χιόνι πίεσῃ ἐαυτόν. σκεψάμενον οὖν δεῖ ὅπου ἂν ἦι

περίστασθαι. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ὑπομένῃ, μεταθεῖν· ἀλώσεται γὰρ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν δικτύων· ταχὺ γὰρ ἀπαγορεύει διὰ τὸ βάθος τῆς χιόνος καὶ διὰ τὸ κάτωθεν τῶν ποδῶν λασίων ὄντων προσέχεσθαι αὐτῷ ὄγκον πολύν.

[9.1] Ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς νεβροὺς καὶ τὰς ἐλάφους κύνας εἶναι Ἰνδικάς· εἰσὶ γὰρ ἰσχυραί, μεγάλαι, ποδώκεις, οὐκ ἄψυχοι· ἔχουσαι δὲ ταῦτα ἱκαναὶ γίνονται πονεῖν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν νεογνοὺς τῶν νεβρῶν τοῦ ἥρος θηρᾶν· ταύτην γὰρ τὴν ὥραν γίνονται. [9.2] κατασκέψασθαι δὲ προελθόντα εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας, οὓς εἰσιν ἔλαφοι πλεῖσται· ὅπου δ' ἂν ᾤσιν, ἔχοντα τὸν κυναγωγὸν τὰς κύνας καὶ ἀκόντια πρὸς ἡμέρας ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τὰς μὲν κύνας δῆσαι ἄπωθεν ἐκ τῆς ὕλης, ὅπως μὴ, ἂν ἴδωσι τὰς ἐλάφους, ὑλακτῶσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ σκοπιωρεῖσθαι. [9.3] ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὄψεται ἀγούσας τοὺς νεβροὺς πρὸς τὸν τόπον οὓς ἂν μέλλῃ ἐκάστη τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐνάσειν. κατακλίναςαι δὲ καὶ γάλα δοῦσαι καὶ διασκεπνόμεναι μὴ ὀπῶνται ὑπὸ τινος, φυλάττει τὸν αὐτῆς ἐκάστη ἀπελθοῦσα εἰς τὸ ἀντιπέραν. [9.4] ἰδόντα δὲ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν κύνας λῦσαι, τὸν δὲ λαβόντα τὰ ἀκόντια προσιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν νεβρὸν τὸν πρῶτον, ὅπου εἶδεν εὐνασθέντα, τῶν τόπων ἐνθυμούμενον, ὅπως μὴ διαμαρτήσεται· πολὺ γὰρ ἀλλοιοῦνται τῇ ὄψει ἐγγὺς προσιόντι ἢ οἱ πόρρωθεν ἔδοξαν εἶναι. [9.5] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἴδῃ αὐτόν, προσιέναι ἐγγύς. ὁ δ' ἔξει ἀτρέμα πῆσας ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ γῆν καὶ ἐάσει ἀνελέσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐφυσμένος ᾖ, βοῶν μέγα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου οὐ μενεῖ· ταχὺ γὰρ τὸ ὑγρόν, ὃ ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ συνιστάμενον ποιεῖ ἀποχωρεῖν αὐτόν. [9.6] ἀλώσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν σὺν πόνῳ διωκόμενος· λαβόντα δὲ δοῦναι τῷ ἀρκυρωῶ· ὁ δὲ βοησεται· ἢ δ' ἔλαφος τὰ μὲν ἰδοῦσα, τὰ δ' ἀκούσασα, ἐπιδραμεῖται τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτὸν ζητοῦσα ἀφελέσθαι. [9.7] ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐγκελεύειν ταῖς κυσὶ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀκοντίοις. κρατήσαντα δὲ τούτου πορεύεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ εἶδει πρὸς αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῆς θήρας. καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι τῶν νεβρῶν οὕτως ἀλίσκονται· [9.8] οἱ δὲ ἤδη μεγάλοι χαλεπῶς· νέμονται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν μητέρων καὶ ἐτέρων ἐλάφων· καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν, ὅταν διώκωνται, ἐν μέσαις, ὅτε δὲ πρόσθεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀπισθεν ὀλιγάκις. [9.9] αἱ δ' ἔλαφοι τὰς κύνας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀμυνόμεναι καταπατοῦσιν, ὥστ' οὐκ εὐάλωτοί εἰσιν, ἐὰν μὴ προσμεῖζας τις εὐθὺς διασκεδάσῃ αὐτὰς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ὥστε μονωθῆναι τινα αὐτῶν. [9.10] βιασθεῖσαι δὲ τοῦτο, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον δρόμον αἱ κύνες

ἀπολείπονται· ἢ τε γὰρ ἀπουσία τῶν ἐλάφων ποιεῖ αὐτὸν περίφοβον, τό τε τάχος οὐδενὶ ἐοικός ἐστι τῶν τηλικούτων νεβρῶν· δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ τρίτῳ δρόμῳ ταχὺ ἀλίσκονται· τὰ γὰρ σώματα αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ ἔτι νεαρὰ εἶναι τῷ πόνῳ οὐ δύναται ἀντέχειν.

[9.11] Ἰστανται δὲ καὶ ποδοστράβαι ταῖς ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι, περὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας καὶ τὰ ρεῖθρα καὶ τὰς νάπας, ἐν ταῖς διόδοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν προσίη. [9.12] χρηὶ δὲ εἶναι τὰς ποδοστράβας σμίλακος πεπλεγμένης, μὴ περιφλοίους, ἵνα μὴ σήπωνται, τὰς δὲ στεφάνας εὐκύκλους ἐχούσας, καὶ τοὺς ἥλους ἐναλλάξ σιδηροὺς τε καὶ ξυλίνους ἐγκαταπεπλεγμένους ἐν τῷ πλοκάνῳ· μείζους δὲ τοὺς σιδηροὺς, ὅπως ἂν οἱ μὲν ξύλινοι ὑπέικωσι τῷ ποδί, οἱ δὲ πιέζωσι. [9.13] τὸν δὲ βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν στεφάνην ἐπιτεθισμένον πεπλεγμένον σπάρτου καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν σειρίδα· ἔστι γὰρ ἀσηπτότατον τοῦτο. ὁ δὲ βρόχος αὐτὸς ἔστω στιφρὸς καὶ ἡ σειρίς· τὸ δὲ ξύλον τὸ ἐξαπτόμενον ἔστω μὲν δρυὸς ἢ πρίνου, μέγεθος τρισπίθαμον, περίφλοιον, πάχος παλαιστής. [9.14] ἰστάναι δὲ τὰς ποδοστράβας διελόντα τῆς γῆς βάθος πεντεπάλαστον, περιφερὲς δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἄνωθεν ἴσον ταῖς στεφάναις τῶν ποδοστράβων, εἰς δὲ τὸ κάτω ἀμειβόμενον στενότητι· διελεῖν δὲ καὶ τῇ σειρίδι καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τῆς γῆς ὅσον ἴζεσθαι ἀμφοῖν. [9.15] ποιήσαντα δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ βάθος τὴν ποδοστράβην ἐπιθεῖναι κατωτέρῳ ἰσώπεδον, περὶ δὲ τὴν στέγην τὸν βρόχον τῆς σειρίδος· καὶ αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ ξύλον καθέντα εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐκατέρου, τῇ στέγῃ ἐπιθεῖναι δοκίδας ἀτρακτυλίδος μὴ ὑπερτεινούσας εἰς τὸ ἔξω, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων πέταλα λεπτά, ὧν ἂν ἡ ὥρα ᾗ. [9.16] μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς γῆς ἐπιβαλεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὰ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπιπολῆς ἐξαιρεθεῖσαν ἐκ τῶν ὀρυγμάτων, ἄνωθεν δὲ ταύτης γῆς στερεᾶς τῆς ἁπλοῦς, ἵνα ᾗ τῇ ἐλάφῳ ὅτι μάλιστα ἄδηλος ἢ στάσις· τὴν δὲ περιοῦσαν τῆς γῆς ἀποφέρειν πόρῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ποδοστράβης· ἐὰν γὰρ ὀσφραίνεται νεωστὶ κεκινημένης, δυσωπεῖται· ταχὺ δὲ ποιεῖ τοῦτο. [9.17] ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ ἔχοντα τὰς κύνας τὰς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἐστώσας, μάλιστα μὲν ἔωθεν, χρηὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις πρώι. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὄρεσιν οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀλίσκονται ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς νυκτὸς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ἡμέραν πεφοβῆσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. [9.18] ἐπειδὴν δὲ εὖρηι ἀνεστραμμένην τὴν ποδοστράβην, μεταθεῖν ἐπὶλύσαντα τὰς κύνας καὶ ἐπικελεύσαντα κατὰ τὸν ὁλκὸν τοῦ ξύλου, σκοπούμενον ὅποι ἂν φέρεται. ἔσται δὲ οὐκ ἄδηλον ἐπὶ

τὸ πολὺ· οἱ τε γὰρ λίθοι ἔσονται κεκινημένοι τὰ τ' ἐπισύρματα τοῦ
ξύλου καταφανῆ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις· ἐὰν δὲ τραχεῖς τόπους διαπερᾷ, αἱ
πέτραι ἔξουσι τὸν φλοιὸν τοῦ ξύλου ἀφηρησμένον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο
ράιους αἱ μεταδρομαὶ ἔσονται. [9.19] ἐὰν μὲν οὖν τοῦ προσθίου ποδὸς
ἀλῶι, ταχὺ ληφθήσεται· ἐν γὰρ τῷ δρόμῳ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τύπτει καὶ
τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐὰν δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθεν, ἐφελκόμενον τὸ ξύλον ἐμποδῶν
ὅλῳ ἐστὶ τῷ σώματι, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ εἰς δίκρας τῆς ὕλης ἐμπίπτει
φερόμενον, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀπορρήξῃ τὴν σειρίδα, καταλαμβάνεται
αὐτοῦ. [9.20] χρὴ δέ, ἐὰν οὕτως ἔλῃ ἢ περιγενόμενος πόνῳ, [ἐὰν μὲν
ἦ ἄρρην,] μὴ προσιέναι ἐγγύς· τοῖς γὰρ κέρασι παίει, <ἐὰν μὲν ἦ
ἄρρην,> καὶ τοῖν ποδοῖν· ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια, τοῖν ποδοῖν· ἄπωθεν οὖν
ἀκοντίζειν. ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ἄνευ ποδοστράβης διωκόμεναι, ὅταν ἦ
ἡ ὥρα θερινή· ἀπαγορεύουσι γὰρ σφόδρα, ὥστε ἐστῶσαι
ἀκοντίζοντα· ῥίπτοῦσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐὰν κατέχωνται, καὶ
εἰς τὰ ὕδατα ἀπορούμεναι· ὅτε δὲ διὰ δύσπνοιαν πίπτουσι.

[10.1] Πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕν τὸν ἄγριον κεκτῆσθαι κύνας Ἰνδικάς,
Κρητικάς, Λοκρίδας, Λακαίνας, ἄρκυς, ἀκόντια, προβόλια,
ποδοστράβας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ εἶναι τὰς κύνας ἐκάστου γένους
μὴ τὰς ἐπιτυχούσας, ἵνα ἔτοιμα ὦσι πολεμεῖν τῷ θηρίῳ. [10.2] αἱ δὲ
ἄρκυς λίνων μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ὥνπερ αἱ τῶν λαγῶν <ἔστωσαν δὲ>
πεντεκαίτεταρακοντάλινοι ἐκ τριῶν τόνων, ἕκαστος δὲ τόνος ἐκ
πεντεκαίδεκα λίνων, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ κορυφαίου τὸ μέγεθος δεχάμματοι,
τὸ δὲ βάθος τῶν βρόχων πυγόνος· οἱ δὲ περιδρομοὶ ἡμιόλιοι τοῦ τῶν
ἀρκύων πάχους· ἐπ' ἄκροις δὲ δακτυλίους ἐχέτωσαν, ὑφείσθωσαν δ'
ὑπὸ τοὺς βρόχους, τὸ δὲ ἄκρον αὐτῶν ἐκπεράτω ἔξω διὰ τῶν
δακτυλίων· ἱκανὰ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα. [10.3] τὰ δ' ἀκόντια ἔστω
παντοδαπά, ἔχοντα τὰς λόγχας εὐπλατεῖς καὶ ξυρῆκεις, ράβδους δὲ
στιφράς. τὰ δὲ προβόλια πρῶτον μὲν λόγχας ἔχοντα τὸ μὲν μέγεθος
πεντεπαλάστους, κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν αὐλὸν κνώδοντας
ἀποκεχαλκευμένους, στιφρούς, καὶ τὰς ράβδους κρανείας
δορατοπαχεῖς. αἱ δὲ ποδοστράβαι ὅμοιαι ταῖς τῶν ἐλάφων.
συγκυνηγέται δ' ἔστωσαν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον μόλις καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν
ἀλίσκεται. ὅπως δὲ δεῖ τούτων ἐκάστῳ πρὸς θήραν χρῆσθαι διδάξω.
[10.4] πρῶτον μὲν οὖν χρὴ ἐλθόντας ὅπου ἂν οἴωνται [εἶναι] ὑπάγειν
τὸ κυνηγέσιον, λύσαντας μίαν τῶν κυνῶν τῶν Λακαινῶν, τὰς δ'
ἄλλας ἔχοντας δεδεμένας, συμπεριέναι τῇ κυνί. [10.5] ἐπειδὰν δὲ
λάβῃ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἵχνη, ἔπεσθαι ἐξῆς τῇ ἰχνεύσει ἡγουμένῃ <τούς>

ἀκολουθοῦντας σαφῶς. ἔσται δὲ καὶ τοῖς κυνηγέταις πολλὰ δῆλα αὐτοῦ, ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαλακοῖς τῶν χωρίων τὰ ἵχνη, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λασίοις τῆς ὕλης κλάσματα· ὅπου δ' ἂν δένδρα ἦι, πληγαὶ τῶν ὀδόντων. [10.6] ἢ δὲ κύων ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀφίξεται <ἐπὶ> τόπον ὑλώδη ἰχνεύουσα. κατακλίνεται γὰρ τὸ θηρίον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ εἰς τοιαῦτα· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνός ἐστιν ἀλεινὰ, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ψυχρινὰ. ἐπειδὴν δ' ἀφίκηται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν, ὑλακτεῖ· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀνίσταται ὡς τὰ πολλά. [10.7] λαβόντα οὖν τὴν κύνα καὶ ταύτην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων δῆσαι ἄπωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς εὐνῆς πολὺ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ὄρμους ἐμβαλέσθαι τὰς ἄρκυς, ἐπιβάλλοντα τοὺς βρόχους ἐπὶ ἀποσχαλιδώματα τῆς ὕλης δίκρα τῆς δὲ ἄρκυος αὐτῆς μακρὸν προήκοντα κόλπον ποιεῖν, ἀντηρίδας ἐνδοθεν ἐκατέρωθεν ὑφιστάντα κλῶνας, ὅπως ἂν εἰς τὸν κόλπον διὰ τῶν βρόχων αἱ αὐγαὶ τοῦ φέγγους ὡς μάλιστα ἐνέχωσιν, ἵνα προσθέοντι ὡς φανότατον ἦι τὸ ἔσω· καὶ τὸν περιδρομον ἐξάπτειν ἀπὸ δένδρον ἰσχυροῦ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ ῥάχου· οὐκ ἰσχυραὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ψιλοῖς αἱ ῥᾶχοι. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκάστην ἐμφράττειν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τὰ δύσορμα, ἵνα εἰς τὰς ἄρκυς ποιῇται τὸν δρόμον καὶ μὴ ἐξαλλάττη. [10.8] ἐπειδὴν δ' ἐστῶσιν, ἐλθόντας πρὸς τὰς κύνας λῦσαι ἀπάσας καὶ λαβόντας τὰ ἀκόντια καὶ τὰ προβόλια προιέναι. ἐγκελεύειν δὲ ταῖς κυσὶν ἕνα τὸν ἐμπειρότατον, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἔπεσθαι κοσμίως ἀπολείποντας ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πολὺ, ὅπως ἂν ἦ αὐτῶι ἱκανὴ διαδρομὴ· ἐὰν γὰρ ὑποχωρῶν ἐμπέσῃ, εἰς πυκνοὺς, κίνδυνος πληγῆναι· ὧι γὰρ ἂν προσπέσῃ, εἰς τοῦτον τὴν ὀργὴν κατέθετο. [10.9] ἐπειδὴν δ' αἱ κύνες ἐγγὺς ὦσι τῆς εὐνῆς, ἐπεισίσαι· θορυβούμενος δὲ ἐξαναστήσεται, καὶ ἥτις ἂν τῶν κυνῶν προσφέρηται αὐτῶι πρὸς τὸ προσωπον, ἀναρρίψει· θέων δ' ἐμπεσεῖται· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ, μεταθεῖν ἀνάγκη. καὶ ἐὰν μὲν ἦι τὸ χωρίον κατωφερὲς ἐν ὧι ἂν ἔχη αὐτὸν ἡ ἄρκυς, ταχὺ ἐξαναστήσεται· ἐὰν δὲ ἄπεδον, εὐθὺς ἐστήξει περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων. [10.10] ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ καιρῷ αἱ μὲν κύνες προσκείσονται· αὐτοὺς δὲ χρὴ φυλαττομένους αὐτὸν ἀκοντίζειν, καὶ βάλλειν λίθοις, περισταμένους ὀπισθεν καὶ πολὺ ἄπωθεν, ἕως ἂν κατατείνῃ προωθῶν αὐτὸν τῆς ἄρκυος τὸν περιδρομον. εἴτα ὅστις ἂν ἦι τῶν παρόντων ἐμπειρότατος καὶ ἐγκρατέστατος προσελθόντα ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν τῷ προβολίῳ παίειν. [10.11] ἐὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται ἀκοντιζόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος κατατείνειν τὸν περιδρομον, ἀλλ' ἐπανιεῖς ἔχη πρὸς τὸν προσιόντα περιδρομὴν ποιούμενος, ἀνάγκη, ὅταν οὕτως ἔχη, λαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι, ἔχεσθαι δ' αὐτοῦ

τῇ μὲν χειρὶ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ πρόσθεν, τῇ δ' ἑτέραί ὀπισθεν· κατορθοῖ γὰρ ἢ μὲν ἀριστερὰ αὐτό, ἢ δὲ δεξιὰ ἐπεμβάλλει· ἔμπροσθεν δὲ ὁ πούς ὁ μὲν ἀριστερὸς ἐπέσθω τῇ χειρὶ τῇ ὁμωνύμῳ, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς τῇ ἑτέραί. [10.12] προσιόντα δὲ προβάλλεσθαι τὸ προβόλιον, μὴ πολλῶι μείζω διαβάντα ἢ ἐν πάλῃ, ἐπιστρέφοντα τὰς πλευρὰς τὰς εὐωνύμους ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν εὐώνυμον, εἴτα εἰσβλέποντα εἰς τὸ ὄμμα τοῦ θηρίου ἐνθυμούμενον τὴν κίνησιν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἐκείνου. προσφέρειν δὲ τὸ προβόλιον φυλαττόμενον μὴ ἐκκρούσῃ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐκνεύσας· τῇ γὰρ ρύμῃ τῆς ἐκκρούσεως ἔπεται. [10.13] παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πίπτειν δεῖ ἐπὶ στόμα καὶ ἔχεσθαι τῆς ὕλης κάτωθεν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον ἐὰν μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντι προσπέσῃ, διὰ τὴν σιμότητα τῶν ὀδόντων τὸ σῶμα οὐ δύναται ὑπολαβεῖν· ἐὰν δὲ μετεώρωι, ἀνάγκη πληγῆναι. πειράται μὲν οὖν μετεωρίζειν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δύνῃται, ἀμφιβὰς πατεῖ. [10.14] ἀπαλλαγὴ δὲ τούτων μία ἐστὶ μόνη, ὅταν ἐν τῇ ἀνάγκῃ ταύτῃ ἔχηται, προσελθόντα ἐγγὺς τῶν συγκυνηγετῶν ἓνα ἔχοντα προβόλιον ἐρεθίζειν ὥς ἀφήσοντα· ἀφιέναι δὲ οὐ χρή, μὴ τύχῃ τοῦ πεπτωκότος. [10.15] ὅταν δὲ ἴδῃ τοῦτο, καταλιπὼν ὃν ἂν ἔχῃ ὑφ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐρεθίζοντα ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ ἐπιστρέψει. τὸν δὲ ταχὺ ἀναπηδᾶν, τὸ δὲ προβόλιον μεμνήσθαι ἔχοντα ἀνίστασθαι· οὐ γὰρ καλὴ ἢ σωτηρία ἄλλως ἢ κρατήσαντι. [10.16] προσφέρειν δὲ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ προτείνειν ἐντὸς τῆς ὠμοπλάτης ἧι ἢ σφαγῇ, καὶ ἀντερείσαντα ἔχειν ἐρρωμένως· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ μένους προλαίσει, καὶ εἰ μὴ κωλύοιεν οἱ κνῶδοντες τῆς λόγχης, ἀφίκοιτ' ἂν διὰ τῆς ράβδου προωθῶν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν τὸ προβόλιον ἔχοντα. [10.17] οὕτω δὲ πολλὴ ἢ δύναμις ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ ὥστε καὶ ἂν οὐκ ἂν οἰοιτό τις πρόσσεστιν αὐτῷ τεθνεῶτος γὰρ εὐθύς ἐὰν τις ἐπὶ τὸν ὀδόντα ἐπιθῇ τρίχας, συντρέχουσιν· οὕτως εἰσὶ θερμοί· ζῶντι δὲ διάπυροι, ὅταν ἐρεθίζεται· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τῶν κυνῶν ἀμαρτάνων τῇ πληγῇ τοῦ σώματος ἅκρα τὰ τριχώματα περιεπίμπρῃ. [10.18] ὁ μὲν οὖν ἄρρην τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω πράγματα παρασχὼν ἀλίσκεται.

Ἐὰν δὲ θήλεια ἧι ἢ ἐμπεσοῦσα, ἐπιθέοντα παίειν φυλαττόμενον μὴ ὥσθεις πέσῃ· παθόντα δὲ τοῦτο πατεῖσθαι ἀνάγκη καὶ δάκνεσθαι. ἐκόντα οὖν οὐ χρή ὑποπίπτειν· ἐὰν δ' ἄκων ἔλθῃ εἰς τοῦτο, διαναστάσεις γίνονται αἱ αὐταὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος· ἐξαναστάντα δὲ δεῖ παίειν τῷ προβολίῳ, ἕως ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ.

[10.19] Ἀλίσκονται δὲ καὶ ὧδε. ἴστανται μὲν αὐτοῖς αἱ ἄρκυς ἐπὶ τὰς

διαβάσεις τῶν ναπῶν εἰς τοὺς δρυμούς, τὰ ἄγκη, τὰ τραχέα, εἰσβολὰς δὲ εἰς τὰς ὀργάδας καὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ τὰ ὕδατα. ὁ δὲ τεταγμένος ἔχων τὸ προβόλιον φυλάττει τὰς ἄρκυς. οἱ δὲ τὰς κύνας ἐπάγουσι τοὺς τόπους ζητοῦντες τοὺς καλλίστους· ἐπειδὰν δὲ εὗρεθῇ, διώκεται. [10.20] ἐὰν μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν ἄρκυν ἐμπίπτῃ, τὸν ἄρκυωρὸν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ προβόλιον προσιέναι καὶ χρῆσθαι ὡς εἴρηκα· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐμπέσῃ, μεταθεῖν. ἀλίσκεται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἦι πνίγη, διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν· τὸ γὰρ θηρίον καίπερ ὑπερβάλλον δυνάμει ἀπαγορεύει ὑπέρασθμον γιγνόμενον. [10.21] ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ κύνες πολλαὶ ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ θήρῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κυνηγέται κινδυνεύουσιν, ὅταν γε ἐν ταῖς μεταδρομαῖς ἀπειρηκότε ἀναγκάζονται προσιέναι ἔχοντες τὰ προβόλια ἢ ἐν ὕδατι ὄντι ἢ ἐφεστῶτι πρὸς ἀποκρήμνῳ ἢ ἐκ δασέος μὴ θέλοντι ἐξιέναι· οὐ γὰρ κωλύει αὐτὸν οὔτε ἄρκυς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν φέρεσθαι ὁμόσε τῷ πλησιάζοντι· ὅμως μέντοι προσιτέον, ὅταν ἔχη οὕτως, καὶ ἐπιδεικτέον τὴν εὐψυχίαν, δι' ἣν εἵλοντο ἐκπονεῖν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ταύτην. [10.22] χρηστέον δὲ τῷ προβολίῳ καὶ ταῖς προβολαῖς τοῦ σώματος ὡς εἴρηται· εἰ γάρ τι καὶ πάσχοι, οὐκ ἂν διὰ γε τὸ μὴ ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν πάσχοι.

Ἰστανται δὲ αἱ ποδοστράβαι αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ταῖς ἐλάφοις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, καὶ ἐπισκέψεις αἱ αὐταὶ καὶ μεταδρομαὶ καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι καὶ αἱ χρεῖαι τοῦ προβολίου.

[10.23] Τὰ δὲ νεογενῇ αὐτῶν ὅταν ἀλίσκηται, χαλεπῶς τοῦτο πάσχει· οὔτε γὰρ μονοῦται, ἕως ἂν μικρὰ ᾖ, ὅταν τε αἱ κύνες εὖρωσιν ἢ προϊῇ τι, ταχὺ εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀφανίζεται, ἔπονται τε ἐπὶ πολὺ ἄμφω ὧν ἂν ᾧσι, χαλεποὶ ὄντες τότε καὶ μᾶλλον μαχόμενοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

[11.1] Λέοντες δὲ καὶ παρδάλεις, λύγκες, πάνθηρες, ἄρκτοι καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα θηρία ἀλίσκεται ἐν ξέναις χώραις περὶ τὸ Πάγγαιον ὄρος καὶ τὸν Κίττον τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Μακεδονίας, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μυσίῳ καὶ ἐν Πίνδῳ, τὰ δ' ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ τῆς Συρίας, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄρεσιν ὅσα οἶά τ' ἐστὶ τρέφειν τοιαῦτα. [11.2] ἀλίσκεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι φαρμάκῳ διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀκονιτικῶν· παραβάλλουσι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ θηρώμενοι, συμμιγνύντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅτῳ ἂν ἕκαστον χαίρῃ περὶ τὰ ὕδατα καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν ἄλλο προσίῃ. [11.3] τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν καταβαίνοντα εἰς τὸ πεδίον τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποκλεισθέντα μετὰ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀλίσκεται, εἰς κίνδυνον καθιστάντα τοὺς αἰροῦντας. [11.4] ἔστι δὲ οἷς αὐτῶν καὶ

ὀρύγματα ποιοῦσι περιφερῇ μεγάλη βαθέα, ἐν μέσῳ λείποντες κίονα τῆς γῆς. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτον εἰς νύκτα ἐπέθεσαν δῆσαντες αἶγα, καὶ ἔφραζαν κύκλῳ τὸ ὄρυγμα ὕλῃ ὥστε μὴ προορᾶν, εἰσοδὸν οὐ λείποντες. τὰ δὲ ἀκούοντα τῆς φωνῆς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κύκλῳ τὸν φραγμὸν περιθέουσι, καὶ ἐπειδὰν μὴ εὐρίσκηι δίοδον, ὑπερπηδαὶ καὶ ἀλίσκεται.

[12.1] Περί μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις εἴρηται. ὠφελήσονται δ' οἱ ἐπιθυμήσαντες τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πολλά· ὑγίειάν τε γὰρ τοῖς σώμασι παρασκευάζει καὶ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούειν μᾶλλον, γηράσκειν δὲ ἥττον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα παιδεύει. [12.2] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὰ ὄπλα ὅταν ἔχοντες πορεύωνται ὁδοὺς χαλεπὰς, οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν· ἀνέξονται γὰρ τοὺς πόνους διὰ τὸ εἰθίσθαι μετὰ τούτων αἰρεῖν τὰ θηρία. ἔπειτα εὐνάζεσθαι τε σκληρῶς δυνατοὶ ἔσονται καὶ φύλακες εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ τοῦ ἐπιταττομένου. [12.3] ἐν δὲ ταῖς προσόδοις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἅμα οἷοί τε ἔσονται ἐπιέναι καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ποιεῖν διὰ τὸ οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ αἰρεῖν τὰς ἄγρας. τεταγμένοι δὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν οὐ λείψουσι τὰς τάξεις διὰ τὸ καρτερεῖν δύνασθαι. [12.4] ἐν φυγῇ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διώξονται τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν παντὶ χωρίῳ διὰ συνήθειαν. δυστυχῆσαντος δὲ οἰκείου στρατοπέδου ἐν χωρίοις ὑλῶδεςσι καὶ ἀποκρήμνοις ἢ ἄλλως χαλεποῖς οἷοί τ' ἔσονται καὶ αὐτοὶ σώιζεσθαι μὴ αἰσchrῶς καὶ ἐτέρους σώιζειν· ἡ γὰρ συνήθεια τοῦ ἔργου παρέξει αὐτοῖς πλεον τι εἰδέναι. [12.5] καὶ ἤδη τινὲς τῶν τοιούτων πολλοῦ ὄχλου συμμάχων τρεφθέντος τῇ αὐτῶν εὐταξίᾳ καὶ θράσει διὰ δυσχωρίαν ἀμαρτόντας τοὺς πολεμίους νενικηκότας ἀναμαχόμενοι ἐτρέψαντο· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὖ ἔχουσιν ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῦ εὐτυχεῖν. [12.6] εἰδότες δὲ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ὅτι ἐντεῦθεν ἠτύχουν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν νέων ἐποίησαντο· σπανίζοντες γὰρ καρπῶν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνόμισαν ὅμως τοὺς κυνηγέτας μὴ κωλύειν διὰ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ φυομένων ἀγρεύειν· [12.7] πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ μὴ νυκτερεῦειν ἐντὸς πολλῶν σταδίων, ἵνα μὴ ἀφαιροῖντο τὰς θήρας αὐτῶν οἱ ἔχοντες ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. ἐώρων γὰρ ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ἡ ἡδονὴ μόνη αὕτη πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ παρασκευάζει. σὺφρονάς τε γὰρ ποιεῖ καὶ δικαίους διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ παιδεύεσθαι. [12.8] τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου διὰ τούτων εὐτυχοῦντες ἡσθάνοντο· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι βούλονται ἐπιτηδεύειν καλῶν οὐδενὸς ἀποστερεῖ ὥσπερ ἕτεραι κακαὶ ἡδοναί,

ἃς οὐ χρή μανθάνειν. ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν στρατιῶται τε ἀγαθοὶ καὶ στρατηγοὶ γίνονται. [12.9] ὧν γὰρ οἱ πόνοι τὰ μὲν αἰσχροὶ καὶ ὑβριστικά ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀφαιροῦνται, ἐπιθυμίαν δ' ἀρετῆς ἐνηύξησαν, οὗτοι ἄριστοι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν περιίδοιεν οὔτε τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένην οὔτε τὴν χώραν πάσχουσιν κακῶς.

[12.10] Λέγουσι δέ τινες ὥς οὐ χρή ἐρᾶν κυνηγεσίων, ἵνα μὴ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅτι οἱ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὖ ποιοῦντες πάντες τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελέστεροί εἰσιν. [12.11] εἰ οὖν οἱ φιλοκυνηγέται παρασκευάζουσιν αὐτοὺς τῇ πατρίδι χρησίμους εἶναι εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, οὐδ' ἂν τὰ ἴδια ἀργοῖτο· σὺν γὰρ τῇ πόλει καὶ σώζεται καὶ ἀπόλλυται τὰ οἰκεῖα ἐκάστου. ὥστε πρὸς τοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ιδιωτῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι σώζουσι. [12.12] πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἀλόγιστοι τῶν ταῦτα λεγόντων αἰροῦνται διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν κακίαν ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐτέρων ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι· αἱ γὰρ ἡδοναὶ αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ κακαί· ὧν ἡττώμενοι ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἐπαίρονται τὰ χεῖρω. [12.13] εἴτα ἐκ μὲν τῶν ματαίων λόγων ἔχθρας ἀναιροῦνται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κακῶν ἔργων νόσους καὶ ζημίας καὶ θανάτους καὶ αὐτῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ φίλων, ἀναισθητῶς μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ ἡδονῶν πλέον τῶν ἄλλων αἰσθανόμενοι, οἷς τίς ἂν χρήσαιτο εἰς πόλεως σωτηρίαν; [12.14] τούτων μέντοι τῶν κακῶν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἀφέξεται ἐρασθεὶς ὧν ἐγὼ παραινῶ· παιδευσις γὰρ καλὴ διδάσκει χρῆσθαι νόμοις καὶ λέγειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ ἀκούειν. [12.15] οἱ μὲν οὖν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀεὶ τι μοχθεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς μὲν μαθήσεις καὶ μελέτας ἐπιπόνους ἔχουσι, σωτηρίαν δὲ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πόλεσιν· οἱ δὲ μὴ θέλοντες διὰ τὸ ἐπίπονον διδάσκεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἡδοναῖς ἀκαίροις διάγειν, φύσει οὗτοι κάκιστοι. [12.16] οὔτε γὰρ νόμοις οὔτε λόγοις ἀγαθοῖς πείθονται· οὐ γὰρ εὐρίσκουσι διὰ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν οἷον χρή τὸν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι· ὥστε οὔτε θεοσεβεῖς δύνανται εἶναι οὔτε σοφοί· τῷ δὲ ἀπαιδευτῷ χρώμενοι πολλὰ ἐπιτιμῶσι τοῖς πεπαιδευμένοις. [12.17] διὰ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι· διὰ δὲ τῶν πονούντων ἅπασαι αἱ ὠφέλειαί τοις ἀνθρώποις ἡϋρηνται· ἀμείνους οὖν οἱ θέλοντες πονεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδέδεικται μεγάλῳ παραδείγματι· [12.18] τῶν γὰρ παλαιότερων οἱ παρὰ Χεῖρωνι ὧν ἐπεμνήσθηεν νέοι ὄντες ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν κυνηγεσίων πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔμαθον· ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς μεγάλη ἀρετὴ, δι' ἣν καὶ νῦν θαυμάζονται· ἥς ὅτι μὲν ἐρῶσιν ἅπαντες εὐδηλον, ὅτι δὲ διὰ πόνων ἔστι τυχεῖν αὐτῆς, οἱ πολλοὶ ἀφίστανται. [12.19] τὸ μὲν γὰρ

κατεργάσασθαι αὐτὴν ἄδηλον, οἱ δὲ πόνοι οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνόντες φανεροί. ἴσως μὲν οὖν, εἰ ἦν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῆς δῆλον, ἦττον ἂν ἡμέλουν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀρετῆς, εἰδότες ὅτι ὥσπερ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνη ἐμφανής ἐστιν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνης ὀρῶνται. [12.20] ὅταν μὲν γάρ τις ὀράται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐρωμένου, ἅπας ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶ βελτίων καὶ οὔτε λέγει οὔτε ποιεῖ αἰσχρὰ οὐδὲ κακὰ, ἵνα μὴ ὀφθῇ ὑπ' ἐκείνου. [12.21] ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐκ οἰόμενοι ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι πολλὰ κακὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἐναντίον ποιοῦσιν, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἐκείνην οὐχ ὀρῶσιν· ἡ δὲ πανταχοῦ πάρεστι διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀθάνατος καὶ τιμᾷ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀγαθοὺς, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς ἀτιμάζει. εἰ οὖν εἰδῆεν τοῦτο, ὅτι θεᾶται αὐτούς, ἴεντο ἂν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους καὶ τὰς παιδεύσεις αἷς ἀλίσκεται μόλις, καὶ κατεργάζοντο ἂν αὐτήν.

[13.1] Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καλουμένων ὅτι φασὶ μὲν ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ἄγειν οἱ πολλοὶ τοὺς νέους, ἄγουσι δ' ἐπὶ τούναντόν· οὔτε γὰρ [ἂν] ἄνδρα που ἐωράκαμεν ὄντιν' οἱ νῦν σοφισταὶ ἀγαθὸν ἐποίησαν, οὔτε γράμματα παρέχονται ἐξ ὧν χρὴ ἀγαθοὺς γίγνεσθαι, [13.2] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ματαίων πολλὰ αὐτοῖς γέγραπται, ἀφ' ὧν τοῖς νέοις αἱ μὲν ἡδοναὶ κεναί, ἀρετὴ δ' οὐκ ἔνι· διατρίβειν δ' ἄλλως παρέχει τοῖς ἐλπίσασί τι ἐξ αὐτῶν μαθήσεσθαι [μάτην] καὶ ἐτέρων κωλύει χρησίμων καὶ διδάσκει κακὰ. [13.3] μέφομαι οὖν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν μεγάλα μειζόνως· περὶ δὲ ὧν γράφουσιν, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ῥήματα αὐτοῖς ἐξήτληται, γινῶμαι δὲ ὀρθῶς ἔχουσαι, αἷς ἂν παιδεύοντο οἱ νεώτεροι ἐπ' ἀρετὴν, οὐδαμοῦ. [13.4] ἐγὼ δὲ ιδιώτης μὲν εἰμι, οἶδα δὲ ὅτι κράτιστον μὲν ἐστὶ παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως τὸ ἀγαθὸν διδάσκεσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἀγαθόν τι ἐπισταμένων μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξαπατᾶν τέχνην ἐχόντων. [13.5] ἴσως οὖν τοῖς μὲν ὀνόμασιν οὐ σεσοφισμένως λέγω· οὐδὲ γὰρ ζητῶ τοῦτο· ὧν δὲ δέονται εἰς ἀρετὴν οἱ καλῶς πεπαιδευμένοι ὀρθῶς ἐγνωσμένα ζητῶ λέγειν· ὀνόματα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν παιδεύσειε, γινῶμαι δέ, εἰ καλῶς ἔχοιεν. [13.6] ψέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ τοὺς νῦν σοφιστὰς καὶ οὐ [τούς] φιλοσόφους, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι σοφίζονται, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς νοήμασιν. οὐ λανθάνει δέ με ὅτι <τὰ μὴ> καλῶς καὶ ἐξῆς γεγραμμένα φήσει τις ἴσως τῶν τοιούτων οὐ καλῶς οὐδ' ἐξῆς γεγράφθαι· ῥαίδιον γὰρ ἔσται αὐτοῖς <τὸ> ταχὺ μὴ ὀρθῶς μέμνησθαι· [13.7] καίτοι γέγραπται γε οὕτως, ἵνα ὀρθῶς ἔχη, καὶ μὴ σοφιστικούς ποιῇ ἀλλὰ σοφοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν αὐτὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον ἢ εἶναι χρήσιμα, ἵνα ἀνεξέλεγκτα ᾗ εἰς ἀεὶ. [13.8] οἱ

σοφισταὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν κέρδει, καὶ οὐδένα οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ σοφὸς αὐτῶν ἐγένετο οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρκεῖ ἐκάστωι σοφιστὴν κληθῆναι, ὃ ἔστιν ὄνειδος παρά γε εὖ φρονοῦσι. [13.9] τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν σοφιστῶν παραγγέλματα παραινῶ φυλάττεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐνθυμήματα μὴ ἀτιμάζειν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι· τύχας δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὔτε τιμῶσιν οὔτε ἀτιμάζουσι.

[13.10] Μὴ ζηλοῦν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πλεονεξίας εἰκῆι ἰόντας, μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας μήτ' ἐπὶ τὰς δημοσίας, ἐνθυμηθέντα ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄριστοι αὐτῶν γινώσκονται μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίῳ ἐπίπονοι δέ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ κακοὶ πάσχουσιν τε κακῶς καὶ γινώσκονται ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρῳ. [13.11] τὰς τε γὰρ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οὐσίας ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὰς κοινὰς σωτηρίας ἀνωφελέστεροί εἰσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, τὰ τε σώματα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κάκιστα καὶ αἰσχιστα ἔχουσι πονεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. οἱ δὲ κυνηγέται εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ κτήματα καλῶς ἔχοντα παρέχουσιν. [13.12] ἔρχονται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους. εἴθ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς φίλους ἰόντες δύσκληϊαν ἔχουσι παρὰ πᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ κυνηγέται ἐπὶ τὰ θηρία ἰόντες εὐκληϊαν· ἐλόντες μὲν γὰρ πολέμια νικῶσι, μὴ ἐλόντες δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐχθροῖς ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔπαινον ἔχουσιν, ἔπειτα ὅτι οὗτ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς βλάβηι οὔτε φιλοκερδεῖαι ἔρχονται. [13.13] ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐπιχειρήματος βελτίους γίνονται πρὸς πολλὰ καὶ σοφώτεροι δι' οὗ διδάζομεν. ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ πόνοις καὶ ἐνθυμήμασι καὶ ἐπιμελείαις πολλαῖς ὑπερβάλλωνται, οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιεν ἄγρας. [13.14] τὰ γὰρ ἀντίπαλα αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιζόμενα καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν οἰκῇ ἐν ἰσχύι πολλῇ ἔστιν· ὥστε τῷ κυνηγέτῃ μάτην οἱ πόνοι γίνονται, ἐὰν μὴ μείζονι φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ πολλῇ συνέσει κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν. [13.15] οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ πόλιν βουλόμενοι πλεονεκτεῖν μελετῶσι νικᾶν φίλους, οἱ δὲ κυνηγέται κοινούς ἐχθρούς· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἢ μελέτη αὕτη ποιεῖ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολεμίους ἀμείνους, τοὺς δὲ πολὺ χείρους· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἢ ἄγρα μετὰ σωφροσύνης, τοῖς δὲ μετὰ αἰσχροῦ θράσους. [13.16] κακοθηρίας δὲ καὶ αἰσχροκερδεῖας οἱ μὲν δύνανται καταφρονεῖν, οἱ δ' οὐ δύνανται· φωνὴν δὲ οἱ μὲν εὐεπῇ ἰᾶσιν, οἱ δ' αἰσχροάν· πρὸς δὲ τὰ θεῖα τοῖς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἀσεβεῖν, οἱ δ' εὐσεβέστατοι. [13.17] λόγοι γὰρ παλαιοὶ

κατέχουσιν ὥς καὶ θεοὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ χαίρουσι καὶ πράττοντες καὶ ὀρῶντες· ὥστε ὑπάρχειν ἐνθυμουμένους τούτων θεοφιλεῖς τ' εἶναι καὶ εὐσεβεῖς τοὺς νέους τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἃ ἐγὼ παραινῶ, οἰομένους ὑπὸ θεῶν τοῦ ὀρᾶσθαι ταῦτα. οὗτοι δ' ἂν εἶεν καὶ τοκεῦσιν ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἐαυτῶν πόλει καὶ ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων καὶ πολιτῶν. [13.18] οὐ μόνον δὲ ὅσοι ἄνδρες κυνηγεσίῳ ἠράσθησαν ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοί, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἷς ἔδωκεν ἡ θεὸς ταῦτα [Ἄρτεμις], Ἀταλάντη καὶ Πρόκρις καὶ ἥτις ἄλλη.

WAYS AND MEANS - Πόροι ἢ περὶ προσόδων

Κεφάλαιον α΄

[1] Ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτο ἀεὶ ποτε νομίζω, ὅποιοί τινες ἂν οἱ προστάται ᾧσι, τοιαύτας καὶ τὰς πολιτείας γίνεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀθήνησι προεστηκότων ἔλεγόν τινες, ὡς γινώσκουσι μὲν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πενίαν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἔφασαν ἀδικώτεροι εἶναι περὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἐπεχείρησα σκοπεῖν, εἴ πῃ δύναιτ' ἂν οἱ πολῖται διατρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ὅθενπερ καὶ δικαιοτάτον, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, ἅμα τῇ τε πενίᾳ αὐτῶν ἐπικεκουρηῆσθαι ἂν καὶ τῷ ὑπόπτους τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν εἶναι.

[2] Σκοποῦντι δὴ μοι ἃ ἐπενόησα τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνεφαίνετο, ὅτι ἡ χώρα πέφυκεν οἷα πλείστας προσόδους παρέχεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ γνωσθῇ, ὅτι ἀληθὲς τοῦτο πρῶτον λέγω, διηγήσομαι τὴν φύσιν τῆς Ἀττικῆς. [3] οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν τὰς ὥρας ἐνθάδε πραοτάτας εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ γινόμενα μαρτυρεῖ· ἃ γοῦν πολλαχοῦ οὐδὲ βλαστάνειν δύναιτ' ἂν, ἐνθάδε καρποφορεῖ. ὥσπερ δὲ ἡ γῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν χώραν θάλαττα παμφορωτάτη ἐστί. καὶ μὴν ὅσαπερ οἱ θεοὶ ἐν ταῖς ὥραις ἀγαθὰ παρέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἐνταῦθα πρωιαίτατα μὲν ἄρχεται, ὀψιαίτατα δὲ λήγει. [4] οὐ μόνον δὲ κρατεῖ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν θάλλουσί τε καὶ γηράσκουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰδία ἀγαθὰ ἔχει ἡ χώρα. πέφυκε μὲν γὰρ λίθος ἐν αὐτῇ ἄφθονος, ἐξ οὗ κάλλιστοι μὲν ναοί, κάλλιστοι δὲ βωμοὶ γίνονται, εὐπρεπέστατα δὲ θεοῖς ἀγάλματα· πολλοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἑλλήνες καὶ βάρβαροι προσδέονται. [5] ἔστι δὲ καὶ γῆ, ἡ σπειρομένη μὲν οὐ φέρει καρπὸν, ὀρυσσομένη δὲ πολλαπλασίους τρέφει ἢ εἰ σῖτον ἔφερε. καὶ μὴν ὑπάργυρός ἐστι σαφῶς θεῖαι μοίραι· πολλῶν γοῦν πόλεων παροικουσῶν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς οὐδεμίαν τούτων οὐδὲ μικρὰ φλὲψ ἀργυρίτιδος διήκει. [6] οὐκ ἂν ἀλόγως δέ τις οἰηθείη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ πάσης δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀμφὶ τὰ μέσα οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν τινες πλεῖον ἀπέχωσιν αὐτῆς, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέροις ἢ ψύχεσιν ἢ θάλπεσιν ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ὅπόσοι τ' ἂν αὖ βουλευθῶσιν ἀπ' ἐσχάτων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἔσχατα ἀφικέσθαι, πάντες οὗτοι ὥσπερ κύκλου τὸρνον τὰς Ἀθήνας ἢ παραπλεύουσιν ἢ παρέρχονται. [7] καὶ μὴν οὐ περίρρυτός γε οὕσα ὅμως ὥσπερ νῆσος πᾶσιν ἀνέμοις προσάγεται τε

ὧν δεῖται καὶ ἀποπέμπεται ἃ βούλεται· ἀμφιθάλασσος γάρ ἐστι. καὶ κατὰ γῆν δὲ πολλὰ δέχεται ἐμπόρια· ἥπειρος γάρ ἐστιν. [8] ἔτι δὲ ταῖς μὲν πλείσταις πόλεσι βάρβαροι προσοικοῦντες πράγματα παρέχουσιν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ γειτονεῦουσιν, αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ πλείστον ἀπέχουσι τῶν βαρβάρων.

Κεφάλαιον β'

[1] Τούτων μὲν οὖν ἀπάντων, ὥσπερ εἶπον, νομίζω αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν αἰτίαν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς αὐτοφυέσιν ἀγαθοῖς πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μετοίκων ἐπιμέλεια γένοιτο· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ πρόσδοδος τῶν καλλίστων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς τρέφοντες καὶ πολλὰ ὠφελοῦντες τὴν πόλιν οὐ λαμβάνουσι μισθόν, ἀλλὰ μετοίκιον προσφέρουσιν· [2] ἐπιμέλειά γε μὴν ἥδ' ἂν ἀρκεῖν μοι δοκεῖ, εἰ ἀφέλοιμεν μὲν ὅσα μὴδὲν ὠφελοῦντα τὴν πόλιν ἀτιμίας δοκεῖ τοῖς μετοίκους παρέχειν, ἀφέλοιμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι ὀπλίτας μετοίκους τοῖς ἀστοῖς. μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ κίνδυνος ἀπὼν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀπιέναι. [3] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἡ πόλις γ' ἂν ὠφελθῇ, εἰ οἱ πολῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων στρατεύοιντο μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ συντάττοντο αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν, Λυδοὶ καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Σύροι καὶ ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ βάρβαροι· πολλοὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῶν μετοίκων. [4] πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἀγαθῷ τῷ τούτους [ἐκ] τοῦ συντάττεσθαι ἀφεθῆναι καὶ κόσμος ἂν τῇ πόλει εἴη, εἰ δοκοῖεν Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς τὰς μάχας αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἢ ἄλλοδαποῖς. [5] καὶ μεταδιδόντες δ' ἂν μοι δοκοῦμεν τοῖς μετοίκους τῶν <τ'> ἄλλων ὧν καλὸν μεταδιδόναι καὶ τοῦ ἵππικου εὐνουστέρους ἂν ποιῆσθαι καὶ ἅμα ἰσχυροτέραν ἂν καὶ μείζω τὴν πόλιν ἀποδεικνύναι. [6] εἴτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλὰ οἰκιῶν ἔρημά ἐστιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ οἰκόπεδα εἰ ἡ πόλις διδοίη οἰκοδομησομένοις ἐγκεκτῆσθαι, οἳ ἂν αἰτούμενοι ἄξιοι δοκῶσιν εἶναι, πολὺ ἂν οἶομαι καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ βελτίους ὀρέγεσθαι τῆς Ἀθήνησιν οἰκίσεως. [7] καὶ εἰ μετοικοφύλακας γε ὥσπερ ὀρφανοφύλακας ἀρχὴν καθισταῖμεν, καὶ τούτοις τιμὴ τις ἐπεὶ οἵτινες πλείστους μετοίκους ἀποδείξειαν, καὶ τοῦτο εὐνουστέρους ἂν τοὺς μετοίκους ποιῶι, καὶ ὥς τὸ εἰκὸς πάντες ἂν οἱ ἀπόλιδες τῆς Ἀθήνησι μετοικίας ὀρέγοιντο καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἂν αὔξοιεν.

Κεφάλαιον γ'

[1] Ὡς γε μὴν καὶ ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡδίστη τε καὶ κερδαλεωτάτη ἡ

πόλις, νῦν ταῦτα λέξω. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δήπου ναυσὶ καλλίστας καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτας ὑποδοχὰς ἔχει, ὅπου γ' ἔστιν εἰσορμισθέντας ἀδεῶς ἔνεκα χειμῶνος ἀναπαύεσθαι. [2] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἐν μὲν ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν πόλεων ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι τι ἀνάγκη· νομίμασι γὰρ οὐ χρησίμοις ἔξω χρῶνται· ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις πλεῖστα μὲν ἔστιν ἀντεξάγειν, ὧν ἂν δέωνται ἄνθρωποι· ἣν δὲ μὴ βούλονται ἀντιφορτίζεσθαι, καὶ [οἱ] ἀργύριον ἐξάγοντες καλὴν ἐμπορίαν ἐξάγουσιν· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν πωλῶσιν αὐτό, πανταχοῦ πλεῖον τοῦ ἀρχαίου λαμβάνουσιν. [3] εἰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἐμπορίου ἀρχῇ ἄθλα προτιθεῖται τις, ὅστις δικαιοτάτα καὶ τάχιστα διαιροίη τὰ ἀμφίλογα, ὥς μὴ ἀποκωλύεσθαι ἀποπλεῖν τὸν βουλόμενον, πολὺ ἂν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πλείους τε καὶ ἥδιον ἐμπορεύονται. [4] ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ καλὸν καὶ προεδρίαίς τιμᾶσθαι ἐμπόρους καὶ ναυκλήρους, καὶ ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ γ' ἔστιν ὅτε καλεῖσθαι, οἳ ἂν δοκῶσιν ἀξιολόγοις καὶ πλοίοις καὶ ἐμπορεύμασιν ὠφελεῖν τὴν πόλιν. ταῦτα γὰρ τιμώμενοι οὐ μόνον τοῦ κέρδους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἔνεκεν ὥς πρὸς φίλους ἐπισπεύδοιεν ἄν. [5] ὅσῳ γε μὴν πλείονες εἰσοικίζονται τε καὶ ἀφικνοῖντο, δηλὸν ὅτι τοσοῦτοι ἂν πλεῖον καὶ εἰσάγοιτο καὶ ἐξάγοιτο καὶ ἐμπολῶιτο καὶ πωλοῖτο καὶ μισθοφοροῖτο καὶ τελεσφοροῖτο.

[6] Εἰς μὲν οὖν τὰς τοιαύτας αὐξήσεις τῶν προσόδων οὐδὲ προδαπανῆσαι δεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἢ ψηφίσματά τε φιλάνθρωπα καὶ ἐπιμελείας. ὅσαι δ' ἂν ἄλλαι δοκοῦσί μοι πρόσοδοι γίνεσθαι, γινώσκω ὅτι ἀφορμῆς δεήσει εἰς αὐτάς. [7] οὐ μέντοι δύσελπίς εἰμι τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ προθύμως ἂν τοὺς πολίτας εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰσφέρειν, ἐνθυμούμενος ὥς πολλὰ μὲν εἰσήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις, ὅτε Ἀρκάσιν ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτου ἡγουμένου, πολλὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἑγησίλεω· [8] ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ τριήρεις πολλάκις ἐκπεμπομένας σὺν πολλῇ δαπάνῃ, καὶ ταῦτα γενόμενα, τούτου μὲν ἀδήλου ὄντος εἴτε βέλτιον εἴτε κάκιον ἔσται, ἐκείνου δὲ δήλου ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἀπολήψονται ἢ ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν οὐδὲ μεθέξουσιν ὧν ἂν εἰσενέγκωσι. [9] κτῆσιν δὲ ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν οὕτω καλὴν κτήσαιντο ὥσπερ ἀφ' οὗ ἂν προτελέσωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀφορμὴν· ὧι μὲν γὰρ ἂν δέκα μναῖ εἰσφορὰ γένηται, ὥσπερ ναυτικόν σχεδὸν ἐπίπεμπτον αὐτῷ γίγνεται, τριώβολον τῆς ἡμέρας λαμβάνοντι· ὧι δὲ γ' ἂν πέντε μναῖ, πλεῖον ἢ ἐπίτριτον. [10] οἱ δὲ γε πλεῖστοι Ἀθηναίων πλείονα λήψονται κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἢ ὅσα ἂν εἰσενέγκωσιν. οἱ γὰρ μναῖν προτελέσαντες ἐγγὺς δυοῖν μναῖν πρόσοδον ἔξουσιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν πόλει, ὃ δοκεῖ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων

ἀσφαλέστατόν τε καὶ πολυχρονιώτατον εἶναι. [11] οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσεσθαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δ' ἄς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὀρεγομένας. ἐλπίζω δὲ καὶ βασιλέας ἂν τινὰς καὶ τυράννους καὶ σατράπας ἐπιθυμῆσαι μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς χάριτος.

[12] Ὅποτε γε μὴν ἀφορμὴ ὑπάρχοι, καλὸν μὲν καὶ ἀγαθὸν ναυκλήροις οἰκοδομεῖν καταγῶγια περὶ λιμένας πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἐμπόροις ἐπὶ προσήκοντας τόπους ὦνῃ τε καὶ πράσει, καὶ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις δὲ δημόσια καταγῶγια. [13] εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκῆσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθεῖη καὶ ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἅμα τ' ἂν κόσμος εἴῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλὰ ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδοι γίνοιτο. [14] ἀγαθὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι πειραθῆναι, εἰ καί, ὥσπερ τριῆρεις δημοσίας ἡ πόλις κέκτηται, οὕτω καὶ ὀκτάδας δημοσίας δυνατόν ἂν γένοιτο κτήσασθαι καὶ ταύτας ἐκμισθοῦν ἐπ' ἐγγυητῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τᾶλλα δημόσια. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο οἶόν τε ὄν φανείη, πολλὴ ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδος γίνοιτο.

Κεφάλαιον δ'

[1] Τά γε μὴν ἀργύρεια εἰ κατασκευασθεῖη ὥς δεῖ, πάμπολλα ἂν νομίζω χρήματα ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων προσόδων προσιέναι. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσι τὴν τούτων δύναμιν δηλῶσαι· ταύτην γὰρ γνόντες καὶ ὅπως χρῆσθαι δεῖ αὐτοῖς ἄμεινον ἂν βουλεύοισθε. [2] οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν πάνυ πάλαι ἐνεργά ἐστι πᾶσι σαφές· οὐδεὶς γοῦν οὐδὲ πειρᾶται λέγειν ἀπὸ ποίου χρόνου ἐπεχειρήθη. οὕτω δὲ πάλαι ὀρυσσομένης τε καὶ ἐκφορουμένης τῆς ἀργυρίτιδος κατανοήσατε τί μέρος οἱ ἐκβεβλημένοι σωροὶ τῶν αὐτοφυῶν τε καὶ ὑπαργύρων λόφων. [3] οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ ἀργυρώδης τόπος εἰς μεῖον τι συστελλόμενος ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐκτεινόμενος φανερός ἐστιν. ἐν ᾧ γε μὴν χρόνῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἄνθρωποι ἐγένοντο ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἔργον ἠπόρησεν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἐργαζομένων περιῆν. [4] καὶ νῦν δὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι ἐν τοῖς μετὰλλοις ἀνδράποδα οὐδεὶς τοῦ πλήθους ἀφαιρεῖ, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ προσκτᾶται ὅποσα ἂν πλεῖστα δύνηται. καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν μὲν ὀλίγοι ὀρύττωσι καὶ ζητῶσιν, ὀλίγα οἶμαι καὶ τὰ χρήματα εὐρίσκεται· ὅταν δὲ πολλοί, πολλαπλασία ἡ ἀργυρίτις ἀναφαίνεται. [5] ὥστε ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔργων οὐδὲ φθονεῖ οὐδεὶς τοῖς ἐπικατασκευαζομένοις. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀγροὺς κεκτημένοι πάντες ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅποσα ζεύγη ἀρκεῖ εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὅποσοι

ἐργάται· ἦν δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐμβάλλῃ τις, ζημίαν λογίζονται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἔργοις πάντας ἀεὶ φασιν ἐνδεῖσθαι ἐργατῶν. [6] καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὅταν πολλοὶ χαλκοτύποι γένωνται, ἀξίων γενομένων τῶν χαλκευτικῶν ἔργων καταλύονται οἱ χαλκοτύποι, καὶ οἱ σιδηρεῖς γε ὡσαύτως· καὶ ὅταν γε πολὺς σῖτος καὶ οἶνος γένηται, ἀξίων ὄντων τῶν καρπῶν ἀλυσιτελεῖς αἱ γεωργίαι γίνονται, ὥστε πολλοί, ἀφιέμενοι τοῦ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐπ' ἐμπορίας καὶ καπηλείας καὶ τοκισμοὺς τρέπονται· ἀργυρίτις δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείων φαίνεται καὶ ἀργύριον πλεῖον γίγνηται, τοσοῦτωι πλείονες ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἔρχονται. [7] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιπλά μὲν, ἐπειδὰν ἱκανὰ τις κτήσῃται τῇ οἰκίᾳ, οὐ μάλα ἔτι προσωνοῦνται· ἀργύριον δὲ οὐδεὶς πω οὕτω πολὺ ἐκτήσατο, ὥστε μὴ ἔτι προσδεῖσθαι· ἀλλ' ἦν τισι γένηται παμπληθές, τὸ περιττεῦον κατορύττοντες οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡδονται ἢ χρώμενοι αὐτῷ. [8] καὶ μὴν ὅταν γε εὖ πράττωσιν αἱ πόλεις, ἰσχυρῶς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἀργυρίου δέονται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ ὄπλα τε καλὰ καὶ ἵππους ἀγαθοὺς [τε] καὶ οἰκίας καὶ κατασκευὰς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς βούλονται δαπανᾶν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες εἰς ἐσθῆτα πολυτελῆ καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον τρέπονται. [9] ὅταν τε αὖ νοσήσωσιν πόλεις ἢ ἀφορίαις καρπῶν ἢ πολέμῳ, ἔτι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀργοῦ τῆς γῆς γιγνομένης καὶ εἰς ἐπιτήδεια καὶ εἰς ἐπικούρους νομίσματος δέονται. [10] εἰ δέ τις φήσῃ καὶ χρυσίον μὴδὲν ἦσσαν χρήσιμον εἶναι ἢ ἀργύριον, τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι οἶδα, ὅτι καὶ χρυσίον, ὅταν πολὺ παραφανῇ, αὐτὸ μὲν ἀτιμότερον γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον τιμιώτερον ποιεῖ. [11] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδήλωσα τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅπως θαρσοῦντες μὲν ὅτι πλείστους ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια ἄγωμεν, θαρσοῦντες δὲ κατασκευαζόμεθα ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὔτε ἐπιλειπούσης ποτὲ ἀργυρίτιδος οὔτε τοῦ ἀργυρίου ἀτίμου ποτὲ ἐσομένου. [12] δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ἡ πόλις προτέρα ἐμοῦ ταῦτ' ἐγνωκέναι· παρέχει γοῦν ἐπὶ ἰσοτελείᾳ καὶ τῶν ξένων τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις.

[13] Ἵνα δὲ καὶ σαφέστερον περὶ τῆς τροφῆς εἴπω, νῦν διηγῆσομαι, ὡς κατασκευασθέντα τὰ ἀργύρεια ὠφελιμώτατ' ἂν εἴη τῇ πόλει. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἀφ' ὧν μέλλω λέγειν οὐδὲν τι ἀξιώθαι θυμαῖζεσθαι ὡς δυσεύρετόν τι ἐξηρηκώς· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὧν λέξω καὶ νῦν ἔτι πάντες ὀρώμεν, τὰ δὲ παροιχόμενα πάντων κατὰ ταῦτ' αὖ ἀκούομεν. [14] τῆς μέντοι πόλεως πάνυ ἄξιον θαυμάσαι τὸ αἰσθανομένην πολλοὺς πλουτιζομένους ἐξ αὐτῆς ιδιώτας μὴ

μιμῆσθαι τούτους. πάλαι μὲν γὰρ δήπου οἷς μεμέληκεν ἀκηκόαμεν ὅτι Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου ἐκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκεῖνος Σωσίαι τῷ Θραικί ἐξेमίσθωσεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῇ ἐκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδίδοναι, τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἴσους ἀεὶ παρέχειν. [15] ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Ἰππονίκῳ ἐξακόσια ἀνδράποδα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐκδεδομένα, ἃ προσέφερε μὲν ἀτελῇ τῆς ἡμέρας, Φιλημονίδῃ δὲ τριακόσια <ἃ> ἡμιμναῖον· ἄλλοις δέ γε ὥς οἶομαι δύναμις ἐκάστοις ὑπῆρχεν. [16] ἀτὰρ τί τὰ παλαιὰ δεῖ λέγειν; καὶ γὰρ νῦν πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἄνθρωποι οὕτως ἐκδεδομένοι. [17] περαινομένων γε μὴν ὧν λέγω τοῦτ' ἂν μόνον καινὸν γένοιτο, εἰ, ὥσπερ οἱ ἰδιῶται κτησάμενοι ἀνδράποδα πρόσοδον ἀέναον κατεσκευασμένοι εἰσίν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις κτῶιτο δημόσια ἀνδράποδα, ἕως γίγνοιτο τρία ἐκάστῳ Ἀθηναίῳ. [18] εἰ δὲ δυνατὰ λέγομεν, καθ' ἑν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν σκοπῶν ὁ βουλόμενος κρινέτω. οὐκοῦν τιμὴν μὲν ἀνθρώπων εὐδῆλον ὅτι μᾶλλον ἂν τὸ δημόσιον δύναιτο ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται παρασκευάσασθαι. τῇ γε μὴν βουλῇ ράϊδιον καὶ κηρύξαι ἅγειν τὸν βουλόμενον ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ προσαχθέντα πρίασθαι. [19] ἐπειδὰν δὲ ὠνηθῇ, τί ἂν ἤττον μισθοῖτό τις παρὰ τοῦ δημοσίου ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέλλων ἔξειν; μισθοῦνται γοῦν καὶ τεμένη καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ τέλη ὠνοῦνται παρὰ τῆς πόλεως. [20] ὅπως γε μὴν τὰ ὠνηθέντα σώιζηται, τῷ δημοσίῳ ἔστι λαμβάνειν ἐγγύους παρὰ τῶν μισθουμένων, ὥσπερ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὠνουμένων τὰ τέλη. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀδικῆσαί γε ῥαῖον τῷ τέλος πριαμένῳ ἢ τῷ ἀνδράποδῳ μισθουμένῳ. [21] ἀργύριον μὲν γὰρ πῶς καὶ φωράσειεν ἂν τις τὸ δημόσιον ἐξαγόμενον, ὁμοίου τοῦ ἰδίου ὄντος αὐτῷ; ἀνδράποδα δὲ σεσημασμένα τῷ δημοσίῳ σημάτων τε καὶ προκειμένης ζημίας τῷ τε πωλοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἐξάγοντι, πῶς ἂν τις ταῦτα κλέψειεν; οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τούτου δυνατὸν φανείη ἂν τῇ πόλει εἶναι τὸ ἀνθρώπους καὶ κτήσασθαι καὶ φυλάττειν. [22] εἰ δ' αὖ τις τοῦτ' ἐνθυμεῖται, πῶς, ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ ἐργάται γένωνται, πολλοὶ φανοῦνται καὶ οἱ μισθωσόμενοι, ἐκεῖνο κατανοήσας θαρρεῖτω, ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν κατεσκευασμένων προσμισθώσονται τοὺς δημοσίους (πολλὰ γάρ ἐστι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα), πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις γηρασκόντων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τε καὶ ξένοι, οἱ τῷ σώματι μὲν οὔτε βούλονται ἂν οὔτε δύναιεντ' ἂν ἐργάζεσθαι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ ἐπιμελούμενοι ἡδέως ἂν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζοντο. [23] ἦν γε

μέντοι τὸ πρῶτον συστήῃ διακόσια καὶ χίλια ἀνδράποδα, εἰκὸς ἤδη ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς προσόδου ἐν ἔτεσι πέντε ἢ ἕξ μὴ μείον ἂν τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων γενέσθαι. ἀπὸ γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἦν ὀβολὸν ἕκαστος ἀτελῇ τῆς ἡμέρας προσφέρει, ἢ μὲν πρόσδοδος ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. [24] ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἦν εἰς ἄλλα ἀνδράποδα τιθῆται εἴκοσι, τοῖς τετταράκοντα ἤδη ἐξέσται τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι εἰς ἄλλ' ὅ τι ἂν δέη. ὅταν δέ γε μύρια ἀναπληρωθῇ, ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἢ πρόσδοδος ἔσται. [25] ὅτι δὲ δέζεται «τὰ ἀργύρεια» πολλαπλάσια τούτων, μαρτυρήσαιεν ἂν μοι εἴ τινες ἔτι εἰσὶ τῶν μεμνημένων, ὅσον τὸ τέλος εὑρίσκει τῶν ἀνδραπόδων πρὸ τῶν ἐν Δεκελείαι. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἰργασμένων ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ἐν τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ ἀναριθμήτων νῦν οὐδὲν διαφέρει [τὰ ἀργύρεια] ἢ οἷα οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν ὄντα ἐμνημόνευον αὐτά. [26] καὶ τὰ νῦν δὲ γιγνόμενα πάντα μαρτυρεῖ, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε πλείω ἀνδράποδα ἐκεῖ γένοιτο ἢ ὅσων ἂν τὰ ἔργα δέηται. οὔτε γὰρ βάθους πέρας οὔτε ὑπονόμων οἱ ὀρύσσοντες εὐρίσκουσι. [27] καὶ μὴν καινοτομεῖν γε οὐδὲν ἤττον ἕξεσται νῦν ἢ πρότερον. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοι εἰδῶς οὐδεὶς, πότερον ἐν τοῖς κατατετμημένοις πλείων ἀργυρίτις ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀτμήτοις ἐστί. [28] τί δῆτα, φαίη ἂν τις, οὐ καὶ νῦν, ὥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν, πολλοὶ καινοτομοῦσιν; ὅτι πενέστεροι μὲν νῦν εἰσιν οἱ περὶ τὰ μέταλλα (νεωστὶ γὰρ πάλιν κατασκευάζονται), κίνδυνος δὲ μέγας τῷ καινοτομοῦντι. [29] ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐρὼν ἀγαθὴν ἐργασίαν πλούσιος γίγνεται· ὁ δὲ μὴ εὐρὼν πάντα ἀπόλλυσιν ὅσα ἂν δαπανήσῃ. εἰς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν κίνδυνον οὐ μάλα πῶς ἐθέλουσιν οἱ νῦν ἰέναι. [30] ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ καὶ περὶ τούτου συμβουλευῆσαι ὥς ἂν ἀσφαλέστατα καινοτομοῖτο. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ δήπου Ἀθηναίων δέκα φυλαί· εἰ δ' ἡ πόλις δοίη ἐκάστῃ αὐτῶν ἴσα ἀνδράποδα, αἱ δὲ κοινωσάμεναι τὴν τύχην καινοτομοῖεν, οὕτως ἂν, εἰ μία εὖροι, [31] πάσαις ἂν λυσιτελεῖς ἀποδείξειεν, εἰ δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρες ἢ αἱ ἡμίσειαι εὖροιεν, δῆλον ὅτι «ἔτι» λυσιτελέστερα ἂν τὰ ἔργα ταῦτα γίγνοιτο. τό γε μὴν πάσας ἀποτυχεῖν οὐδενὶ τῶν παρεληλυθότων ἐοικός. [32] οἷόν τε δὴ οὕτως καὶ ἰδιώτας συνισταμένους καὶ κοινουμένους τὴν τύχην ἀσφαλέστερον κινδυνεύειν. μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο φοβεῖσθε, ὥς ἢ τὸ δημόσιον οὕτω κατασκευαζόμενον παραλυπήσῃ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ οἱ ἰδιῶται τὸ δημόσιον· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ σύμμαχοι, ὅσοι ἂν πλείους συνιῶσιν, ἰσχυροτέρους ἀλλήλους ποιοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρείοις ὅσωιπερ ἂν πλείους

ἐργάζονται, τόσῳ πλείω τὰγαθὰ εὐρήσουσί τε καὶ ἐκφορήσουσι.

[33] Καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὥς ἂν ἡγοῦμαι κατασκευασθείσης τῆς πόλεως ἱκανὴν ἂν πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις τροφὴν ἀπὸ κοινοῦ γενέσθαι. [34] εἰ δέ τινες λογιζόμενοι παμπόλλης ἂν δεῖν ἀφορμῆς εἰς ταῦτα πάντα οὐχ ἡγοῦνται ἱκανὰ ἂν ποτε χρήματα εἰσενεχθῆναι, μηδὲ οὕτως ἀθυμούντων. [35] οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ὥς ἀνάγκη ἅμα ταῦτα πάντα γίνεσθαι ἢ μηδὲν ὄφελος αὐτῶν εἶναι· ἀλλ' ὅποσα ἂν ἡ οἰκοδομηθῇ ἢ ναυπηγηθῇ ἢ ἀνδράποδα ὠνηθῇ, εὐθὺς ταῦτα ἐν ὠφελείᾳ ἔσται. [36] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇδε γε συμφορώτερον τὸ κατὰ μέρος ἢ τὸ ἅμα πάντα πράττεσθαι. οἰκοδομοῦντές τε γὰρ ἀθρόως πολυτελέστερον ἂν καὶ κάκιον ἢ κατὰ μέρος ἀποτελοῖμεν· ἀνδράποδα δὲ παμπληθῇ ζητοῦντες ἀναγκαζοίμεθ' ἂν καὶ χεῖρω καὶ τιμιώτερα ὠνεῖσθαι. [37] κατὰ γε μὴν τὸ δυνατόν περαίνοντες τὰ μὲν καλῶς γνωσθέντα καὶ αὐθις ἂν ψηφίζοίμεθα· [38] εἰ δέ τι ἀμαρτηθεῖη, ἀπεχοίμεθ' ἂν αὐτοῦ. ἔτι δὲ πάντων ἅμα γιγνομένων ἡμᾶς ἂν ἅπαντα δέοι ἐκπορίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν περαίνοιτο, τὰ δὲ μέλλοι, ἢ ὑπάρξασα πρόσδοδος τὸ ἐπιτήδειον συγκατασκευάζοι ἂν. [39] ὃ δὲ ἴσως φοβερώτατον δοκεῖ πᾶσιν εἶναι, μή, εἰ ἄγαν πολλὰ κτήσαιοτο ἢ πόλις ἀνδράποδα, ὑπεργεμισθεῖη ἂν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ τούτου τοῦ φόβου ἀπηλλαγμένοι ἂν εἶημεν, εἰ μὴ πλείονας ἀνθρώπους ἢ ὅσους αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα προσαιτοίη κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐμβάλλοιμεν. [40] οὕτως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἥπερ ῥαῖστον, ταύτῃ καὶ ἄριστον εἶναι ταῦτα πράσσειν. εἰ δ' αὖθις διὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νῦν πολέμῳ γεγενημένας εἰσφοράς νομίζετ' ἂν μηδ' ὅτιοῦν δύνασθαι εἰσενεγκεῖν, ὑμεῖς δέ, ὅσα μὲν πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρήματα εὔρισκε τὰ τέλη, ἀπὸ τοσούτων καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ἔτος διοικεῖτε τὴν πόλιν· ὅσα δ' ἂν ἐφευρίσκη διὰ τὸ εἰρήνην τε εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ θεραπεύεσθαι μετοίκους καὶ ἐμπόρους καὶ διὰ τὸ πλειόνων συναγειρομένων ἀνθρώπων πλείω εἰσάγεσθαι καὶ ἐξάγεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ <τὰ> ἐλλειμνία καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς αὐξάνεσθαι, ταῦτα λαμβάνοντες κατασκευάζεσθε ὥς ἂν πλεῖσται πρόσοδοι γίγνιντο. [41] εἰ δέ τινες αὖ φοβοῦνται, μὴ ματαῖα ἂν γένοιτο αὕτη ἢ κατασκευή, εἰ πόλεμος ἐγερθεῖ, ἐννοησάτωσαν ὅτι τούτων γιγνομένων πολὺ φοβερώτερος ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἢ τῇ πόλει. [42] τί γὰρ δὴ εἰς πόλεμον κτῆμα χρησιμώτερον ἀνθρώπων; πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς πληροῦν ἱκανοὶ ἂν εἶημεν δημοσίαι· πολλοὶ δ' ἂν καὶ πεζοὶ δημοσίαι δύναιντ' ἂν βαρεῖς εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, εἴ τις αὐτοὺς θεραπεύοι.

[43] Λογίζομαι δ' ἔγωγε καὶ πολέμου γιγνομένου οἷόν τ' εἶναι μὴ

ἐκλείπεσθαι τὰ ἀργύρεια. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δήπου περί τὰ μέταλλα ἐν τῇ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν θαλάσσῃ τείχος ἐν Ἀναφλύστῳ, ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἄρκτον τείχος ἐν Θορικῶν· ἀπέχει δὲ ταῦτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα στάδια. [44] εἰ οὖν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτων γένοιτο ἐπὶ τῷ ὑψηλοτάτῳ Βῆσης τρίτον ἔρυμα, ἴσυνήκοι τ' ἂν τὰ ἔργα εἰς ἓν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν τειχῶν, καὶ εἴ τι αἰσθάνοιτο πολεμικόν, βραχὺ ἂν εἴη ἐκάστωι εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρῆσαι. [45] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν πλείους οἱ πολέμιοι, δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ μὲν σῖτον ἢ οἶνον ἢ πρόβατα ἔξω εὗροιεν, ἀφέλονται ἂν ταῦτα· ἀργυρίτιδος δὲ κρατήσαντες τί ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ λίθοις ἔχοιεν χρῆσθαι; [46] πῶς δὲ καὶ ὀρμήσειαν <ἂν> ποτε πολέμιοι πρὸς τὰ μέταλλα; ἀπέχει μὲν γὰρ δήπου τῶν ἀργυρείων <ἡ> ἐγγύτατα πόλις Μέγαρα πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν πεντακοσίων σταδίων· ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ μετὰ ταῦτα πλησιαιτάτα Θῆβαι πολὺ πλεῖον τῶν ἑξακοσίων. [47] ἢν οὖν πορεύωνται ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια, παριέναι αὐτοὺς δεήσει τὴν πόλιν· κἂν μὲν ὧσιν ὀλίγοι, εἰκὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἱππέων καὶ ὑπὸ περιπόλων. πολλῇ γε μὴν δυνάμει πορεύεσθαι ἐξερημοῦντας τὰ ἑαυτῶν χαλεπὸν· πολὺ γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἂν εἴη ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄστν ἢ αὐτοὶ [οἱ] πρὸς τοῖς μετάλλοις ὄντες. [48] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔλθοιεν, πῶς ἂν καὶ δύναιντο μένειν μὴ ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια; ἐπισιτίζεσθαι γε μὴν μέρει μὲν κίνδυνος καὶ περὶ τῶν μετιόντων καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται· πάντες δὲ αἰεὶ μετιόντες πολιορκοῖντ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκοῖεν.

[49] Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἀποφορὰ τὴν διατροφὴν τῇ πόλει αὔξει ἂν, ἀλλὰ πολυανθρωπίας περὶ τὰ μέταλλα ἀθροίζομένης καὶ ἀπ' ἀγορᾶς τῆς ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀπ' οἰκῶν περὶ τὰ ἀργύρεια δημοσίων καὶ ἀπὸ καμίνων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων πρόσοδοι ἂν πολλαὶ γίνοντο. [50] ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ <ἂν> καὶ αὐτὴ πολυάνθρωπος γένοιτο πόλις, εἰ οὕτω κατασκευασθεῖη· καὶ οἱ γε χῶροι οὐδὲν ἂν εἶεν μείονος ἅξιοι τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐνταῦθα ἢ τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἄστν. [51] πραχθέντων γε μὴν ὧν εἴρηκα ζύμφημι ἐγὼ οὐ μόνον ἂν χρήμασιν εὐπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐπειθεστέραν καὶ εὐτακτοτέραν καὶ εὐπολεμωτέραν γενέσθαι. [52] οἱ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἂν ἐπιμελέστερον τοῦτο πράττειεν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλείῳ ἢ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιάρχουμένοι, οἱ τε φρουρεῖν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις, οἱ τε πελτάζειν καὶ περιπολεῖν τὴν χώραν, πάντα ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἂν πράττειεν, ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τῶν ἔργων τῆς τροφῆς ἀποδιδομένης.

Κεφάλαιον ε΄

[1] Εἰ δὲ σαφὲς δοκεῖ εἶναι ὥς, εἰ μέλλουσι πᾶσαι αἱ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πόλεως προσιέναι, ὅτι εἰρήνην δεῖ ὑπάρχειν, ἅρ' οὐκ ἄξιον καὶ εἰρηνοφύλακας καθιστάναι; πολὺ γὰρ ἂν καὶ αὕτη αἵρεθεῖσα ἢ ἀρχὴ προσφιλεστέραν καὶ πυκνοτέραν εἰσαφικνεῖσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ποιήσῃ τὴν πόλιν. [2] εἰ δέ τινες οὕτω γινώσκουσιν, ὥς, ἐὰν ἡ πόλις εἰρήνην ἄγουσα διατελῇ, ἀδυνατωτέρα τε καὶ ἀδοξοτέρα καὶ ἦττον ὀνομαστὴ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἔσται, καὶ οὕτοί γε, ὥς ἐμῇ δόξῃ, παραγινώσκουσιν. εὐδαιμονέσταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου πόλεις λέγονται, αἱ ἂν πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν εἰρήνῃ διατελῶσι· πασῶν δὲ πόλεων Ἀθῆναι μάλιστα πεφύκασιν ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὖξεσθαι. [3] τίνες γάρ, ἡσυχίαν ἀγούσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐ προσδέονται ἂν αὐτῆς ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐμπόρων; οὐχ οἱ πολύσιτοι, οὐχ οἱ πολύοινοι οὐχ οἱ ἡδύοινοι; τί δὲ οἱ πολυέλαιοι, τί δὲ οἱ πολυπρόβατοι, «τί» δὲ οἱ γνώμη καὶ ἀργυρίῳ δυνάμενοι χρηματίζεσθαι; [4] καὶ μὴν χειροτέχνη τε καὶ σοφισταὶ καὶ φιλόσοφοι, οἱ δὲ ποιηταί, οἱ δὲ τὰ τούτων μεταχειριζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἀξιοθεάτων ἢ ἀξιακούστων ἱερῶν ἢ ὁσίων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οἱ δεόμενοι πολλὰ ταχὺ ἀποδίδοσθαι ἢ πρίασθαι, ποῦ τούτων μᾶλλον ἂν τύχοιεν ἢ Ἀθήνησιν; [5] εἰ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει, τὴν δὲ ἡγεμονίαν βουλόμενοί τινες ἀναλαβεῖν τῇ πόλει, ταύτην διὰ πολέμου μᾶλλον ἢ δι' εἰρήνης ἡγοῦνται ἂν καταπραχθῆναι, ἐννοησάτωσαν πρῶτον μὲν τὰ Μηδικά, πότερον βιαζόμενοι ἢ εὐεργετοῦντες τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἡγεμονίας τε τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ ἐλληνοταμείας ἐτύχομεν. [6] ἔτι δ', ἐπεὶ ὡμῶς ἄγαν δόξασα προστατεύειν ἡ πόλις ἐστερήθη τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ καὶ τότε, ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν ἀπεσχόμεθα, πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν νησιωτῶν ἐκόντων προστάται τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἐγενόμεθα; [7] οὐκ οὖν καὶ Θηβαῖοι εὐεργετούμενοι ἡγεμονεύειν αὐτῶν ἔδωκαν Ἀθηναίοις; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ βιασθέντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' εὖ πάσχοντες ἐπέτρεψαν Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας θέσθαι ὅπως βούλονται. [8] νῦν δέ γε διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταραχὴν παραπεπτωκέναι μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πόλει ὥστε καὶ ἄνευ πόνων καὶ ἄνευ κινδύνων καὶ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πειρᾶσθαι διαλλάττειν τὰς πολεμούσας πρὸς ἀλλήλας πόλεις, ἔστι δὲ συναλλάττειν, εἴ τινες ἐν αὐταῖς στασιάζουσιν. [9] εἰ «δὲ» καὶ ὅπως τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἱερὸν αὐτόνομον ὥσπερ πρόσθεν γένοιτο φανεροὶ εἴητ' ἐπιμελούμενοι, μὴ συμπολεμοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύοντες ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἐγὼ μὲν

οὐδὲν ἂν οἶμαι θαυμαστὸν εἶναι, εἰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὁμογνώμονάς τε καὶ συνόρκους καὶ συμμάχους λάβοιτε ἐπ' ἐκείνους, οἵτινες ἐκλιπόντων Φωκέων τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνειν πειρῶντο. [10] εἰ δὲ καὶ ὅπως ἀνὰ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν εἰρήνη ἔσται φανεροὶ εἴητε ἐπιμελόμενοι, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι πάντας ἂν εὐχέσθαι μετὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας Ἀθήνας μάλιστα σώζεσθαι. [11] εἰ δέ τις αὖ εἰς χρήματα κερδαλεώτερον νομίζει εἶναι τῇ πόλει πόλεμον ἢ εἰρήνην, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα πῶς ἂν ἄμεινον ταῦτα κριθεῖη ἢ εἴ τις τὰ προγεγενημένα ἐπανασκοποῖ τῇ πόλει πῶς ἀποβέβηκεν. [12] εὐρήσει γὰρ τό τε παλαιὸν ἐν εἰρήνῃ μὲν πάνυ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνενεχθέντα, ἐν πολέμῳ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καταδαπανηθέντα· γινώσεται δέ, ἣν σκοπῇ, καὶ ἐν τῷ νῦν χρόνῳ διὰ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν προσόδων πολλὰς ἐκλιπούσας, καὶ τὰς εἰσελθούσας εἰς παντοδαπὰ πολλὰ καταδαπανηθείσας· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰρήνη κατὰ θάλατταν γεγένηται, ἠϋξημένας τε τὰς προσόδους, καὶ ταύταις ἐξδὸν τοῖς πολίταις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται. [13] εἰ δέ τις με ἐπερωτῶι, εἰ καί, ἂν τις ἀδικῇ τὴν πόλιν, λέγεις, ὥς χρῆ καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον εἰρήνην ἄγειν; οὐκ ἂν φαίην· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον λέγω, ὅτι πολὺ θᾶττον ἂν τιμωροίμεθα αὐτούς, εἰ μηδὲνα ὑπάρχοιμεν ἀδικοῦντες· οὐδένα γὰρ ἂν ἔχοιεν σύμμαχον.

Κεφάλαιον ζ'

[1] Ἀλλ' εἴ γε μὴν τῶν εἰρημένων ἀδύνατον μὲν μηδὲν ἐστὶ μηδὲ χαλεπὸν, πραττομένων δὲ αὐτῶν προσφιλέστεροι μὲν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι γενησόμεθα, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ οἰκήσομεν, εὐκλεέστεροι δὲ ἐσόμεθα, καὶ ὁ μὲν δῆμος τροφῆς εὐπορήσει, οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον δαπάνης ἀπαλλαγῇσονται, περιουσίας δὲ πολλῆς γενομένης μεγαλοπρεπέστερον μὲν ἔτι ἢ νῦν ἐορτὰς ἄξομεν, ἱερὰ δ' ἐπισκευάσομεν, τείχη δὲ καὶ νεώρια ἀνορθώσομεν, ἱερεῦσι δὲ καὶ βουλῇ καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἱππεῦσι τὰ πάτρια ἀποδώσομεν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον ὥς τάχιστα τούτοις ἐγχειρεῖν, ἵνα ἔτι ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐπίδωμεν τὴν πόλιν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εὐδαιμονοῦσαν; [2] εἴ γε μὴν ταῦτα δόξειεν ὑμῖν πράττειν, συμβουλεύσαιμ' ἂν ἐγώ γε πέμψαντας καὶ εἰς Δωδώνην καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερέσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη ἂν τῇ πόλει οὕτω κατασκευαζομένῃ καὶ αὐτίκα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. [3] εἰ δὲ ταῦτα συναινοῖεν, τότε ἂν αὖ φαίην χρῆναι ἐπερωτᾶν, τίνας θεῶν προσποιούμενοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα πράττοιμεν ἂν· οὐς

δ' ἀνέλοιεν θεούς, τούτοις εἰκὸς καλλιερήσαντας ἄρχεσθαι τοῦ ἔργου. σὺν γὰρ θεῷ πραττομένων εἰκὸς καὶ τὰς πράξεις προῖέναι ἐπὶ τὸ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον αἰεὶ τῇ πόλει.

HIERO - Ἱέρων

[1.1] Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄρ' ἂν μοι ἐθελήσῃς, ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγῆσασθαι ἃ εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ; Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὅποια δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός; [1.2] Οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ιδιώτην γεγεννημένον καὶ νῦν τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ πῃ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ ὁ ιδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις. [1.3] Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι ιδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ιδιωτικῷ βίῳ; οὕτως γὰρ ἂν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ. [1.4] οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ιδιώτας ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὀράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους, διὰ δὲ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε καὶ ποτοῖς, τὰ δ' ἀφροδίσια δι' ὧν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα· [1.5] τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σιωματί μοι δοκοῦμεν, ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἡδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἡδεσθαι, ὅτε δ' αὖ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ' ὅτε κοινῇ [καὶ] διὰ τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος. [1.6] τῷ δ' ὕπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ καὶ ὦτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλον πῶς, ἔφη, δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ. [1.7] πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἰρηκας σύγε οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἰσθοιτό τις ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος ἔχοιμ' ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ιδιωτικοῦ βίου. [1.8] καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, διαφέρει· πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἐκάστου τούτων εὐφραίνεται, πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν· Οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι μείω πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων ιδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται. [1.9] Ἀπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτως ταῦτ' εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν

τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράννους; [1.10] Ὅτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ἅπειροι ὄντες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαι σε διδάσκειν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ δοκῶ μεμνησθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν. [1.11] πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὀψεως θεάμασι λογιζόμενος εὕρισκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα μὲν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρῃ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθεάτα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ὥς ἂν βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα, καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις, ἔνθα γ' ἂ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεται. [1.12] οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν γὰρ μὴ ἅμα τε στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας. [1.13] εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὀλίγα γε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἀξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ἀπιέναι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται. [1.14] καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Ἀλλ' εἰ <ἐν> τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, διὰ γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος, ἐπαίνου, οὔποτε σπανίζετε· πάντες γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ ὅσα ἂν ποιῆτε ἐπαινοῦσι. τοῦ δ' αὖ χαλεπωτάτου ἀκροάματος, λοιδορίας, ἀνήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει τυράννου κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς κατηγορεῖν. [1.15] καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπε· Καὶ τί οἶε, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς ὅτι οἱ σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντες κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράννῳ; ἢ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὑποπτοὶ ὣσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι; [1.16] καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν· Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἰέρων, πάννυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ', ὅπῃς; ἐκεῖνό γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὥς οὐ δι' ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε. [1.17] Καὶ οἶδά γ', ἔφη, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν οἱ πλείστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ

ἥδιον ἂν δειπνῆσαι τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς. [1.18] διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς ἐορτὰς πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι· ἐκπλεωὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ παρεσκευασμένοι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ιδιωτῶν. [1.19] ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῇται τὰ περιττὰ τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσοῦτοι καὶ θᾶπτον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων. [1.20] Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον ἡ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡδονταὶ οἱ ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων. [1.21] Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἐκάστωι ἡδόμενον μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἶε καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ ἔργου τούτου; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἡ οὖν, ὁρᾷς τι τοὺς τυράννους ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας ἢ τοὺς ιδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐ μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον, ὥς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειεν. [1.22] Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα κατανενόηκας ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις. [1.23] Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἶε, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, ταῦτα τὰ ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ εὖ οἶδ' ἔγωγε ὅτι οἱ ἡδέως ἐσθίοντες καὶ σύ που οἴσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων. [1.24] Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυτελῶν ὁσμῶν τούτων, αἷς χρίεσθε, τοὺς πλησιάζοντας οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ γε καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίτων ὁσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ βεβρωκὼς αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες. [1.25] Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν ἔχων παντοδαπὰ αἰεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ χαρᾶς πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι. [1.26] Κινδυνεύουσιν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, αἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων μόνον ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν· ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν κάλλιστον ἴδητε τούτῳ συνεῖναι. [1.27] Νῦν δὴ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰέρων, εἰρηκας ἐν ᾧ γε, σάφ' ἴσθι, μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ιδιωτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος δοκεῖ εἶναι

καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ' ἡδονῆς· δεύτερος δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν φαυλοτέρων πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται. [1.28] τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γήμη, ἀνάγκη ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν μέγιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ δ' ὑπὸ δούλων παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται, ἐὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν. [1.29] ἐν δὲ τοῖς παιδικοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ἔτι αὖ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τοῖς τεκνοποιοῖς μειονεκτεῖ τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν ὁ τύραννος. ὅτι <μὲν> γὰρ τὰ μετ' ἔρωτος ἀφροδίσια πολὺ διαφερόντως εὐφραίνει πάντες δήπου ἐπιστάμεθα· [1.30] ὁ δὲ ἔρως πολὺ αὖ ἐθέλει ἥκιστα τῷ τυράννῳ ἐγγίγνεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ τῶν ἐτοίμων ἡδεῖται <ὁ> ἔρως ἐφιέμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλπιζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν [εἶ] τις ἄπειρος ὢν δίσκους τοῦ πιεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἀπολαύοι, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἄπειρος ὢν ἔρωτος ἄπειρός ἐστι τῶν ἡδίστων ἀφροδισίων. [1.31] ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἰέρων οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ἐπιγελάσας, Πῶς λέγεις, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰέρων; τυράννῳ οὐ φῆις παιδικῶν ἔρωτας ἐμφύεσθαι; πῶς μὴν σύ, ἔφη, ἐρᾷς Δαϊλόχου τοῦ καλλίστου ἐπικαλουμένου; [1.32] Ὅτι μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, οὐ τοῦ ἐτοίμου παρ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι τυχεῖν τούτου μάλιστα ἐπιθυμῶ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἥκιστα τυράννῳ προσήκοντος κατεργάσασθαι. [1.33] ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ ἐρῶ μὲν Δαϊλόχου ὥνπερ ἴσως ἀναγκάζει ἡ φύσις ἀνθρώπου δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν καλῶν, τούτων δὲ ὢν ἐρῶ τυχεῖν, μετὰ μὲν φιλίας καὶ παρὰ βουλομένου πάνυ ἰσχυρῶς ἐπιθυμῶ τυγχάνειν, βίαι δὲ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἥττον ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἢ ἐμμαντὸν κακόν τι ποιεῖν· [1.34] παρὰ μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων ἀκόντων λαμβάνειν πάντων ἡδιστον ἔγωγε νομίζω εἶναι, παρὰ δὲ παιδικῶν βουλομένων ἡδισται οἷμαι αἱ χάριτές εἰσιν. [1.35] εὐθὺς γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ ἀντιφιλοῦντος ἡδεῖται μὲν αἱ ἀντιβλέψεις, ἡδεῖται δὲ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις, ἡδεῖται δὲ αἱ ἀποκρίσεις, ἡδισται δὲ καὶ ἐπαφροδιτόταται αἱ μάχαι τε καὶ ἔριδες· [1.36] τὸ δὲ ἀκόντων παιδικῶν ἀπολαύειν λεηλασίαι, ἔφη, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εὐοικεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀφροδισίοις. καίτοι τῷ μὲν ληιστῇ παρέχει τινὰς ὁμῶς ἡδονὰς τό τε κέρδος καὶ τὸ ἀνιᾶν τὸν ἐχθρόν· τὸ δὲ οὗ ἂν ἐρᾷ τις τούτῳ ἡδесθαι ἀνιωμένῳ καὶ φιλοῦντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ ἄπτεσθαι ἀχθομένου, πῶς οὐχὶ τοῦτο ἤδη δυσχερὲς τὸ πάθημα καὶ οἰκτρὸν; [1.37] καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν ιδιώτῃ εὐθὺς τεκμηρίον ἐστίν, ὅταν ὁ ἐρώμενός τι ὑπουργῇ, ὅτι ὡς φιλῶν χαρίζεται, διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης οὔσης

ὕπηρετεῖ, τῷ δὲ τυράννῳ οὐποτ' ἔστι πιστεῦσαι ὥς φιλεῖται. [1.38] ἐπιστάμεθα γὰρ δὴ τοὺς διὰ φόβον ὑπηρετοῦντας ὥς ἦι μάλιστ' ἂν δύνωνται ἐξεικάζουσιν αὐτοὺς ταῖς τῶν φιλοῦντων ὑπουργίαις. καὶ τοῖνυν αἱ ἐπιβουλαὶ ἐξ οὐδένων πλέονες τοῖς τυράννοις εἰσὶν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν μάλιστα φιλεῖν αὐτοὺς προσποιησαμένων.

[2.1] Πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πάνυ ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι ἐκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων καὶ ἀφροδισίων γε ἀπεχομένους. [2.2] ἀλλ' ἐκείνῃ γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ιδιωτῶν, ὅτι μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλεῖστα δὲ τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῇ ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὄπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ' οἰκίας, καὶ ταύτας κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι δ' ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθροὺς, ὀνῆσαι δὲ φίλους. [2.3] πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν <τὸ> πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ δοξάζειν ὅπῃ καὶ εὐδαίμονάς τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους· [2.4] ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκοῦντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα θεᾶσθαι φανερὰ πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται ἀποκεκρυμμένα, ἔνθα περ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται. [2.5] τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτ' ἀγνοεῖν, οἳ διὰ τῆς γνώμης δοκεῖτε θεᾶσθαι κάλλιον ἢ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. [2.6] ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος σαφῶς οἶδα, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω σοι ὅτι οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα μετέχουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλεῖστα κέκτηνται. [2.7] αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν· εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, τούτου πλεῖστον μέρος οἱ τύραννοι μετέχουσιν. [2.8] εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν κοινὸν πόλεμον πολέμῃ, ἔξεστιν ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβούμενους μή τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνει, οἳ δὲ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὥς διὰ πολεμίας πορεύονται. αὐτοὶ τε γοῦν ὥπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην εἶναι διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὀπλοφόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγεσθαι. [2.9] ἔπειτα δὲ οἳ μὲν

ιδιώται, ἐὰν καὶ στρατεύονταί που εἰς πολέμῳαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδάν γε ἔλθωσιν οἰκαδε, ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδάν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις πολεμίοις ἴσασιν ὄντες. [2.10] ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν, ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ τύραννος οὐδ' ἐπειδάν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φυλακτέον οἶεται εἶναι. [2.11] ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ιδιώταις καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι' εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ πρὸς τοὺς τυραννευομένους γίγνεται οὔτε σπονδαῖς ἂν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε. [2.12] καὶ πόλεμοι μὲν δὴ εἰσιν οὓς τε αἱ πόλεις πολεμοῦσι καὶ οὓς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασμένους· τούτων δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπὰ ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἔχει. [2.13] καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἂν τι πάθωσι κακὸν ἡττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάτεροι. [2.14] μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι· ἃ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἡδέα οἱ ἴσυνόντες <ταῖς> πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. [2.15] αἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δὴπου ὅταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν ἐναντίων, οὐ ράϊδιον εἰπεῖν ὅσῃ μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσῃ δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσῃ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὥς δὲ γαυροῦνται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὥς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ὥς δ' εὐφραίνονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ἠϋζηκέναι. [2.16] ἕκαστος δὲ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέναι, χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέναι ἢ ὅσοι ἂν τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω καλὸν τι αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν. [2.17] ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι ἀντιπραττομένους τινὰς ἀποκτείνει, οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὖξει ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐπίσταται τε ὅτι μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός τε οὐ δύναται εἶναι οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μειοῖ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνῃται τὸ γεγενημένον, καὶ ἀπολογεῖται ἅμα πράττων ὥς οὐκ ἀδικῶν πεποίηκεν. οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι. [2.18] καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τοῦτο θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῖ ὁ τύραννος ὃν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.

[3.1] Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὥς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι. πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο ἐπισκεψώμεθα. [3.2] ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιλῇται δήπου ὑπὸ τινων, ἡδέως μὲν τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες παρόντα ὀρώσιν, ἡδέως δ' εὖ ποιοῦσι, ποθοῦσι δέ, ἣν που ἀπῆι, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς, συνεπικουροῦσι δέ, ἐάν τι σφαλλόμενον ὀρώσιν. [3.3] οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις ὅτι ἡ φιλία μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν <καί> ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ· μόνους γοῦν τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλὰ τῶν πόλεων νηποινεῖ ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντήρας αὐτοὺς νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι. [3.4] ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφορὰν τινα γυνή, οὐδὲν ἤττον τούτου ἔνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες, ἐάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ αὐταῖς ἀκήρατος διαμένειν· [3.5] τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τάγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ γίνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων· [3.6] καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιούτου ὄντος μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀληθῇ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπίσκεψαι. [3.7] βεβαίόταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι πρὸς παῖδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονέας καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς ἀδελφούς καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἐταίροις πρὸς ἐταίρους· [3.8] εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὐρήσεις τοὺς μὲν ιδιώτας ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα φιλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ' ὑπὸ παίδων αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφούς ἐν τυραννίσιν ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους διεφθαρμένους καὶ ὑπὸ ἐταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι. [3.9] οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν καὶ νόμῳ συνηναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ' ἄλλου γέ τινος οἴεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι;

[4.1] Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς οὐχὶ μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποία μὲν γὰρ ξυνουσία ἡδεῖα ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ τερπνὴ ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων ἡδὺς ἀπιστούμενος; [4.2] καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς πρὸς τινὰς ἔχειν ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννῳ· ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πρὶν ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν ἀπογεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακὸν τι φάγωσιν ἢ

πίωσιν· [4.3] ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις πλείστου ἄξιαί. πολῖται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους ἄνευ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς κακούργους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκειν. [4.4] οὕτω δὲ πόρρῳ προεληλύθασι φυλακῆς ὥστε πεποίηνται πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ μαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος βιοτεύει τῶν πολιτῶν. [4.5] τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῖς μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον, καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ εἵργειν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ιδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ τούτου καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἰσθᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις τῶν τοιοῦτόν τι ποιησάντων.

[4.6] Εἰ δὲ σὺ οἶει ὡς πλείῳ ἔχων τῶν ιδιωτῶν κτήματα ὁ τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείῳ ἀπ' αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται, οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ιδιωτῶν γένωνται κρείττονες, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ' ὅταν τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους, τοῦτ' αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾷ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν ιδιωτῶν πλείῳ φαίνεται ἔχων, τότε εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐτέρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχη, τοῦτῳ λυπεῖται· τούτους γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγεῖται αὐτῷ τοῦ πλούτου εἶναι. [4.7] οὐδὲ γε θᾶπτόν <τι> γίγνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ τῷ ιδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ιδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυρῶν, ἃ ἔστι πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι τῶν ιδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων. [4.8] ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὄψει [οὐχ] οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν ιδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ὀλίγα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλὰ ἔστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα. [4.9] τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἥττον ἱκανά ἐστιν εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ιδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ιδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ὅπῃ βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται. αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακὰς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων τι συντέμνειν ὀλεθρὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι. [4.10] ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους οἰκτίροι τις ὡς πένητας; ὅσοι δ' ἀναγκάζονται δι' ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἂν τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως νομίζοι; [4.11] οἱ

τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλείστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου ὄντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.

[5.1] Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, τῶν τυράννων. γινώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ἀλκίμους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους, μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ σοφοὺς, μή τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μή ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι. [5.2] ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαίρωνται, τίνες ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ μὲν ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν γένωνται, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας ἕνεκα, οἱ δ' ἀνδραποδώδεις, διότι οὐδ' αὐτοὶ ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι. [5.3] ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ' ἂν σώιζεσθαι δύναίτο οὔτ' εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσιν ἐνοχλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὔτ' εὐόπλους χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους δεινότερους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἡδοναὶ μάλλον καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις. [5.4] ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθονία τῶν ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος. ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὕσι ταπεινότεροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.

[6.1] Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, κακεῖνας τὰς εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος ὅτ' ἦν ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι στερόμενος αὐτῶν. [6.2] ἐγὼ γὰρ ξυνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὅποτε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι, διηγὼν δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ὠιδᾶς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι κοίτης ἐπιθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων. [6.3] νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔχειν τοὺς ἐταίρους, ἀπεστέρημαι δ' αὖ τοῦ

ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐνορᾶν εὖνοϊαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν· μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον ὁμοίως ἐνέδραι φυλάττομαι. [6.4] τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττοντας, καὶ μήτ' ἀόπλους ἔχειν ἐθέλγειν περὶ αὐτὸν μήθ' ὠπλισμένους ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα; [6.5] ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν, βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἑλλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ ψυχῆς ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια εἶναι; [6.6] ὃ γέ τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς ψυχαῖς λυπηρὸς ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμεὼν γίγνεται. [6.7] εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμίαι φάλαγγι πλησίον ἀντετάξω, ἀναμνήσθητι ποῖον μὲν τινα σῖτον ἡירוῦ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ποῖον δὲ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ. [6.8] οἷα μέντοι σοὶ τότε ἦν τὰ λυπηρά, τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι. [6.9] ταῦτα δ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν Ὑπέρει μοι δοκεῖς ἓν ἄν λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος φοβερὸν μὲν, ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ Ἰέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὅταν ὦμεν ἐν στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστάμενοι θαρραλέως δείπνου τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν. [6.10] καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων ἔφη· Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη· αὐτῶν μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ὥστε περὶ ἑαυτῶν φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ δὲ τύραννοι μισθοῦ φύλακας ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θεριστάς. [6.11] καὶ δεῖ μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν δύνασθαι ὥς πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν δὲ ἓνα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον εὐρεῖν ἢ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁπότεν χρημάτων μὲν ἔνεκα παρῶσιν οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῆι δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺ πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν τύραννον ἢ ὅσα πολὺν χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν. [6.12] ὃ δ' ἐξήλωσας ἡμᾶς ὥς τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει. [6.13] φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσεις ποτὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῆς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλείστα λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ ἥδιστ' ἂν ὥς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο; ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν τις λάβῃ παρὰ τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ἑαυτοῦ νομίζει πρὶν ἂν ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται. [6.14] ἐχθροὺς δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις ἐξεῖναι

χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν εἰσι πάντες οἱ τυραννούμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατακαίνειν ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἷόν τε ἦι [τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει;] [6.15] ἀλλ' εἰδότα ὅτι ἐχθροὶ εἰσι, τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέηι, καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζηται; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι καὶ οὖς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας ὁρῶσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν· ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι ποιήσῃ, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνει διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν, χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῶιτο, [6.16] εὐλαβούμενος μή τι ἀνήκεστον ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσῃται, καὶ τᾶλλα γε κτήματα ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἅπαντα λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.

[7.1] Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπεν· Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὃ Ἰέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμὴ, ἥς ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι. [7.2] καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὥς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης ὅποσα λέγεις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε εἰς αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως, περιβλέπωσι δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων ὁδῶν τε παραχωρῶσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὄντιν' ἂν ἀεὶ τιμῶντες τυγχάνωσι. [7.3] καὶ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὃ Ἰέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν ἄλλων ζῶων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἡδεσθαι ἔοικε τὰ ζῶα· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὐτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ἐμφύεται οὐτ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν ἐμφύη τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἤδη οἱ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι. [7.4] ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν ἃ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπεὶ περ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη ἡδονὴ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη. [7.5] πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰέρων· Ἀλλ', ὃ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων ὅμοιαι ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι οἷά περ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὄντα αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα. [7.6] οὕτε γὰρ αἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀντιφιλοῦντων ὑπουργίαι χάριτες ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οὕτε τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἡδέα ἐφαίνετο. ὡσαύτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπουργίαι <αἱ> ὑπὸ τῶν φοβουμένων τιμαὶ εἰσι. [7.7] πῶς γὰρ ἂν

φαίμεν ἢ τοὺς βίαι ἐξανισταμένους θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανίστασθαι, ἢ τοὺς ὁδῶν παραχωροῦντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας παραχωρεῖν; [7.8] καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις οὕς μισοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν μάλιστα φοβῶνται μὴ τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίνεσθαι. [7.9] ὅταν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι εὐεργετῇν ἱκανὸν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχουσιν ἐπαινοῦντες, θεῶνται τ' αὐτὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθόν, ἐκόντες τε παραχωρῶσι τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶνται φιλοῦντές τε καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανῶσι κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα, καὶ δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς οἱ ἂν τοιαῦτα ὑπουργήσωσι καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι. [7.10] καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύομενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μὴ τι πάθῃ καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι' ἀδικίαν ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν διάγει. [7.11] ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, ὃ Ἰέρων, εἰ οὕτως πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττηι οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ, ἀλλ' οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἐκὼν εἶναι τυραννίδος ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ [ἂν] ἅπαξ κτήσαιτο; [7.12] Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἢ τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατόν αὐτῆς ἐστι. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχων ὅσους δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο ἀποθανουμένας;; [7.13] ἀλλ' εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ, ὃ Σιμωνίδῃ, λυσιτελεῖ ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὐρίσκω μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.

[8.1] Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, ὃ Ἰέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπεὶ περ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐμποδὼν σοι τούτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ κα21 πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ιδιωτείας. [8.2]

ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν, εἰ διὰ τὸ μείζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἂν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶσιν ὃ τε ιδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει πότερος μείζω ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν. ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν μικροτάτων παραδειγμάτων. [8.3] ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὃ τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ιδιώτης· ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἴθι δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρου τὸν αὐτόν· τὸν ποτέρου δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην; θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἐκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου τιμὴν μείζονος ἂν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν; [8.4] κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφές ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ σαφές ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι χάριτες πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ιδιώτου δῶρημα δύνανται; [8.5] ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμὴ τις καὶ χάρις συμπαρέπεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἡδίων θεώμεθά τε ὅταν ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ιδιωτεύῃ, διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὔσι. [8.6] καὶ μὴν παιδικὰ γε, ἐν οἷς δὴ καὶ σὺ μάλιστα κατεμέμψω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἥκιστα μὲν γῆρας ἄρχοντος δυσχεραίνει, ἥκιστα δ' αἴσχος, πρὸς ὃν ἂν τυγχάνῃ ὁμιλῶν, τούτου ὑπολογίζεται. αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ τετιμῆσθαι μάλιστα συνεπικοσμεῖ, ὥστε τὰ μὲν δυσχερῇ ἀφανίζειν, τὰ δὲ καλὰ λαμπρότερα ἀναφαίνειν. [8.7] ὅποτε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ ἐπειδάν γε ὑμεῖς πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελεῖν δύνησθε, πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε, ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ιδιωτῶν προσήκει; [8.8] καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εὐθύς ὑπολαβὼν, "Ὅτι νῆ Δί", ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ πλείω τῶν ιδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πραγματεύεσθαι. [8.9] πρακτέον μὲν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν ἔξειν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγκαστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται φυλακῆς, κολαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ τοὺς ὑβρίζειν βουλομένους· καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς παραστήῃ ἢ πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμαῖσθαι, οὐκ ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ραιδιουργοῦσιν. [8.10] ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου δὲ βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ τυράννοις ἰσοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα νομίζουσι τούτους τρέφεσθαι.

[9.1] Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης· Ἄλλ' ὅπως μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὃ Ἰέρων, οὐ λέγω. ἐπιμέλειαί μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ πάνυ διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι. [9.2] τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν ἃ ἐστὶ βέλτιστα καὶ τὸν κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι' ἀπεχθείας μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι. [9.3] ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸν μὲν ἀνάγκης δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ ἄθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι' αὐτοῦ ποιητέον. ὥς ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα. [9.4] καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἄθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθῃσιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπίχαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ δ' ἀντίτυπα δι' ἄλλων. [9.5] τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ οὕτως περαίνεισθαι; διήρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους, καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἐκάστωι μέρει ἐφεστήκασιν. [9.6] οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ τοῖς χοροῖς ἄθλα προτιθεῖη καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἱππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονικίαν ἐντόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι. [9.7] καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῶντό γ' ἂν θᾶπτον ὅποι δέοι, τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, καὶ χρήματα θᾶπτον <ἂν> εἰσφέροιεν, ὁπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων γε χρησιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονοκίας πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτῇ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδόη, εἴ τις ἄθλα προτιθεῖη κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κώμας τοῖς κάλλιστα τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνοντο. [9.8] καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι αὖξουσιν' ἂν, καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη πολὺ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτεῖ. καὶ μὴν κακουργαί γε ἦττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται. [9.9] εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμώμενος ἂν ὁ πλεῖστα τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ φανερόν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσοδόν τινα ἄλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμήσεται, οὐδ' αὕτη ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῖτο. [9.10] ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντων ἐμφανὲς εἴη ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθόν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται, πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν τι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων μέληι, ἀνάγκη εὐρίσκεσθαι τε μᾶλλον

καὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. [9.11] εἰ δὲ φοβῇ, ὃ Ἰέρων, μὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ἄθλων προτιθεμένων πολλὰ δαπάναι γίνωνται, ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἢ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἄθλων ὠνοῦνται. ὁραῖς ἐν ἵπικοις καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὥς μικρὰ ἄθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς πόρους καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;

[10.1] Καὶ ὁ Ἰέρων εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὃ Σιμωνίδη, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχεις τι εἰπεῖν ὥς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι' αὐτούς; ἢ λέγεις ὥς φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων; [10.2] Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν. οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτως καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ δέοντα ἔχωσι, τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι. [10.3] τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζῃ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κάγαθοῖς ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἂν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα παρασχεῖν ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων. [10.4] τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας· ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπότηαι βίαι ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων ἀπέθανον. ἐν οὖν ἂν πρῶτον τοῦτ' εἴη τῶν προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις, ὥς πάντων ὄντας δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἂν τι τοιοῦτον αἰσθάνωνται. γίνονται δὲ πού, ὥς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἴεν τεταγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἂν εἶδεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελοῦμενοι. [10.5] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἐργάταις καὶ κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίῳις, ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοί γε μὴν εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπικαίρα φυλάττοντες. [10.6] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίῳν ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ ἐξαπιναιῆς τίνες ἐτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθῆσθαι ἢ κωλύσαι τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ὅλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ τί ἐστὶν ὠφελιμώτερον πολίταις μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεύειν καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἐτοιμοτάτους εἶναι. [10.7] τὰς <δ> ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς ἀεὶ ἐν ὅλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ σώζουσιν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα καὶ σφάλλουσιν τὰ τῶν πολεμίῳν δύναιτ' ἂν. [10.8] ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν οἱ πολῖται ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῶσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακοῦργεῖν βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις, προνοοῦσι

δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα; τρέφουσι γοῦν καὶ ἰδία ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.

[11.1] Χρὴ δέ, ὦ Ἴέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναλούμενα μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' ἓν δ' ἕκαστον σκοπῶμεν. [11.2] οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην μᾶλλον ἡγῆι κόσμου ἄν σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν τείχεσσι τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παστάσι καὶ ἀγοραῖς καὶ λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην; [11.3] ὅπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἐκπαγλοτάτοις αὐτὸς κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος ἂν φαίνοιο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης εὐόπλου σοι οὔσης; [11.4] προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἂν δοκεῖς πλείονας γίνεσθαι, εἰ τὰ σὰ ἴδια μόνον ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν μεμηχανημένος εἴης ἐνεργὰ εἶναι; [11.5] τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον νομιζόμενον εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἄρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως ἂν δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλείστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως πλείστοι μὲν ἵπποτρόφοι εἶεν, πλείστοι δ' ἀγωνίζοντο; νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον εἶναι ἄρματος ἀρετῇ ἢ πόλεως ἥς προστατεύεις εὐδαιμονίαι; [11.6] ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ πρὸς ιδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιο ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὥς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν πάντων μάλιστα καταγελῶ. [11.7] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοὶ φημι, ὦ Ἴέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστατάς πόλεων τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν ἕαν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην τὴν πόλιν ἥς προστατεύεις παρέχῃς, κηρυχθήσῃ νικῶν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγωνίσματι. [11.8] καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθύς κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴης τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὗ δὴ σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἷς εἴῃ ὁ ἀνακηρύττων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὕμνοῖεν ἂν τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν. [11.9] περίβλεπτος δὲ ὢν οὐχ ὑπὸ ιδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῶιο ἂν, καὶ θαυμαστὸς οὐκ ἰδία μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίαι παρὰ πᾶσιν ἂν εἴης, [11.10] καὶ ἐξείῃ μὲν ἂν σοι ἕνεκεν ἀσφαλείας, εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσονται πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείῃ δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴῃ τῶν βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων

ὑπηρετεῖν. [11.11] πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴῃ σοι, ὁ δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίῃ ἂν ἰδεῖν σε. ὥστε οὐ μόνον φιλοῖο ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῶιο ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾷν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἂν σε δέοι, φόβον δ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἄλλ' ἄλλοις παρέχοις μή τι πάθῃς, [11.12] ἐκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἂν καὶ ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῶιο ἂν, εἰ δέ τις κίνδυνος εἴῃ, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους καὶ προθύμους ὁπώῃς ἂν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ μεταδώσεις, πάντας μὲν συγγαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν [ιδίων] ὥσπερ τῶν ἰδίων μαχομένους. [11.13] θησαυροὺς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὃ Ἰέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαντῶι γὰρ δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇι συμμάχους· ... [11.14] νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκιον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὃ τιπερ τῶν σὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ νικᾷν εὖ ποιῶν. [11.15] ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῇς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μὴ σοι δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμοι. κἂν ταῦτα πάντα ποιῇς, εὖ ἴσθι, πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσῃ· εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ φθονηθήσῃ.

CONSTITUTION OF SPARTA - Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία

[1.1] Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας ποτὲ ὡς ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν ὀλιγανθρωποτά-των πόλεων οὕσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ ὀνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐφάνη, ἐθαύμασα ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἐθαύμαζον. [1.2] Λυκοῦργον μέντοι τὸν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους, οἷς πειθόμενοι ἠϋδαιμόνησαν, τοῦτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα [μάλα] σοφὸν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία γνοὺς ταῖς πλείσταις, προέχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαι τὴν πατρίδα ἐπέδειξεν.

[1.3] Αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ἢ ἄνυστὸν μετριωτάτῳ τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ἢ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ· οἶνου γε μὴν ἢ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὕδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν. ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἐδραῖοι εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι Ἑλληνες ἡρεμιζούσας ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιούσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφομένας πῶς χρή προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλεῖον ἢ τι γεννησάμεναι; [1.4] ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐσθῆτας μὲν καὶ δούλας παρέχειν ἱκανὰς ἡγήσατο εἶναι, ταῖς δ' ἐλευθέραις μέγιστον νομίσας εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιίαν πρῶτον μὲν σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν οὐδὲν ἥττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου· ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε, νομίζων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἐρρωμενέστερα γίνεσθαι. [1.5] ἐπεὶ γε μὴν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἔλθοι, ὅπῳ τοὺς ἄλλους τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ χρόνου ἀμέτρως ταῖς γυναιξὶ συνόντας, καὶ τούτου τάναντία ἔγνω· ἔθηκε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι μὲν εἰσιόντα ὀφθῆναι, αἰδεῖσθαι δ' ἐξιόντα. οὕτω δὲ συνόντων ποθεινοτέρως μὲν ἀνάγκη σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἐρρωμενέστερα δὲ γίνεσθαι, εἴ τι βλάστοι οὕτω, μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ διάκοροι ἀλλήλων εἶεν. [1.6] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀποπαύσας τοῦ ὅποτε βούλονται ἕκαστοι γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι, ἔταξεν ἐν ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων τοὺς γάμους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ νομίζων. [1.7] εἴ γε μέντοι συμβαίῃ γεραίῳ νέαν ἔχειν, ὅρᾳν τοὺς τηλικούτους φυλάττοντας μάλιστα τὰς γυναῖκας, τάναντία καὶ τούτου ἐνόμισεν· τῷ γὰρ

πρεσβύτη ἐποίησεν, ὁποίου ἀνδρὸς σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθείη, τοῦτον ἐπαγαγομένῳ τεκνοποιήσασθαι. [1.8] εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιο, τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τοῦτο νόμιμον ἐποίησεν, ἦντινα [ἄν] εὐτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὀρώη, πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι. [1.9] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχῶρει. αἱ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἳ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οἳ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται. [1.10] περὶ μὲν δὴ τεκνοποιίας οὕτω τάναντία γνοὺς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴ τι διαφέροντας καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κατ' ἰσχὺν ἀνδρας τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπετέλεσεν, ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπισκοπεῖτω.

[2.1] Ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι, βούλομαι καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἐκατέρων σαφηνίσαι. τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ φάσκοντες κάλλιστα τοὺς υἱεῖς παιδεύειν, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ παῖδες τὰ λεγόμενα ξυνιῶσιν, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς παιδαγωγοὺς θεράποντας ἐφιστᾷσιν, εὐθὺς δὲ πέμπουσιν εἰς διδασκάλων μαθησομένους καὶ γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν παλαίστραι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τῶν παίδων πόδας μὲν ὑποδήμασιν ἀπαλύνουσι, σῶματα δὲ ἱματίων μεταβολαῖς διαθρύπτουσι· σίτου γε μὴν αὐτοῖς γαστέρα μέτρον νομίζουσιν. [2.2] ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος, ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίου ἑκάστον παιδαγωγοὺς δούλους ἐφιστάναι, ἄνδρα ἐπέστησε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἐξ ὧν περ αἱ μέγιστα ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, ὃς δὴ καὶ παιδονόμος καλεῖται, τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴ τις ραιδιουργοίη, ἰσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡβώντων μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅποτε δέοι, ὥστε πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὴν δὲ πειθῶ ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι. [2.3] ἀντὶ γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίαι κρατύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν, πολλὸν μὲν ῥᾶιον ἂν ὀρθιάδε ἐκβαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρηνῇ καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ δραμεῖν θᾶπτον [ἀνυπόδητον, εἰ ἡσκηκῶς εἴη τοὺς πόδας, ἢ ὑποδεδεμένον]. [2.4] καὶ ἀντὶ γε τοῦ ἱματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ἐνόμιζεν ἐνὶ ἱματίῳ δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ψύχῃ καὶ πρὸς θάλπῃ ἄμεινον ἂν παρεσκευάσθαι. [2.5] σιτόν γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβολεύειν τὸν εἶρενα ὥς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς μὲν μήποτε βαρύνεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ ἐνδεεστέρως διάγειν μὴ ἀπείρως ἔχειν, νομίζων τοὺς οὕτω παιδευομένους μᾶλλον μὲν ἂν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεήσειεν, ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπονῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' ἂν, εἰ

παραγγελθείη, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἦττον δ' ἂν ὄψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἔχειν βρῶμα, καὶ ὑγιεινότερως δ' ἂν διάγειν· καὶ εἰς μῆκος ἂν τὴν αὐξάνεσθαι ῥαδινὰ τὰ σώματα ποιοῦσαν τροφήν μᾶλλον συλλαμβάνειν ἡγήσατο ἢ τὴν διαπλατύνουσαν τῷ σίτῳ. [2.6] ὥς δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἄγαν αὐτὸν πιέζοινο, ἀπραγμόνως μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν προσδέωνται, κλέπτειν δ' ἐφῆκεν ἔστιν ἃ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπικουροῦντας. [2.7] καὶ ὥς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὁ τι δοίη ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς γε μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφήν, οὐδένα οἶμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν· δῆλον δ' ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνεῖν δεῖ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἐνεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους δὲ ἐτοιμάζειν τὸν μέλλοντά τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ πάντα δῆλον ὅτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν καὶ πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαίδευσεν. [2.8] εἶποι δ' ἂν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα, εἴπερ τὸ κλέπτειν ἀγαθὸν ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλλε τῷ ἀλίσκομένῳ; ὅτι, φημί ἐγώ, καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἄνθρωποι διδάσκουσι, κολάζουσι τὸν μὴ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα. κἀκεῖνοι οὖν τοὺς ἀλίσκομένους ὥς κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται. [2.9] [καὶ ὥς πλείστους δὴ ἀρπάσαι τυροὺς παρ' Ὀρθίας καλὸν θεῖς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος ὅτι ἔστιν ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα εὐφραίνεισθαι.] δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι καὶ ὅπου τάχους δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων ἐλαχιστα μὲν ὠφελεῖται, πλεῖστα δὲ πράγματα λαμβάνει. [2.10] ὅπως δὲ μὴδ' εἰ ὁ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθοι, ἔρημοί ποτε οἱ παῖδες εἶεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν ἀεὶ παρόντα τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς παισὶν ὃ τι [ἂν] ἀγαθὸν δοκοίη εἶναι καὶ κολάζειν, εἴ τι ἁμαρτάνοιεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε καὶ αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἄνδρες ὥς τοὺς ἄρχοντας. [2.11] ὥς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μὴδεις τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρῶν, μὴδ' ὥς ἔρημοι οἱ παῖδες ἄρχοντος εἶεν, ἔθηκε τῆς ἱλῆς ἐκάστης τὸν τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν· ὥστε οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἔρημοι ἄρχοντός εἰσι.

[2.12] Λεκτέον δὲ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ περὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ἐρώτων· ἔστι γάρ τι καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς παιδείαν. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἢ ὥσπερ Βοιωτοὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ παῖς συζυγέντες ὁμιλοῦσιν, ἢ ὥσπερ Ἡλεῖοι διὰ χαρίτων τῇ ὥρῃ χρῶνται· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἐραστάς εἵργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων. [2.13] ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐναντία καὶ τούτοις πᾶσι γνούς, εἰ μὲν τις αὐτὸς ὦν οἶον

δεῖ ἀγασθεῖς ψυχὴν παιδὸς πειρῶιτο ἄμεμπτον φίλον ἀποτελέσασθαι καὶ συνεῖναι, ἐπὶναι καὶ καλλίστην παιδείαν ταύτην ἐνόμιζεν· εἰ δέ τις παιδὸς σώματος ὀρεγόμενος φανείη, αἰσχιστον τοῦτο θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐν Λακεδαιμόνι μηδὲν ἦττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι ἢ γονεῖς παίδων ἢ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφῶν εἰς ἀφροδίσια ἀπέχονται. [2.14] τὸ μέντοι ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τινων οὐ θαυμάζω· ἐν πολλαῖς γὰρ τῶν πόλεων οἱ νόμοι οὐκ ἐναντιοῦνται ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας ἐπιθυμίαις.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ παιδεία εἴρηται ἢ τε Λακωνικὴ καὶ ἢ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων· ἐξ ὁποτέρας δ' αὐτῶν καὶ εὐπειθέστεροι καὶ αἰδημονέστεροι καὶ ὧν δεῖ ἐγκρατέστεροι ἄνδρες ἀποτελοῦνται, ὁ βουλόμενος καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισκοπεῖσθω.

[3.1] Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιῶσθαι ἐκβαίνωσι, τηνικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἄρχουσι δὲ οὐδένες ἔτι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτονόμους ἀφῃᾶσιν· ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος καὶ τούτων τάναντία ἔγνω. [3.2] καταμαθὼν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα ἐμφυόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ ὕβριν ἐπιπολάζουσιν, ἰσχυροτάτας δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἡδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηνικαῦτα πλείστους μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ ἀσχολίαν ἐμμηχανήσατο. [3.3] ἐπιθείς δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἐκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει γένοιτο. [3.4] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἰσχυρῶς ἐμφῦσαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἱματίου τὸ χεῖρε ἔχειν, σιγῇ δὲ πορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπειν δὲ μηδαμοῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὁρᾶν. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φύλον καὶ εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι [τῶν] τῆς θηλείας φύσεως. [3.5] ἐκείνων γοῦν ἦττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν ἀκούσας ἢ τῶν λιθίνων, ἦττον δ' ἂν ὄμματα [μετα]στρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν, αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς παρθένων. καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὸ φιλίτιόν γε ἀφίκωνται, ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὖ παιδίσκων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη.

[4.1] Περί γε μὴν τῶν ἡβόντων πολὺ μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε, νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιτο οἷους δεῖ, πλείστον ῥέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει. [4.2] ὁρῶν οὖν, οἷς ἂν μάλιστα φιλονικία ἐγγένηται, τούτων καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροατοτάτους γιγνομένους καὶ γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας

ἀξιοθεατοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας συμβάλλοι εἰς ἔριν περὶ ἀρετῆς, οὕτως ἂν καὶ τούτους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὥς οὖν τούτους αὖ συνέβαλεν, ἐξηγήσομαι. [4.3] αἰροῦνται τοίνυν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τρεῖς ἄνδρας· οὗτοι δὲ ἱπαγρέται καλοῦνται. τούτων δ' ἕκαστος ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων ὅτου ἔνεκα τοὺς μὲν προτιμᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει. [4.4] οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγχάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς τε ἀποστείλασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἰρεθεῖσιν ἀνθ' αὐτῶν καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐὰν τι παρὰ τὰ καλὰ νομιζόμενα ραιδιουργῶσι.

[4.5] Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη τε καὶ πολιτικωτάτη ἔρις, ἐν ἣ ἁποδέδεικται μὲν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν, χωρὶς δ' ἑκάτεροι ἀσκοῦσιν ὅπως αἰεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται, ἐὰν δέ τι δέηι, καθ' ἓνα ἀρήξουσιν τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει [ἄν]. [4.6] ἀνάγκη δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅπου ἂν συμβάλωσι· διαλύειν μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος κύριος. ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἄγει αὐτὸν ὁ παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημιοῦσι μεγαλείως, καθιστάναι βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μήποτε ὀργὴν τοῦ μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.

[4.7] Τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἤδη καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἀφελόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἰσχύος ἔτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι στρατεύεσθαι ὁμῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν, ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος τοῖς τηλικούτοις νόμιμον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ θηρᾶν, εἰ μὴ τι δημόσιον κωλύει, ὅπως δύναιντο καὶ οὗτοι μηδὲν ἥττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικὸν πόνους ὑποφέρειν.

[5.1] Ἄ μὲν οὖν ἐκάστη ἡλικία ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐπιτηδεύματα σχεδὸν εἴρηται· οἷαν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι δίαίταν κατεσκεύασε, νῦν πειράσομαι διηγείσθαι. [5.2] Λυκοῦργος τοίνυν παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὥσπερ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνοὺς ἐν τούτοις πλεῖστα ραιδιουργεῖσθαι, εἰς τὸ φανερόν ἐξήγαγε τὰ συσκῆνια, οὕτως ἡγούμενος ἦκιστ' ἂν παραβαίνεσθαι τὰ προσταττόμενα. [5.3] καὶ σῖτόν γε ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς ὥς μήτε ὑπερπληροῦσθαι μήτε ἐνδεεῖς γίνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρευομένων· οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν· ὥστε οὔτε ἔρημός ποτε ἢ τράπεζα βρωτῶν γίγνεται, ἔστ' ἂν διασκηνῶσιν, οὔτε πολυδάπανος. [5.4] καὶ μὴν τοῦ

πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς [οὐκ] ἀναγκαίαις πόσεις, αἱ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνώμας, ἐφῆκεν ὁπότε διψώη ἕκαστος πίνειν, οὕτω νομίζων ἀβλαβέστατόν τε καὶ ἥδιστον ποτὸν γίνεσθαι. οὕτω γε μὴν συσκηνοῦντων πῶς ἂν τις ἢ ὑπὸ λιχνείας ἢ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ οἶκον διαφθείρειεν; [5.5] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἥλικες ἀλλήλοις σύνεισι, μεθ' ὧνπερ καὶ ἐλαχίστη αἰδῶς παραγίγνεται· ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀνέμειξε ...παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας. [5.6] καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι ὃ τι ἂν καλῶς τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὥστ' ἐκεῖ ἥκιστα μὲν ὕβριν, ἥκιστα δὲ παροινίαν, ἥκιστα δὲ αἰσχυροργίαν καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. [5.7] ἀγαθὰ γε μὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἡ ἕξω σίτησις· περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ, καὶ μὴν τοῦ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰδότες ὅτι οὐκ ἐνθαπερ ἐδειπνουν καταμενοῦσι καὶ τῇ ὄρφνῃ ὅσα ἡμέραι χρηστέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φανοῦ τὸν ἔτι ἔμφρουρον ἕξεστι πορεύεσθαι.

[5.8] Καταμαθὼν γε μὴν ὁ Λυκοῦργος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν σίτων οἱ μὲν διαπονούμενοι εὐχροί τε καὶ εὐσαρκοὶ καὶ εὐρωστοὶ εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἄπονοι πεφουσημένοι τε καὶ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναφαίνονται, οὐδὲ τούτου ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐννοῶν ὅτι καὶ ὅταν αὐτός τις τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ φιλοπονῇ, ἀρκούντως τὸ σῶμα ἔχων ἀναφαίνεται, ἐπέταξε τὸν ἀεὶ πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐκάστω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε ἑαυτοὶ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίνεσθαι. [5.9] καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν οὖν ραϊδίως γέ τις εὔροι Σπαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὑγιεινοτέρους οὔτε τοῖς σώμασι χρησιμωτέρους· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἀπὸ τε τῶν σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζονται.

[6.1] Ἐναντία γε μὴν ἔγνω καὶ τάδε τοῖς πλείστοις. ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος καὶ παίδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἄρχουσιν· ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος, κατασκευάσαι βουλόμενος ὡς ἂν μηδὲν βλάπτοντες ἀπολαύοιεν τι οἱ πολῖται ἀλλήλων ἀγαθόν, ἐποίησε παίδων ἕκαστον ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἄρχειν. [6.2] ὅταν δέ τις εἰδῇ ὅτι οὗτοι πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παίδων, ὧν αὐτὸς ἄρχει ἀνάγκη οὕτως ἄρχειν ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι βούλοιο. ἦν δέ τις παῖς ποτε πληγὰς λαβὼν ὑπ' ἄλλου κατείπη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχρόν ἐστι μὴ οὐκ ἄλλας πληγὰς

ἐμβάλλειν τῷ υἱεῖ. οὕτω πιστεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προστάττειν τοῖς παισίν. [6.3] ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἴ τις δεηθεῖη, χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν συνῆψε κοινωνίαν· ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς σχολάζων ἡδέως ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὡσαύτως χρῶνται· ὁ γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἢ δεηθεὶς ὀχήματος ἢ ταχύ ποι βουλευθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἦν που ἴδι ἵππον ὄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν. [6.4] οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθισμένον ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ θήρας ὀνισθέντες δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἦν μὴ συνεσκευασμένοι τύχωσι, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς μὲν πεπαμένους καταλείπειν τὰ πεποιημένα, τοὺς δὲ δεομένους ἀνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα, λαβόντας ὅσων ἂν δέωνται σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν. [6.5] τοιγαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁπότεν τινὸς δεηθῶσιν.

[7.1] Ἐναντία γε μὴν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ δήπου ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι πάντες χρηματίζονται ὅσον δύνανται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ, ὁ δ' ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τεχνῶν τρέφονται. [7.2] ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ Λυκοῦργος τοῖς [μὲν] ἔλευθέροις τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀπέιπε μηδενὸς ἅπτεσθαι, ὅσα δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε μόνᾳ ἔργα αὐτῶν νομίζειν. [7.3] καὶ γὰρ δὴ τί πλοῦτος ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστέος, ἔνθα ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας ἐποίησε μὴ ἡδυπαθείας ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὀρέγεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἱματίων γε ἕνεκα χρηματιστέον· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος πολυτελείαι ἀλλὰ σώματος εὐεξία κοσμοῦνται. [7.4] οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους ἕνεκα ἔχειν δαπανᾶν χρήματα ἀθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῷ σώματι πονοῦντα ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας εὐδοξότερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ δαπανῶντα, ἐπιδείξας τὸ μὲν ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἔργον. [7.5] τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις διεκώλυσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμισμα τοιοῦτον κατεστήσατο, ὃ δεκάμνων μόνον ἂν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν οὐποτε δεσπότης οὐδὲ οἰκέτας λάθοι· καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγωγῆς δέοιτ' ἂν. [7.6] χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἂν τί που φανῇ, ὁ ἔχων ζημιοῦται. τί οὖν ἂν ἐκεῖ χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο, ἔνθα ἡ κτήσις πλείους λύπας ἢ ἡ χρήσις εὐφροσύνας παρέχει;

[8.1] Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα πείθονται ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις, ἴσμεν ἅπαντες. ἐγὼ μέντοι οὐδ' ἐγγχειρῆσαι οἶμαι πρότερον τὸν Λυκούργον ταύτην τὴν εὐταξίαν καθιστάναι πρὶν ὁμογνώμονας ἐποιήσατο τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. [8.2] τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν οἱ δυνατώτεροι οὐδὲ βούλονται δοκεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι τοῦτο ἀνελεύθερον εἶναι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρχονται μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινοῖ εἶναι μεγαλύνονται καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες ὑπακούειν, νομίζοντες, ἢν αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι, ἔψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὅπερ καὶ γένηται. [8.3] εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους συγκατασκευάσαι, ἐπεὶ περ ἔγνωσαν τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ· ὅσῳ γὰρ μείζω δύναμιν ἔχει ἡ ἀρχή, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς πολίτας [τοῦ ὑπακούειν]. [8.4] ἔφοροι οὖν ἱκανοὶ μὲν εἰσι ζημιοῦν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται, κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα, κύριοι δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας μεταξὺ [καὶ] καταπαῦσαι καὶ εἰρξάι γε καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστήσαι. τοσαύτην δὲ ἔχοντες δύναμιν οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἑῶσι τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἀεὶ ἄρχειν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἐπιστάται, ἢν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά τι, εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι. [8.5] πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων μηχανημάτων καλῶν τῷ Λυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐθέλειν τοὺς πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλήθει τοὺς νόμους πρὶν ἐλθὼν σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεὸν εἰ λῶιον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένῃ οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνείλε τῷ παντὶ ἄμεινον εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἄνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόσιον θεῖς τὸ πυθοχρήστοις νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι.

[9.1] Ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τότε ἀγασθῆναι, τὸ κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν τις ἂν εὔροι μείους ἀποθνήσκοντας τούτων <ἢ> τῶν ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ ἀποχωρεῖν αἰρουμένων. [9.2] ὥς τάληθές εἶπεῖν καὶ ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ <τὸ> σῴζεσθαι εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ράϊων καὶ ἡδίων καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα. δηλὸν δὲ ὅτι καὶ εὐκλεία μάλιστα ἔπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν πῶς πάντες τοῖς

ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται. [9.3] ἦι μέντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι ἐμνηχανήσατο, καὶ τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν σαφῶς παρεσκεύασε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακοδαιμονίαν. [9.4] ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ὁπότεν τις κακὸς γένηται, ἐπὶ κλήσιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τὰ γαθῶ καὶ κάθηται καὶ γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι πᾶς μὲν ἂν τις αἰσχυνθεῖ τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παραλαβεῖν, πᾶς δ' ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστήν. [9.5] πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρουμένων τοὺς ἀντισφαιριοῦντας ἀχώριστος περιγίγνεται, καὶ ἐν χοροῖς δ' εἰς τὰς ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύνεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν θάκοις καὶ [ἐν] τοῖς νεωτέροις ὑπαναστατέον, καὶ τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἶκοι θρεπτέον, καὶ ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρίας αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον, γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἐστίαν [οὐ] περιοπτέον καὶ ἅμα τούτου ζημίαν ἀποτειστέον, λιπαρὸν δὲ οὐ πλανητέον οὐδὲ μιμητέον τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτους, ἢ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ληπτέον. [9.6] ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης οὐδὲν θαυμάζω τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ οὕτως ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου.

[10.1] Καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Λυκοῦργος νομοθετῆσαι καὶ ἦι μέχρι γήρως ἀσκοῖτ' ἂν ἀρετῇ. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γεροντίας προσθεὶς ἐποίησε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρῳ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὴν καλοκάγαθίαν. [10.2] ἀξιόγαστον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν γήρῳ· θεῖς γὰρ τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνος διέπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ γῆρας τῆς τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης. [10.3] εἰκότως δέ τοι καὶ σπουδάζεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μάλιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοί· ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν σωμάτων εἰσὶν· ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας ἀγὼν ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. ὅσῳ οὖν κρείττων ψυχὴ σώματος, τοσούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἢ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστότεροι.

[10.4] Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μεγάλως ἄξιον ἀγασθῆναι; ὅς ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν ὅτι ὅπου οἱ βουλόμενοι ἐπιμελοῦνται τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι τὰς πατρίδας αὔξειν, [ἐκεῖνος] ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἠνάγκασε δημοσίαι πάντας πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὥσπερ οὖν [οἱ ἰδιῶται] τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διαφέρουσιν ἀρετῇ οἱ ἀσκούντες τῶν ἀμελούντων, οὕτω καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῇ διαφέρει, μόνῃ δημοσίαι ἐπιτηδεύουσα τὴν

καλοκάγαθίαν. [10.5] οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖνο καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαζουσῶν ἢν τίς τι ἕτερος ἕτερον ἀδικῇ, ἐκεῖνον ζημίας μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθεῖναι εἴ τις φανερός εἴη ἀμελῶν τοῦ ὡς βέλτιστος εἶναι; [10.6] ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδραποδιζομένων τινὰς ἢ ἀποστερούντων τι ἢ κλεπτόντων τοὺς βλαπτομένους μόνον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀνάνδρων ὅλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τούτοις μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι. [10.7] ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἀσκεῖν ἅπασαν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν ὁμοίως ἅπασι τὴν πόλιν οἰκείαν ἐποίησε, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπελογίσαστο οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν· εἰ δέ τις ἀποδειλιάσειε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι. [10.8] ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι εἰσὶ, σαφές· ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται γενέσθαι· οὕτω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καινότατοί εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.

[11.1] Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ· εἰ δέ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν ὅ τι καὶ εἰς τὰς στρατείας βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμηχανήσατο, ἔξεστι καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν. [11.2] πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεῦεσθαι καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις· ὥστε ὅσοι σπερ ἐπὶ πόλεως χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ στρατιᾷ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσων δὲ ὀργάνων ἢ στρατιᾷ κοινῇ δεηθῇ ἄν, ἅπαντα τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ· οὕτω γὰρ ἦκιστ' ἂν τὸ ἐλλεῖπον διαλάβοι. [11.3] εἰς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ' ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φοινικίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἦκιστα μὲν γυναικεῖαι κοινωνεῖν, πολεμικωτάτην δ' εἶναι, καὶ χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται καὶ σχολαιότοτα ρυπαίνεται. ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ μείζους ἂν καὶ ἐλευθεριωτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι. [11.4] οὕτω γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἕξ καὶ ἱπέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν. ἐκάστη δὲ τῶν ὀπλιτικῶν μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἓνα, λοχαγούς τέτταρας, πεντηκοντῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχους ἑκκαίδεκα. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τῶν μορῶν διὰ παρεγγυήσεως καθίστανται τοτὲ μὲν εἰς ... ἐνωμοτίας, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τοτὲ δὲ εἰς ἕξ. [11.5] ὁ δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι

οῖονται, πολυπλοκωτάτην εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὅπλοις Λακωνικὴν τάξιν, τὸ ἐναντιώτατον ὑπειλήφασι τοῦ ὄντος· εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τάξει οἱ πρωτοστάται ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ στίχος ἕκαστος πάντ' ἔχων ὅσα δεῖ παρέχεσθαι. [11.6] οὕτω δὲ ράιδιον ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μαθεῖν ὥς ὅστις τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δύναται γινώσκειν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμάρτοι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι δέδοται, τοῖς δὲ ἔπεσθαι τέτακται. αἱ δὲ παραγωγαὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνωμοτάρχου λόγῳ δηλοῦνται <καὶ> ἀραιαί τε καὶ βαθύτεραι αἱ φάλαγγες γίνονται· ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁπωσιοῦν χαλεπὸν μαθεῖν. [11.7] τὸ μέντοι κἂν ταραχθῶσι μετὰ τοῦ παρατυχόντος ὁμοίως μάχεσθαι, ταύτην τὴν τάξιν οὐκέτι ράιδιόν ἐστι μαθεῖν· πλὴν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Λυκούργου νόμων πεπαιδευμένοις. [11.8] εὐπορώτατα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσι τὰ τοῖς ὀπλομάχοις πάνυ δοκοῦντα χαλεπὰ εἶναι· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρως πορεύωνται, κατ' οὐρὰν δῆπου ἐνωμοτία <ἐνωμοτία> ἔπεται· ἐὰν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολέμια φάλαγξ ἐπιφανῇ, τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῳ παρεγγυᾶται εἰς μέτωπον παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῇ. ἦν γε μὴν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐκ τοῦ ὀπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφανῶσιν, ἐξελίττεται ἕκαστος ὁ στίχος, ἵνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι αἰ τοῖς πολέμοις ᾧσιν. [11.9] ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν. εἰ γὰρ τινες κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν, οὐκ ἂν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὀπλισμένα περιβάλλοιεν ἅν. ἦν δὲ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῇ συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχειν, στρέψαντες τὸ ἄγῃμα ἐπὶ κέρας ἐξελίττουσι τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξιὸς ᾖ, ἡ δὲ οὐρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται. [11.10] ἦν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν πολέμιων τάξις ἐπιφαίνεται ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύονται ἢ τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρωιρον τοῖς ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ἦν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα πολέμιοι προσίωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἐῷσιν, ἀλλὰ προθέουσιν ἢ [ἐναντίους] ἀντιπάλους τοὺς λόχους στρέφουσι· καὶ οὕτως αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίσταται.

[12.1] Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἥ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε χρῆναι Λυκούργος. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου ἀχρήστους εἶναι κύκλον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, εἰ μὴ ὅρος ἀσφαλὲς εἴη ἢ τεῖχος ἢ ποταμὸν ὀπισθεν ἔχοιεν. [12.2] φυλακὰς γε μὴν ἐποίησε μεθημερινὰς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὅπλα εἰσω βλέπουσας· οὐ γὰρ πολέμιων ἕνεκα ἀλλὰ φίλων

αὐται καθίστανται· τούς γε μὴν πολεμίους ἵππεῖς φυλάττουσιν ἀπὸ χωριῶν ὧν ἂν ἐκ πλείστου προορῶιεν εἰ [δέ] τις προσίοι. [12.3] νύκτωρ <δὲ> ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος ἐνόμισεν ὑπὸ Σκιριτῶν προφυλάττεσθαι· (νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ ὑπὸ ξένων ... αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες.) [12.4] τὸ δὲ ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα ἀεὶ περιμένειν, εὖ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκά ἐστιν οὐπὲρ καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἵργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀπλέοντας οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτε ἀλλήλων οὔτε τῶν ὅπλων πλέον ἢ ὅσον μὴ λυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπέρχονται· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα ποιοῦσιν. [12.5] μεταστρατοπεδεύονται γε μὴν πυκνὰ καὶ τοῦ σίνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς φίλους. καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἅπασι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἥσπερ ἂν στρατεύωνται· ὥστε μεγαλοπρεπεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ οὔτε περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον μάσσω ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ὅσον ἂν ἡ μόρα ἐφήκη, ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπλων πόρρω γίγνηται. [12.6] μετὰ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια καθίζειν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέμαρχος κηρύττει· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξέτασις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ταχὺ τὸν πρόσκοπον ἀπολύεσθαι· ἐκ τούτου δ' αὖ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν ἐσπερινῶν γυμνασίων. [12.7] μετὰ γε μὴν ταῦτα δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴν αἰσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷς ἂν κεκαλλιεργηκότες ᾧσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπαύεσθαι. ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ γράφω οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν· ἥκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις εὖροι ἂν τις παραλελειμμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅσα δεῖται ἐπιμελείας.

[13.1] Διηγῆσομαι δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐπὶ στρατιᾷς ὁ Λυκοῦργος βασιλεῖ δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν κατεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾷς τρέφει ἡ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως ἀεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἣν τι δέωνται· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὥς μηδεμία ἀσχολία ἦι αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. [13.2] ἐπαναλήψομαι δὲ ὥς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς. θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὧν Διὶ Ἀγήτορι καὶ τοῖς σιοῖν [αὐτῷ]· ἣν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερήσει, λαβὼν ὁ πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ. [13.3] ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοις τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ, τότε διαβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγεῖται οὔποτε

ἀποσβεννύμενον, σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἔπεται. αἰεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται, ἄρχεται μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔτι κνεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὐνοίαν. [13.4] πάρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοί, πεντηκοντῆρες, ξένων στρατίαρχοι, στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ βουλόμενος· [13.5] πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἱ πολυπραγμονοῦσι μὲν οὐδέν, ἦν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ· ὀρῶντες δὲ ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὥς τὸ εἰκός. ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα. ὥστε ὀρῶν ταῦτα ἡγήσαιο ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν. [13.6] ἐπειδὴν γε μὴν ἡγήται βασιλεὺς, ἦν μὲν μηδεὶς ἐναντίος φαίνεται, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται, πλὴν Σκιρίται καὶ οἱ προερευνόμενοι ἱππεῖς· ἦν δέ ποτε μάχην οἴωνται ἔσσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγλημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχων. [13.7] οὗς δὲ δεῖ ἐπὶ τούτοις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι ἂν σύσκηνοι ᾧσι τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντις καὶ ἱατροὶ καὶ αὐληταὶ <καὶ> οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἦν τινες παρῶσιν. ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίνεσθαι οὐδὲν ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστι. [13.8] μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὠφέλιμα, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐμυχανήσατο Λυκοῦργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα. ὅταν γὰρ ὀρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζεται, αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται. [13.9] ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι καὶ παιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον. καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῳ· οὐδ' ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστην πᾶσαν τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ' ἐκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ καλῶς γίγνηται πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν. [13.10] ὅταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, τούτου μὲν δὴ κύριος βασιλεὺς καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαι γε ὅπου δεῖ· τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ' οὐ βασιλέως. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν βούλωνται πρᾶξαι τι. [13.11] ἦν δ' οὖν δίκης δεόμενός τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλλανοδίκας τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἦν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς ταμίας, ἦν δὲ ληίδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπώλας. οὕτω δὲ πραττομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον καταλείπεται ἐπὶ φρουρᾷς

ἢ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι, στρατηγῶι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

εἶναι, στρατηγῶι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

[14.1] Εἰ δέ τις με ἔροιτο εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν, τοῦτο μὰ Δία οὐκ ἂν ἔτι θρασέως εἴποιμι. [14.2] οἶδα γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους αἰρουμένους οἴκοι τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευομένους διαφθείρεσθαι. [14.3] καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτοὺς φοβουμένους χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι· νῦν δ' ἔστιν οὗς καὶ καλλωπιζομένους ἐπὶ τῶι κεκτῆσθαι. [14.4] ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τούτου ἔνεκα ξενηλασίας γιγνομένης καὶ ἀποδημεῖν οὐκ ἐξόν, ὅπως μὴ ραιδιουργίας οἱ πολῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐμπίμπλαιντο· νῦν δ' ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρώτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας ὥς μηδέποτε παύονται ἀρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης. [14.5] καὶ ἦν μὲν ὅτε ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως ἄξιοι εἶεν ἡγεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται ὅπως ἄρξουσιν ἢ ὅπως ἄξιοι τούτων ἔσονται. [14.6] τοιγαροῦν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρότερον μὲν ἰόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀδικεῖν· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτούς. [14.7] οὐδὲν μέντοι δεῖ θαυμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιψόγων αὐτοῖς γιγνομένων, ἐπεὶ δὴ φανεροί εἰσιν οὔτε τῶι θεῶι πειθόμενοι οὔτε τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις.

[15.1] Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἄς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν συνθήκας ὁ Λυκούργος ἐποίησε διηγῆσασθαι· μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὕτη ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἷαπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πολιτείας εὖροι ἂν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας. [15.2] ἔθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα, ὥς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ στρατιὰν ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ ἡγεῖσθαι. [15.3] ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν, καὶ γῆν δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀπέδειξεν ἐξαίρετον τοσαύτην ὥστε μὴτ' ἐνδεῖσθαι τῶν μετρίων μῆτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν. [15.4] ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρία γε ἐπὶ τῶι δεῖπνῳ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο. [15.5] ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἐκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι, οἳ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν συῶν ἀπὸ τόκου χοῖρον λαμβάνειν, ὥς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν, ἦν τι δεηθῇ θεοῖς

συμβουλευσασθαι. [15.6] καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὕδατος <ἀφθονίαν> παρέχει· ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον, οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ μᾶλλον γινώσκουσι. καὶ ἔδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται βασιλεῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων. [15.7] καὶ ὄρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν. [15.8] αὐτὰι μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ιδιωτικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τυραννικὸν φρόνημα παραστῆσαι οὔτε τοῖς πολίταις φθόνον ἐμποῖησαι τῆς δυνάμεως. [15.9] αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὥς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὥς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμήκασιν.

CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS – Αθηναίων πολιτεία

περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, ὅτι μὲν εἶλοντο τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῆς πολιτείας οὐκ ἐπαινῶ διὰ τόδε, ὅτι ταυθ' ἐλόμενοι εἶλοντο τοὺς πονηροὺς ἄμεινον πράττειν ἢ τοὺς χρηστούς: διὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦτο οὐκ ἐπαινῶ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν οὕτως αὐτοῖς, ὥς εὖ διασφύζονται τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τᾶλλα διαπράττονται ἃ δοκοῦσιν ἀμαρτάνειν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλήσι, τοῦτ' ἀποδείξω. [2]

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο ἔρῳ, ὅτι δικαίως <δοκοῦσιν> αὐτόθι [καί] οἱ πένητες καὶ ὁ δῆμος πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν γενναίων καὶ τῶν πλουσίων διὰ τόδε, ὅτι ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ ἐλαύνων τὰς ναῦς καὶ ὁ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθεὶς τῇ πόλει, καὶ οἱ κυβερνήται καὶ οἱ κελευσταὶ καὶ οἱ πεντηκόνταρχοι καὶ οἱ προφῶται καὶ οἱ ναυπηγοί, — οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ τὴν δύναμιν περιτιθέντες τῇ πόλει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ ὀπλίται καὶ οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοί. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι πᾶσι τῶν ἀρχῶν μετεῖναι ἓν τε τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ ἓν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ, καὶ λέγειν ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν πολιτῶν. [3] ἔπειτα ὁπόσαι μὲν σωτηρίαν φέρουσι τῶν ἀρχῶν χρησταὶ οὖσαι καὶ μὴ χρησταὶ κίνδυνον τῷ δήμῳ ἅπαντι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἀρχῶν οὐδὲν δεῖται ὁ δῆμος μετεῖναι: — οὔτε τῶν στρατηγιῶν κλήρῳ οἴονται σφίσι χρῆναι μετεῖναι οὔτε τῶν ἱππαρχιῶν: — γινώσκει γὰρ ὁ δῆμος ὅτι πλείω ὠφελεῖται ἓν τῷ μὴ αὐτὸς ἄρχειν ταύτας τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλ' ἔαν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἄρχειν: ὁπόσαι δ' εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ μισθοφορίας ἔνεκα καὶ ὠφελείας εἰς τὸν οἶκον, ταύτας ζητεῖ ὁ δῆμος ἄρχειν. [4] ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ ἔνιοι θαυμάζουσιν ὅτι πανταχοῦ πλεόν νέμονται τοῖς πονηροῖς καὶ πένησι καὶ δημοτικοῖς ἢ τοῖς χρηστοῖς, ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ φανοῦνται τὴν δημοκρατίαν διασφύζοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πένητες καὶ οἱ δημόται καὶ οἱ χεῖρους εὖ πράττοντες καὶ πολλοὶ οἱ τοιοῦτοι γινόμενοι τὴν δημοκρατίαν αὔξουσιν: ἔαν δὲ εὖ πράττωσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοί, ἰσχυρὸν τὸ ἐναντίον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καθιστᾶσιν οἱ δημοτικοί. [5] ἐστὶ δὲ πάσῃ γῇ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐναντίον τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς βελτίστοις ἐνὶ ἀκολασίᾳ τε ὀλιγίστη καὶ ἀδικία, ἀκρίβεια δὲ πλείστη εἰς τὰ χρηστά, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἀμαθία τε πλείστη καὶ ἀταξία καὶ πονηρία: ἢ τε γὰρ πενία αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἄγει ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἡ ἀπαιδευσία καὶ ἡ ἀμαθία <ἢ> δι' ἔνδειαν χρημάτων ἐνίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων. [6] — εἴποι δ' ἂν τις ὥς ἐχρῆν αὐτοὺς μὴ ἔαν λέγειν

πάντας ἐξῆς μηδὲ βουλεύειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δεξιωτάτους καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους. οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἄριστα βουλεύονται ἐὼντες καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς λέγειν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἱ χρηστοὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο, τοῖς ὁμοίοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀγαθὰ, τοῖς δὲ δημοτικοῖς οὐκ ἀγαθὰ· νῦν δὲ λέγων ὁ βουλόμενος ἀναστάς, ἄνθρωπος πονηρός, ἐξευρίσκει τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῷ. [7] εἴποι τις ἄν, — τί ἂν οὖν γνοίῃ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἢ τῷ δήμῳ τοιοῦτος ἄνθρωπος; οἱ δὲ γινώσκουσιν ὅτι ἢ τούτου ἀμαθία καὶ πονηρία καὶ εὐνοια μᾶλλον λυσιτελεῖ ἢ ἢ τοῦ χρηστοῦ ἀρετὴ καὶ σοφία καὶ κακόννοια. [8] εἴη μὲν οὖν ἂν πόλις οὐκ ἀπὸ τοιούτων διαιτημάτων ἢ βελτίστη, ἀλλ' ἢ δημοκρατία μάλιστ' ἂν σφῶζοιτο οὕτως. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος βούλεται οὐκ εὐνομουμένης τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸς δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος εἶναι καὶ ἄρχειν, τῆς δὲ κακονομίας αὐτῷ ὀλίγον μέλει· ὁ γὰρ σὺ νομίζεις οὐκ εὐνομεῖσθαι, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τούτου ἰσχύει ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἐλεύθερός ἐστιν. [9] εἰ δ' εὐνομίαν ζητεῖς, πρῶτα μὲν ὅψει τοὺς δεξιωτάτους αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους τιθέντας· ἔπειτα κολάσουσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ βουλεύσουσιν οἱ χρηστοὶ περὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὐκ ἐάσουσι μαινομένους ἀνθρώπους βουλεύειν οὐδὲ λέγειν οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιάζειν. ἀπὸ τούτων τοίνυν τῶν ἀγαθῶν τάχιστ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος εἰς δουλείαν καταπέσοι. [10]

τῶν δούλων δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλείστη ἐστὶν Ἀθήνησιν ἀκολασία, καὶ οὔτε πατάξαι ἔξεστιν αὐτόθι οὔτε ὑπεκστήσεται σοι ὁ δοῦλος. οὗ δ' ἔνεκέν ἐστι τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον ἐγὼ φράσω. εἰ νόμος ἦν τὸν δοῦλον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐλευθέρου τύπτεσθαι ἢ τὸν μέτοικον ἢ τὸν ἀπελευθέρον, πολλάκις ἂν οἰηθεῖς εἶναι τὸν Ἀθηναῖον δοῦλον ἐπάταξεν ἄν· ἐσθῆτά τε γὰρ οὐδὲν βελτίων ὁ δῆμος αὐτόθι ἢ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι καὶ τὰ εἶδη οὐδὲν βελτίους εἰσίν. [11] εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάζει, ὅτι ἐῷσι τοὺς δούλους τρυφᾶν αὐτόθι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς διαιτᾶσθαι ἐνίοις, καὶ τοῦτο γνώμη φανεῖεν ἂν ποιοῦντες. ὅπου γὰρ ναυτικὴ δύναμις ἐστίν, ἀπὸ χρημάτων ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις δουλεύειν, ἵνα λαμβάνωμεν <ῶν> πράττη τὰς ἀποφοράς, καὶ ἐλευθέρους ἀφιέναι. ὅπου δ' εἰσὶ πλούσιοι δοῦλοι, οὐκ ἐτι ἐνταῦθα λυσιτελεῖ τὸν ἐμὸν δοῦλον σὲ δεδιέναι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαιμόνι ὁ ἐμὸς δοῦλος σ' ἐδεδοίκει· ἐὰν δὲ δεδίῃ ὁ σὸς δοῦλος ἐμέ, κινδυνεύσει καὶ τὰ χρήματα διδόναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ὥστε μὴ κινδυνεύειν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ. [12] διὰ τούτ' οὖν ἰσηγορίαν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις πρὸς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἐποιήσαμεν — καὶ τοῖς μετοίκους πρὸς τοὺς

ἀστούς, διότι δεῖται ἡ πόλις μετοίκων διὰ τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ναυτικόν· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν καὶ τοῖς μετοίκοις εἰκότως τὴν ἰσηγορίαν ἐποιήσαμεν. [13]

τοὺς δὲ γυμναζομένους αὐτόθι καὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἐπιτηδεύοντας καταλέλυκεν ὁ δῆμος, νομίζων τοῦτο οὐ καλὸν εἶναι, γνούς ὅτι οὐ δυνατός ταῦτά ἐστιν ἐπιτηδεύειν. ἐν ταῖς χορηγίαις αὖ καὶ γυμνασιαρχαῖς καὶ τριηραρχαῖς γινώσκουσιν ὅτι χορηγοῦσι μὲν οἱ πλούσιοι, χορηγεῖται δὲ ὁ δῆμος, καὶ γυμνασιαρχοῦσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ τριηραρχοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος τριηραρχεῖται καὶ γυμνασιαρχεῖται. ἀξιοὶ γοῦν ἀργύριον λαμβάνειν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἄδων καὶ τρέχων καὶ ὀρχούμενος καὶ πλέων ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ἵνα αὐτός τε ἔχη καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι πενέστεροι γίνωνται. ἐν τε τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὐ τοῦ δικαίου αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει ἢ τοῦ αὐτοῖς συμφόρου. [14]

περὶ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων, ὅτι ἐκπλέοντες συκοφαντοῦσιν ὥς δοκοῦσι καὶ μισοῦσι τοὺς χρηστούς, — γινώσκοντες ὅτι μισεῖσθαι μὲν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἄρχοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχομένου, εἰ δὲ ἰσχύσουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ χρηστοὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὀλίγιστον χρόνον ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔσται τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθήνησι, διὰ ταῦτα οὖν τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἀτιμοῦσι καὶ χρήματα ἀφαιροῦνται καὶ ἐξελαύνονται καὶ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς αὖξουσιν. οἱ δὲ χρηστοὶ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἐν ταῖς συμμαχίσι πόλεσι σφάζουσι, γινώσκοντες ὅτι σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν ἐστὶ τοὺς βελτίστους σφάζειν αἰεὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. [15] εἴποι δέ τις ἂν ὅτι ἰσχύς ἐστὶν αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, ἐὰν οἱ σύμμαχοι δυνατόι ᾧσι χρήματα εἰσφέρειν. τοῖς δὲ δημοτικοῖς δοκεῖ μείζον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὰ τῶν συμμάχων χρήματα ἕνα ἕκαστον Ἀθηναίων ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ὅσον ζῆν, καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀδυνάτους ὄντας ἐπιβουλεύειν. [16]

δοκεῖ δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἐν τῷδε κακῶς βουλευέσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς συμμάχους ἀναγκάζουσι πλεῖν ἐπὶ δίκας Ἀθήναζε. οἱ δὲ ἀντιλογίζονται ὅσα ἐν τούτῳ ἔνι ἀγαθὰ τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πρυτανείων τὸν μισθὸν δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ λαμβάνειν· εἴτ' οἴκοι καθήμενοι ἄνευ νεῶν ἔκπλου διοικοῦσι τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ δήμου σφάζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ἀπολλύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις· εἰ δὲ οἴκοι εἶχον ἕκαστοι τὰς δίκας, ἅτε ἀχθόμενοι Ἀθηναίοις τούτους ἂν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπάλλυσαν οἵτινες φίλοι μάλιστα ἦσαν Ἀθηναίων τῷ δήμῳ. [17] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τάδε κερδαίνει τῶν δικῶν Ἀθήνησιν οὐσῶν

τοῖς συμμάχοις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἑκατοστή τῇ πόλει πλείων ἢ ἐν Πειραιεῖ: [18] ἔπειτα εἴ τῳ συνοικία ἐστίν, ἄμεινον πράττει: ἔπειτα εἴ τῳ ζεῦγός ἐστιν ἢ ἀνδράποδον μισθοφοροῦν: ἔπειτα οἱ κήρυκες ἄμεινον πράττουσι διὰ τὰς ἐπιδημίας τὰς τῶν συμμάχων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, εἰ μὲν μὴ ἐπὶ δίκας ἦσαν οἱ σύμμαχοι, τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας Ἀθηναίων ἐτίμων ἂν μόνους, τοὺς τε στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ πρέσβεις: νῦν δ' ἠνάγκασται τὸν δῆμον κολακεύειν τὸν Ἀθηναίων εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν συμμάχων, γινώσκων ὅτι δεῖ [μὲν] ἀφικόμενον Ἀθήναζε δίκην δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, ὅς ἐστι δὴ νόμος Ἀθήνησι: καὶ ἀντιβολῆσαι ἀναγκάζεται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ εἰσιόντος του ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς χειρός. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν οἱ σύμμαχοι δοῦλοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων καθεστᾶσι μᾶλλον. [19]

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διὰ τὴν κτῆσιν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερορίοις καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρχὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν λελήθασι μανθάνοντες ἐλαύνειν τῇ κόπῃ αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἀκόλουθοι: ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἄνθρωπον πολλάκις πλέοντα κόπην λαβεῖν καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην, καὶ ὀνόματα μαθεῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ ναυτικῇ: [20] καὶ κυβερνήται ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται δι' ἐμπειρίαν τε τῶν πλόων καὶ διὰ μελέτην: ἐμελέτησαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοῖον κυβερνῶντες, οἱ δὲ ὀλκάδα, οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τριήρεσι κατέστησαν: οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ ἐλαύνειν εὐθὺς [ὥς] οἷοί τε εἰσβάντες εἰς ναῦς, ἅτε ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ προμεμελετηκότες.

τὸ δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς, ὃ ἥκιστα δοκεῖ εὖ ἔχειν Ἀθήνησιν, οὕτω κατέστηκεν, καὶ τῶν μὲν πολεμίων ἦττους τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦνται εἶναι καὶ ὀλείζουσ, τῶν δὲ συμμάχων, οἱ φέρουσι τὸν φόρον, καὶ κατὰ γῆν κρατιστεύουσιν, καὶ νομίζουσι τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἀρκεῖν, εἰ τῶν συμμάχων κρείττονές εἰσι. [2] πρὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ τύχην τι αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον κατέστηκε: τοῖς μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχομένοις οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν ἐκ μικρῶν πόλεων συνοικισθέντας ἀθρόους μάχεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχομένοις, ὅσοι νησιῶταί εἰσιν, οὐχ οἷόν τε συνάρασθαι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰς πόλεις: ἡ γὰρ θάλαττα ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, οἱ δὲ κρατοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορές εἰσιν: εἰ δ' οἷόν τε καὶ λαθεῖν συνελθοῦσιν εἰς ταῦτό τοις νησιώταις εἰς μίαν νῆσον, ἀπολοῦνται λιμῷ: [3] ὁπόσαι δ' ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ εἰσὶ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόμεναι, αἱ μὲν μεγάλαι διὰ δέος ἄρχονται, αἱ δὲ μικραὶ πάνυ διὰ χρεῖαν: οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πόλις οὐδεμία ἣτις οὐ δεῖται εἰσάγεσθαι τι ἢ ἐξάγεσθαι. ταῦτα τοίνυν οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῇ, ἐὰν μὴ ὑπήκοος ᾖ τῶν ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης. [4]

ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῆς θαλάττης οἷόν τ' ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἅπερ τοῖς τῆς γῆς ἐνίοτε, τέμνειν τὴν γῆν τῶν κρειπτόνων: παραπλεῖν γὰρ ἔξεστιν ὅπου ἂν μηδεὶς ἢ πολέμιος ἢ ὅπου ἂν ὀλίγοι, ἐὰν δὲ προσίωσιν, ἀναβάντα ἀποπλεῖν: καὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἥττον ἀπορεῖ ἢ ὁ πεζῇ παραβοηθῶν. [5] ἔπειτα δὲ τοῖς μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἄρχουσιν οἷόν τ' ἀποπλεῦσαι ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν ὁπόσον βούλει πλοῦν, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ γῆν οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν ἀπελθεῖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν: βραδεῖαί τε γὰρ αἱ πορεῖαι καὶ σῖτον οὐχ οἷόν τε ἔχειν πολλοῦ χρόνου πεζῇ ἰόντα. καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζῇ ἰόντα δεῖ διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι ἢ νικᾶν μαχόμενον, τὸν δὲ πλέοντα, οὗ μὲν ἂν ἢ κρείττων, ἔξεστιν ἀποβῆναι, <οὗ δ' ἂν μὴ ἢ, μὴ ἀποβῆναι> ταύτη τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ παραπλεῦσαι, ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ φιλίαν χώραν ἀφίκηται ἢ ἐπὶ ἥττους αὐτοῦ. [6] ἔπειτα νόσους τῶν καρπῶν αἱ ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν οἱ μὲν κατὰ γῆν κράτιστοι χαλεπῶς φέρουσιν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν ῥαδίως. οὐ γὰρ ἅμα πᾶσα γῆ νοσεῖ: ὥστε ἐκ τῆς εὐθηνούσης ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσιν. [7]

εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ σμικροτέρων μνησθῆναι, διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης πρῶτον μὲν τρόπων εὐωχιῶν ἐξηῦρον ἐπιμισγόμενοι ἄλλη ἄλλοις: <ὥστε> ὅ τι ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἢ δὴ ἢ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἢ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἢ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἢ ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἢ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἢ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἢ ἄλλοθί που, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς ἐν ἡθροισται διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς θαλάττης. [8] ἔπειτα φωνὴν πᾶσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς: καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ φωνῇ καὶ διαίτῃ καὶ σχήματι χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κεκραμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. [9]

θυσιάς δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐορτὰς καὶ τεμένη γνοὺς ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τε ἐστὶν ἐκάστῳ τῶν πενήτων θύειν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ ἵστασθαι ἱερὰ καὶ πόλιν οἰκεῖν καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην, ἐξηῦρεν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἔσται ταῦτα. θύουσιν οὖν δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἢ πόλιν ἱερεῖα πολλά: ἔστι δὲ ὁ δῆμος ὁ εὐωχούμενος καὶ διαλαγχάνων τὰ ἱερεῖα. [10] καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρὰ καὶ ἀποδυτήρια τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ἔστιν ἰδίᾳ ἐνίοις, ὁ δὲ δῆμος αὐτὸς αὐτῷ οἰκοδομεῖται ἰδίᾳ παλαιστρας πολλὰς, ἀποδυτήρια, λουτρῶνας: καὶ πλείω τούτων ἀπολαύει ὁ ὄχλος ἢ οἱ ὀλίγοι καὶ οἱ εὐδαίμονες. [11]

τὸν δὲ πλοῦτον μόνοι οἰοῖ τ' εἰσὶν ἔχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων. εἰ γάρ τις πόλιν πλουτεῖ ξύλοις ναυπηγησίμοις, ποῖ διαθήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς θαλάττης; τί δ' εἴ τις

σιδήρῳ ἢ χαλκῷ ἢ λίνῳ πλουτεῖ πόλις, ποῖ διαθήσεται, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς θαλάττης; ἐξ αὐτῶν μέντοι τούτων καὶ δὴ νῆές μοί εἰσι, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ ξύλα, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ σίδηρος, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ χαλκός, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ λίνον, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ κηρός. [12] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλοσε ἄγειν οὐκ ἐάσουσιν οἵτινες ἀντίπαλοι ἡμῖν εἰσιν ἢ οὐ χρῆσονται τῇ θαλάττῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν ποιῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα ταῦτα ἔχω διὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ἄλλη δ' οὐδεμία πόλις δύο τούτων ἔχει, οὐδ' ἔστι τῇ αὐτῇ ξύλα καὶ λίνον, ἀλλ' ὅπου λίνον ἐστὶ πλεῖστον, λεία χώρα καὶ ἄξυλος: οὐδὲ χαλκός καὶ σίδηρος ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ τᾶλλα δύο ἢ τρία μιᾷ πόλει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῇ, τὸ δὲ τῇ. [13]

ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις παρὰ πᾶσαν ἡπειρόν ἐστιν ἡ ἄκτῃ προύχουσα ἢ νῆσος προκειμένη ἢ στενόπορόν τι: ὥστε ἔξεστιν ἐνταῦθα ἐφορμοῦσι τοῖς τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχουσι λωβᾶσθαι τοὺς τὴν ἡπειρον οἰκοῦντας. [14] ἐνὸς δὲ ἐνδεεῖς εἰσιν: εἰ γὰρ νῆσον οἰκοῦντες θαλασσοκράτορες ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπῆρχεν ἂν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν μὲν κακῶς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, πάσχειν δὲ μηδέν, ἕως τῆς θαλάττης ἦρχον, μηδὲ τμηθῆναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν μηδὲ προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους: νῦν δὲ οἱ γεωργοῦντες καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπέρχονται τοὺς πολεμίους μᾶλλον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος, ἅτε εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐδὲν τῶν σφῶν ἐμπρήσουσιν οὐδὲ τεμοῦσιν, ἀδεῶς ζῇ καὶ οὐχ ὑπερχόμενος αὐτούς. [15] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐτέρου δέους ἀπηλλαγμένοι ἂν ἦσαν, εἰ νῆσον ᾧκουν, μηδέποτε προδοθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' ὀλίγων μηδὲ πύλας ἀνοιχθῆναι μηδὲ πολεμίους ἐπεισπεσεῖν: πῶς γὰρ νῆσον οἰκούντων ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγίγνετο; μηδ' αὖ στασιάσαι τῷ δήμῳ μηδέν, εἰ νῆσον ᾧκουν: νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰ στασιάσαιεν, ἐλπίδα ἂν ἔχοντες ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις στασιάσειαν, ὡς κατὰ γῆν ἐπαξόμενοι: εἰ δὲ νῆσον ᾧκουν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἂν ἀδεῶς εἶχεν αὐτοῖς. [16] ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔτυχον οἰκήσαντες νῆσον, νῦν τάδε ποιοῦσι: τὴν μὲν οὐσίαν ταῖς νήσοις παρατίθενται, πιστεύοντες τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ κατὰ θάλατταν, τὴν δὲ Ἀττικὴν γῆν περιορῶσι τεμνομένην, γινώσκοντες ὅτι εἰ αὐτὴν ἐλεήσουσιν, ἐτέρων ἀγαθῶν μειζόνων στερήσονται. [17]

ἔτι δὲ συμμαχίας καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους ταῖς μὲν ὀλιγαρχουμέναις πόλεσιν ἀνάγκη ἐμπεδοῦν: ἦν δὲ μὴ ἐμμένωσι ταῖς συνθήκαις, †ἢ ὑφ' ὅτου ἀδικεῖ† ὀνόματα ἀπὸ τῶν ὀλίγων οἱ συνέθεντο: ἅσσα δ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος σύνθηται, ἔξεστιν αὐτῷ ἐνὶ ἀνατιθέντι τὴν αἰτίαν τῷ λέγοντι καὶ τῷ ἐπιψηφίσαντι ἀρνεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι Οὐ παρὴν οὐδὲ ἀρέσκει ἔμοιγε, ἃ συγκείμενα πυνθάνονται ἐν πλήρει τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ εἰ

μη δόξαι εἶναι ταῦτα, προφάσεις μυρίας ἐξηγήρηκε τοῦ μη ποιεῖν ὅσα ἂν μη βούλωνται. καὶ ἂν μὲν τι κακὸν ἀναβαίνει ἀπὸ ὧν ὁ δῆμος ἐβούλευσεν, αἰτιᾶται ὁ δῆμος ὡς ὀλίγοι ἄνθρωποι αὐτῷ ἀντιπράττοντες διέφθειραν, ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγαθὸν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνατιθέαςι. [18]

κωμωδεῖν δ' αὖ καὶ κακῶς λέγειν τὸν μὲν δῆμον οὐκ ἐῷσιν, ἵνα μη αὐτοὶ ἀκούωσι κακῶς, ἰδίᾳ δὲ κελεύουσιν, εἴ τίς τινα βούλεται, εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὁ κωμωδούμενος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, ἀλλ' ἢ πλούσιος ἢ γενναῖος ἢ δυνάμενος, ὀλίγοι δὲ τινες τῶν πενήτων καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν κωμωδοῦνται, καὶ οὐδ' οὗτοι ἐὰν μη διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην καὶ διὰ τὸ ζητεῖν πλεον τι ἔχειν τοῦ δήμου: ὥστε οὐδὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ἄχθονται κωμωδομένους. [19] φημὶ οὖν ἔγωγε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθήνησι γινώσκειν οἵτινες χρηστοὶ εἰσι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οἵτινες πονηροί: γινώσκοντες δὲ τοὺς μὲν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδείους καὶ συμφόρους φιλοῦσι, κἂν πονηροὶ ᾖσι, τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς μισοῦσι μᾶλλον: οὐ γὰρ νομίζουσι τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῷ σφετέρῳ ἀγαθῷ πεφυκέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ κακῷ: καὶ τοῦναντίον γε τούτου ἔνιοι, ὄντες ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ δήμου, τὴν φύσιν οὐ δημοτικοὶ εἰσι. [20] δημοκρατίαν δ' ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτῷ τῷ δήμῳ συγγινώσκω: αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν παντὶ συγγνώμη ἐστίν: ὅστις δὲ μη ὦν τοῦ δήμου εἴλετο ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει οἰκεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ, ἀδικεῖν παρεσκεύασατο καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι μᾶλλον οἷόν τε διαλαθεῖν κακῷ ὄντι ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ.

καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πολιτείας, τὸν μὲν τρόπον οὐκ ἐπαινῶ: ἐπειδὴ περ δ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι, εὖ μοι δοκοῦσι διασῶζεσθαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ χρώμενοι ὃ ἐγὼ ἐπέδειξα.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ τάδε τινὰς ὁρῶ μεμφομένους Ἀθηναίους, ὅτι ἐνίοτε οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτόθι χρηματίσαι τῇ βουλῇ οὐδὲ τῷ δήμῳ ἐνιαυτὸν καθήμενῳ ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ τοῦτο Ἀθήνησι γίγνεται οὐδὲν δι' ἄλλο ἢ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πραγμάτων οὐχ οἷοί τε πάντα ἀποπέμπειν εἰσὶ χρηματίσαντες. [2] πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ οἷοί τε εἶεν, οὐστinas πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ ἑορτάσαι ἑορτὰς ὅσας οὐδεμία τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων (ἐν δὲ ταύταις ἥττον τινα δυνατόν ἐστι διαπράττεσθαι τῶν τῆς πόλεως), ἔπειτα δὲ δίκας καὶ γραφὰς καὶ εὐθύνας ἐκδικάζειν ὅσας οὐδ' οἱ σύμπαντες ἄνθρωποι ἐκδικάζουσι, τὴν δὲ βουλήν βουλευέσθαι πολλὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ πόρου χρημάτων, πολλὰ

δὲ περὶ νόμων θέσεως, πολλὰ δὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν αἰι
γιγνομένων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ <περὶ τῶν ἐν> τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ φόρον
δέξασθαι καὶ νεωρίων ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ ἱερῶν; ἄρα δὴ τι θαυμαστόν
ἐστίν, εἰ τοσούτων ὑπαρχόντων πραγμάτων μὴ οἷοί τ' εἰσὶ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις χρηματίζει; λέγουσι δέ τινες, [3] — ἦν τις ἀργύριον ἔχων
προσίη πρὸς βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον, χρηματιεῖται. ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις
ὁμολογήσαιμ' ἂν ἀπὸ χρημάτων πολλὰ διαπράττεσθαι Ἀθήνησι, καὶ
ἔτι ἂν πλείω διαπράττεσθαι, εἰ πλείους ἔτι ἐδίδοσαν ἀργύριον: τοῦτο
μέντοι εὖ οἶδα, διότι πᾶσι διαπρᾶξαι ἢ πόλις ... τῶν δεομένων οὐχ
ἱκανή, οὐδ' εἰ ὀποσονοῦν χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον διδοίη τις αὐτοῖς. [4]
δεῖ δὲ καὶ τάδε διαδικάζειν, εἴ τις τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισκευάζει ἢ
κατοικοδομεῖ τι δημόσιον: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι εἰς
Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια καὶ Παναθήναια καὶ Προμήθια καὶ Ἡφαίστια
ὅσα ἔτη: καὶ τριήραρχοι καθίστανται τετρακόσιοι ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ,
καὶ τούτων τοῖς βουλομένοις <δεῖ> διαδικάσαι ὅσα ἔτη: πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις ἀρχὰς δοκιμάσαι καὶ διαδικάσαι καὶ ὀρφανοὺς δοκιμάσαι καὶ
φύλακας δεσμοτῶν καταστῆσαι. [5] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅσα ἔτη: διὰ
χρόνου δὲ δικάσαι δεῖ ἴστρατιᾶς καὶ ἐάν τι ἄλλο ἐξαπιναῖον ἀδίκημα
γίγνηται, ἐάν τε ὑβρίζωσί τινες ἄηθες ὑβρισμα ἐάν τε ἀσεβήσωσι.
πολλὰ ἔτι πάνυ παραλείπω: τὸ δὲ μέγιστον εἴρηται πλὴν αἱ τάξεις τοῦ
φόρου: τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου. φέρε δὴ
τοῖνυν, ταῦτα οὐκ οἶεσθαι <χρή> χρῆναι διαδικάζειν ἅπαντα; [6]
εἰπάτω γάρ τις ὃ τι οὐ χρῆν αὐτόθι διαδικάζεσθαι. εἰ δ' αὖ ὁμολογεῖν
δεῖ ἅπαντα χρῆναι διαδικάζειν, ἀνάγκη δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ: ὡς οὐδὲ νῦν δι'
ἐνιαυτοῦ δικάζοντες ὑπάρχουσιν ὥστε παύειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑπὸ
τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. [7] φέρε δὴ, ἀλλὰ φήσει τις χρῆναι
δικάζειν μὲν, ἐλάττους δὲ δικάζειν. ἀνάγκη τοῖνυν, ἐὰν μὴ ὀλίγα
ποιῶνται δικαστήρια, ὀλίγοι ἐν ἐκάστῳ ἔσονται τῷ δικαστηρίῳ: ὥστε
καὶ διασκευάσασθαι ῥάδιον ἔσται πρὸς ὀλίγους δικαστὰς καὶ
συνδεκάσαι πολὺ ἥττον δικαίως δικάζειν. [8] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἶεσθαι
χρῆ καὶ ἐορτὰς ἄγειν χρῆναι Ἀθηναίους, ἐν αἷς οὐχ οἷόν τε δικάζειν.
καὶ ἄγουσι μὲν ἐορτὰς διπλασίους ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι: ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν τίθημι
ἴσας τῇ ὀλιγίστας ἀγοῦση πόλει.

τούτων τοῖνυν τοιούτων ὄντων οὐ φημι οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἄλλως ἔχειν
τὰ πράγματα Ἀθήνησιν ἢ ὥσπερ νῦν ἔχει, πλὴν ἢ κατὰ μικρόν τι οἷόν
τε τὸ μὲν ἀφελεῖν τὸ δὲ προσθεῖναι: πολὺ δ' οὐχ οἷόν τε μετακινεῖν,
ὥστε μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀφαιρεῖν τι. [9] ὥστε μὲν γὰρ βέλτιον

ἔχειν τὴν πολιτείαν, οἷόν τε πολλὰ ἐξευρεῖν, ὥστε μέντοι ὑπάρχειν μὲν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, ἀρκούντως δὲ τοῦτο ἐξευρεῖν, ὅπως βέλτιον πολιτεύσονται, οὐ ῥάδιον, πλὴν, ὅπερ ἄρτι εἶπον, κατὰ μικρόν τι προσθέντα ἢ ἀφελόντα. [10]

δοκοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοῦτό μοι οὐκ ὀρθῶς βουλευέσθαι, ὅτι τοὺς χεῖρους αἰροῦνται ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς στασιαζούσαις. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο γνώμη ποιοῦσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἤροῦντο τοὺς βελτίους, ἤροῦντ' ἂν οὐχὶ τοὺς ταῦτά γινώσκοντας σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ πόλει τὸ βέλτιστον εὖνουν ἐστὶ τῷ δήμῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸ κάκιστον ἐν ἐκάστη ἐστὶ πόλει εὖνουν τῷ δήμῳ: οἱ γὰρ ὅμοιοι τοῖς ὁμοίοις εὖνοί εἰσι. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσήκοντα αἰροῦνται. [11] ὁποσάκις δ' ἐπεχείρησαν αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς βελτίστους, οὐ συνήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ὁ δῆμος ἐδούλευσεν ὁ ἐν Βοιωτοῖς: τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε Μιλησίων εἵλοντο τοὺς βελτίστους, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου ἀποστάντες τὸν δῆμον κατέκοψαν: τοῦτο δὲ ὅτε εἵλοντο Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Μεσσηνίων, ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου Λακεδαιμόνιοι καταστρεψάμενοι Μεσσηνίους ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναίοις. [12]

ὑπολάβοι δέ τις ἂν ὥς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ἀδίκως ἡτίμωται Ἀθήνησιν. ἐγὼ δέ φημί τινες εἶναι οἱ ἀδίκως ἡτίμωνται. ὀλίγοι μέντοι τινές <εἰσιν>: ἀλλ' οὐκ ὀλίγων δεῖ τῶν ἐπιθησομένων τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ τῇ Ἀθήνησιν, [13] ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐδὲν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπους οἵτινες δικαίως ἡτίμωνται, ἀλλ' εἴ τινες ἀδίκως. πῶς ἂν οὖν ἀδίκως οἰοιτό τις ἂν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἡτιμῶσθαι Ἀθήνησιν, ὅπου ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὁ ἄρχων τὰς ἀρχάς; ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μὴ δικαίως ἄρχειν μηδὲ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια <μηδὲ> πράττειν, ἐκ τοιούτων ἄτιμοί εἰσιν Ἀθήνησι. ταῦτα χρὴ λογιζόμενον μὴ νομίζειν εἶναί τι δεινὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτίμων Ἀθήνησιν.

The Biographies



Mantineia, Arcadia — as Xenophon's son Gryllus fought and died for Athens at the Battle of Mantinea while the author was still alive, some historians believe his banishment may have been revoked and that he returned to Athens before his death.

LIFE OF XENOPHON by Diogenes Laërtius



Translated by Robert Drew Hicks

48. Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was a citizen of Athens and belonged to the deme Erchia; he was a man of rare modesty and extremely handsome. The story goes that Socrates met him in a narrow passage, and that he stretched out his stick to bar the way, while he inquired where every kind of food was sold. Upon receiving a reply, he put another question, "And where do men become good and honourable?" Xenophon was fairly puzzled; "Then follow me," said Socrates, "and learn." From that time onward he was a pupil of Socrates. He was the first to take notes of, and to give to the world, the conversation of Socrates, under the title of *Memorabilia*. Moreover, he was the first to write a history of philosophers.

Aristippus, in the fourth book of his work *On the Luxury of the Ancients*, declares that he was enamoured of Clinias, 49. and said in reference to him, "It is sweeter for me to gaze on Clinias than on all the fair sights in the world. I would be content to be blind to everything else if I could but gaze on him alone. I am vexed with the night and with sleep because I cannot see Clinias, and most grateful to the day and the sun for showing him to me."

He gained the friendship of Cyrus in the following way. He had an intimate friend named Proxenus, a Boeotian, a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini and a friend of Cyrus. Proxenus, while living in Sardis at the court of Cyrus, wrote a letter to Xenophon at Athens, inviting him to come and seek the friendship of Cyrus. 50. Xenophon showed this letter to Socrates and asked his advice, which was that he should go to Delphi and consult the oracle. Xenophon complied and came into the presence of the god. He inquired, not *whether* he should go and seek service with Cyrus, but *in what way* he should do so. For this Socrates blamed him, yet at the same time he advised him to go.

On his arrival at the court of Cyrus he became as warmly attached to him as Proxenus himself. We have his own sufficient narrative of all that happened on the expedition and on the return home. He was, however, at enmity with Meno of Pharsalus, the mercenary general, throughout the expedition, and, by way of abuse, charges him with having a favourite older than himself. Again, he reproaches one Apollonides with having had his ears bored.

51. After the expedition and the misfortunes which overtook it in Pontus and the treacheries of Seuthes, the king of the Odrysians, he returned to Asia, having enlisted the troops of Cyrus as mercenaries in the service of Agesilaus, the Spartan king, to whom he was devoted beyond measure. About this time he was banished by the Athenians for siding with Sparta. When he was in Ephesus and had a sum of money, he entrusted one half of it to Megabyzus, the priest of Artemis, to keep until his return, or if he should never return, to apply to the erection of a statue in honour of the goddess. But the other half he sent in votive offerings to Delphi. Next he came to Greece with Agesilaus, who had been recalled to carry on the war against Thebes. And the Lacedaemonians conferred on him a privileged position.

52. He then left Agesilaus and made his way to Scillus, a place in the territory of Elis not far from the city. According to Demetrius of Magnesia he was accompanied by his wife Philesia, and, in a speech written for the freedman whom Xenophon prosecuted for neglect of duty, Dinarchus mentions that his two sons Gryllus and Diodorus, the Dioscuri as they were called, also went with him. Megabyzus having arrived to attend the festival, Xenophon received from him the deposit of money and bought and dedicated to the goddess an estate with a river running through, which bears the same name Selinus as the river at Ephesus. And from that time onward he hunted, entertained his friends, and worked at his histories without interruption. Dinarchus, however, asserts that it was the Lacedaemonians who gave him a house and land.

53. At the same time we are told that Phylopidas the Spartan sent to him at Scillus a present of captive slaves from Dardanus, and that he disposed of them as he thought fit, and that the Elians marched against Scillus, and owing to the slowness of the Spartans captured

the place, whereupon his sons retired to Lepreum with a few of the servants, while Xenophon himself, who had previously gone to Elis, went next to Lepreum to join his sons, and then made his escape with them from Lepreum to Corinth and took up his abode there. Meanwhile the Athenians passed a decree to assist Sparta, and Xenophon sent his sons to Athens to serve in the army in defence of Sparta. 54. According to Diocles in his *Lives of the Philosophers*, they had been trained in Sparta itself. Diodorus came safe out of the battle without performing any distinguished service, and he had a son of the same name (Gryllus) as his brother. Gryllus was posted with the cavalry and, in the battle which took place about Mantinea, fought stoutly and fell, as Ephorus relates in his twenty-fifth book, Cephisodorus being in command of the cavalry and Hegesilaus commander-in-chief. In this battle Epaminondas also fell. On this occasion Xenophon is said to have been sacrificing, with a chaplet on his head, which he removed when his son's death was announced. But afterwards, upon learning that he had fallen gloriously, he replaced the chaplet on his head. 55. Some say that he did not even shed tears, but exclaimed, "I knew my son was mortal." Aristotle mentions that there were innumerable authors of epitaphs and eulogies upon Gryllus, who wrote, in part at least, to gratify his father. Hermippus too, in his *Life of Theophrastus*, affirms that even Isocrates wrote an encomium on Gryllus. Timon, however, jeers at Xenophon in the lines:

A feeble pair or triad of works, or even a greater number, such as would come from Xenophon or the might of Aeschines, that not unpersuasive writer.

Such was his life. He flourished in the fourth year of the 94th Olympiad, and he took part in the expedition of Cyrus in the archonship of Xenaenetus in the year before the death of Socrates.

56. He died, according to Ctesiclides of Athens in his list of archons and Olympic victors, in the first year of the 105th Olympiad, in the archonship of Callidemides, the year in which Philip, the son of Amyntas, came to the throne of Macedon. He died at Corinth, as is stated by Demetrius of Magnesia, obviously at an advanced age. He was a worthy man in general, particularly fond of horses and hunting, an able tactician as is clear from his writings, pious, fond of

sacrificing, and an expert in augury from the victims; and he made Socrates his exact model.

He wrote some forty books in all, though the division into books is not always the same, namely:

- 57. The Anabasis, with a preface to each separate book but not one to the whole work.
- Cyropaedia.
- Hellenica.
- Memorabilia.
- Symposium.
- Oeconomicus.
- On Horsemanship.
- On Hunting.
- On the Duty of a Cavalry General.
- A Defence of Socrates.
- On Revenues.
- Hieron or Of Tyranny.
- Agesilaus.
- The Constitutions of Athens and Sparta.

Demetrius of Magnesia denies that the last of these works is by Xenophon. There is a tradition that he made Thucydides famous by publishing his history, which was unknown, and which he might have appropriated to his own use. By the sweetness of his narrative he earned the name of the Attic Muse. Hence he and Plato were jealous of each other, as will be stated in the chapter on Plato.

58. There is an epigram of mine on him also:

Up the steep path to fame toiled Xenophon
In that long march of glorious memories;
In deeds of Greece, how bright his lesson shone!
How fair was wisdom seen in Socrates!

There is another on the circumstances of his death:

Albeit the countrymen of Cranaus and Cecrops condemned thee,
Xenophon, to exile on account of thy friendship for Cyrus, yet
hospitable Corinth welcomed thee, so well content with the delights

of that city wast thou, and there didst resolve to take up thy rest.

59. In other authorities I find the statement that he flourished, along with the other Socratics, in the 89th Olympiad, and Istrus affirms that he was banished by a decree of Eubulus and recalled by a decree of the same man.

There have been seven Xenophons: the first our subject himself; the second an Athenian, brother of Pythostratus, who wrote the *Theseid*, and himself the author, amongst other works, of a biography of Epaminondas and Pelopidas; the third a physician of Cos; the fourth the author of a history of Hannibal; the fifth an authority on legendary marvels; the sixth a sculptor, of Paros; the seventh a poet of the Old Comedy.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF XENOPHON

by Edward Spelman



XENOPHON was the son of Gryllus, an Athenian: he was born at Athens, and distinguished himself as a philosopher, a general, and an historian. Much uncertainty however exists concerning his origin and earliest years; yet from his connexions and resources he must have been well born and well educated. He was exquisitely formed, and so engaging in his manners, that Socrates was induced to admit him among his disciples. It is said that Socrates, meeting him in a narrow gateway, extended his walking-stick across it, so as to obstruct his passage, inquiring how a man could acquire the means of profit? and on receiving a suitable reply, he inquired farther, how men could attain to virtue and honor? Xenophon being at a loss for an *answer*; *the philosopher* added, "Follow me and learn." From this time he entered under his tuition, and became eminently qualified for all the offices of public as well as private life. Having accompanied Socrates in the Peloponnesian war, and manifested his valor, he was invited by Proxenus his friend to join Cyrus, who was engaged in an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, king of Persia; but he refused to comply till he could confer with Socrates, who advised him to consult the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. This he did, but merely put the question, under what auspices and with what sacrifices he should prepare for the expedition; to which a favorable answer having been returned, he informed Socrates of the result, who, after mildly reproving him for his departure from the advice he had solicited, bid him set out under the direction of the God. Xenophon paid due deference to these injunctions; but being ambitious, and eager to engage in a distant expedition, he hastened to Sardis, where he was introduced to Cyrus the young prince, and treated with great attention. In the army he showed that he was a true disciple of Socrates, and that he had been educated in the warlike city of Athens.

The particulars of the March of Cyrus are indeed so minutely described in the 'ANABASIS,' with reference to the topography and natural history of the various districts through which he travelled, that it has been thought he was advised, in his last interview with Socrates, to write the account.

The time for action now approaching, Cyrus took care to animate his Grecian troops by renewed and splendid promises, and to warn them of the immense superiority of numbers with which they would have to contend, encouraging them at the same time with assurances that they would find the Persian soldiers less than women.

Cyrus assigned the Greeks a position on the right of his army, flanked by the Euphrates, and directed Clearchus to command their right wing, and Menon the left. And here for the first time Xenophon makes mention of himself. Cyrus rode along at a moderate distance surveying both armies, looking now at the enemy, now at his friends. Xenophon seeing him from the Grecian line, rode out to meet him, and inquired if he had any commands for him. Stopping his horse, Cyrus desired him to tell them all, that the sacrifices and victims were favorable. While he was saying this, he heard a clamor through the ranks, and asked what it was. Xenophon told him that they were exchanging a fresh watch-word. He wondered who could have given it out, and asked what it might be. Xenophon replied, that it was 'Jupiter the Preserver, and Victory.' Cyrus having heard it, said, 'I agree to it; let it be so and having said this, rode off to his station.

The minuteness with which a circumstance, in itself so little important, is related, is highly characteristic of a young man ambitious of notice and gratified by the honor conferred on him. At the same time it seems to imply that Xenophon had hitherto taken no part in the conduct of the army, and had not been invited to the councils of the prince; for had he been accustomed to converse familiarly with Cyrus, he would scarcely have recorded the present interview.

The battle of Cunaxa, which followed immediately after the anecdote that has just been related, in which Cyrus was slain and his army completely defeated by Artaxerxes, belongs to the history of Persia rather than to the life of Xenophon. The native troops in the army of Cyrus were totally routed; but in that part of the field in

which the Greeks fought, the forces of Artaxerxes were put to flight in every direction, and *almost without* resistance. These last were pursued until the Grecians, wearied with slaughter and fatigue, returned to their camp.

In the mean time, Clearchus was too good a general to neglect provisions for the immediate wants of his army. After dinner, when they were, according to the manner of the Greeks, assembled together to spend the heat of the day in conversation, some heralds arrived from the king and from Tissaphernes, demanding, in the name of the king, that they should ground their arms and surrender at discretion. Clearchus replied; and, among the rest, Xenophon thus addressed the messenger:

‘With us, Phalesius, as you may perceive, nothing is of value but our arms and our honor. As long as we preserve our arms, we can rely on our own valor; but in parting with them, we should be conscious of betraying ourselves. Think not therefore that we will resign our only remaining property, but rather we will use them in fighting for yours.’ Phalesius laughed heartily at this set speech, and replied, ‘You appear to be a scholar, young man, and what you say is pleasant enough; but I would not have your inexperience so much deceive you, as to set your boasted valor against the power of the king.’

After the battle of Cunaxa, and the fall of young Cyrus, the prudence and vigor of his mind were called into action. The Ten Thousand Greeks, who had followed the standard of an ambitious prince, were now above six hundred leagues from their native home, in a country surrounded on every side by a victorious enemy, without money, or provisions, or a leader. All gave themselves up to despair. They felt that they were still two thousand miles from the nearest part of Greece, close to the vast armies of the king, and surrounded on all sides by tribes of hostile barbarians, who would supply them with nothing but at the expense of blows and blood: they had no guide acquainted with the country, no knowledge of the deep and rapid rivers which intersected it, and no cavalry to explore the road, or cover their rear on the march. As if discipline and hope had ended together, the roll-call was scarcely attended to, the watch-fires were scantily, or not at all, supplied, and even their principal meal was

neglected; where chance led, they threw themselves down to rest, but not to sleep — for sleep was banished by thoughts of that country and those friends, whom they now no longer expected, and scarcely dared hope to behold again.

But the army had among them a man, little known indeed, but of far greater talents and bolder energies than any general under whom they had served; and probably the only man who could have extricated them from their present situation of unparalleled danger. Xenophon had hitherto held no rank; had been attached to no division of the army; and had appeared only as the friend of Proxenus. He, like the rest, lay awake, suffering from grief and alarm; but his mind was not of a temperament to suffer without a remedy, and he represents himself as having been encouraged by a dream during a momentary doze, which he has so related and interpreted, as to leave it doubtful whether his remarkable attention to omens and sacrifices was the result of sound policy or of sincere belief. Rousing himself from slumber, he began to reflect on the folly and rashness in which all participated. The night was far spent; the enemy would probably be on them with the dawn; submission could only conduct through suffering to an ignominious death: no one provided for the emergency; despair produced *the* effect of security; and from what people among them, thought he, can I expect a general, fit for this business? or why should I hesitate to act on account of my youth? If I thus give myself up without an effort to the enemy, I shall never reach a more mature age.

Full of these thoughts he rose, and calling together the officers belonging to the division of Proxenus, he set before them in an animated speech, the certain ruin and destruction which must ensue from their submission; the grounds on which he trusted for success, from strenuous exertion and prudent counsel; and concluded with assuring them that he was at their service in any capacity; and that if they thought fit to invest him with the command, his youth should only pledge him to more vigorous exertion. On this, the officers unanimously declared their readiness to serve under him, with the exception of one Apollonides, who, speaking in the Boeotian dialect, recommended that they should seek safety by submitting to the orders of the king. To this proposal Xenophon replied with well-

timed warmth, declaring that sentiments so base ought to be punished by degradation to servile duties; an expression which led to the discovery that the officer in question had actually been a Lydian *slave*, and retained the marks of slavery on his person. He was accordingly cashiered, and the example proved of the greatest advantage; for it infused a new spirit into the rest, who, on the suggestion of Xenophon, immediately proceeded to summon a general council of all the surviving generals and officers, to the number of nearly a hundred. By this time it was midnight, and the Bæotian officers, to save time, requested that Xenophon would open the business, by repeating what he had stated to them.

He accordingly made another judicious and encouraging speech, in which he strongly reprobated the idea of placing the smallest dependence on any thing but their own prudence, courage, and unanimity; and recommended, as the first step towards providing for the expected attack, that they, should instantly proceed to supply by election the places of the commanders whom they had lost.

As soon as it was day, the new commanders, placing pickets in advance, again assembled the army, and exhorted them to take courage, to maintain discipline, and to rely on the favor of the gods, who would not fail to avenge themselves on the perfidious Persians. Xenophon in particular, having armed himself with a splendor becoming his present *rank*, endeavored to inspire sentiments of honor; and fortunately the favorable omen of sternutation occurred in the midst of his speech; on which the soldiers, all with one accord, worshipped Jupiter the Preserver, from whom the omen was reputed to proceed; and Xenophon breaking off his harangue, proposed a sacrifice to the god, desiring those who approved of the motion to hold up their hands: the show of hands being unanimous, the sacrifice was formally vowed, and a hymn sung; after which he resumed his discourse, and at great length set before the army, now full of hope and cheerfulness, the system which they must adopt to insure a safe and honorable return to their native country, and especially enforcing the necessity of a strict adherence to discipline, always the great deficiency of Grecian troops, and of all troops in a retreat, when it becomes doubly necessary. His proposals were unanimously carried, as before, by a show of hands. Thus, without

assuming any superior authority, he in fact acted as commander-in-chief, and was cheerfully obeyed; the whole army feeling that they were indebted to his genius for their present safety, and depending on him for their future hopes.

On one occasion Xenophon, during the Retreat, encouraged the almost broken spirits of the army by relating a dream, the interpretation of which was evidently that he should extricate them from their perilous situation; and soon afterwards he announced information which he had received of a shallower passage lower down, with a landing-place, where the Persian horse would be unable to act against them. The usual sacrifices and libations to the gods having been performed, the whole army sung the pæan, and prepared to cross the river. The Persians, astonished probably at their apparently undiminished numbers and resolution, offered no effectual resistance; and the mountaineers being held in check by the judicious dispositions of Xenophon, made little impression on the rear. So complete indeed was the success, that the first division of the Greeks actually captured some booty from the Persian troops.

In their subsequent march they suffered so dreadfully from snow and frost, that the men fell down benumbed with cold, and the cattle perished. The sufferings of the army became extreme, and it required all the art and authority of Xenophon and the other generals to preserve the men from yielding to the severity of the climate and fatigue.

He *superintended* the retreat of his country men successfully; and though often opposed by malevolence and envy, yet his eloquence and his activity convinced the Greeks that no general could extricate them from every difficulty better than the disciple of Socrates. He rose superior to danger, and though under continual alarms from the sudden attacks of the Persians, he was enabled to cross rapid rivers, penetrate through vast deserts, gain the tops of mountains, till he could rest secure for a while, and refresh his tired companions. This celebrated retreat was at last happily effected, and the Greeks returned home after a march of one thousand one hundred and fifty-five parasangs, or leagues, which was performed in two hundred and fifteen days, after an absence of fifteen months.*

* The army of Cyrus marched from Sardis, through Lydia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, crossed the mountains of Cilicia, passed through Cilicia and Syria to the Euphrates, forded this river, passed through a part of Arabia and Babylonia, until they reached the plain of Cunaxa. In retreating, the object of the Greeks was to strike the Euxine; *but* the error they committed was in making that so extend too far to the east. From Cunaxa they *turned* their course to the Tigris, crossed that river, *marched through* Media, northwards, still following the course of the Tigris. They then crossed the mountains of the Carduchi, and, after great exertions, reached the sources of the river just mentioned. After this they traversed Armenia, crossed the Euphrates not far from its source, lost many of their number in the marshes through the cold and snow, and at last reached the Phasis. Leaving this stream, they passed through the countries Trochi, Chalybes, Macrones, Colchians, and at last reached the Greek colony of Trapezus on the coast of the Euxine sea. As there were not ships enough there to receive them all, they determined to return home by land, and marching along the coast of the last to *Chalcedon*.

The whole, perhaps, might now be forgotten, or at least but obscurely known, if the great philosopher who planned it had not employed his pen in describing the dangers which he escaped, and the difficulties which he surmounted; the particulars of which memorable adventure are so well related by himself in his 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand.' He was no sooner returned from Cunaxa than he sought new honors in following the fortune of Agesilaus in Asia. He enjoyed his confidence; he fought under his standard, and conquered with him in the Asiatic provinces, as well as at the battle of Coronaea. His fame, however, did not escape the aspersions of jealousy: he was publicly banished from Athens for accompanying Cyrus against his brother; and being now without a home, he retired to Scillus, a small town of the Lacedaemonians, in the neighborhood of Olympia.

He was accompanied in his retreat by his wife, and by his twin sons Gryllus and Diodorus; but whether this lady was the mother of the young men is not recorded.

It is probable, that in the course of his Asiatic campaigns Xenophon, though by nature expensive and generous, had amassed considerable wealth; and it will be recollected that he was one of the generals who were intrusted with the tenth dedicated to Apollo and the Ephesian Diana, on the division of the spoil among the Cyreian Greeks at Cerasus; a trust not only honorable, but the source also of

an ample revenue. Xenophon remitted the portion designed for Apollo to the temple at Delphi; and, on leaving Asia to return with Agesilaus into Greece, he deposited the other portion with Megabyzus, the treasurer of the Ephesian temple, desiring that if he should fall in the approaching contest with the Thebans, Megabyzus himself should perform the solemn act of dedication in such manner as should be most pleasing to the goddess; but *if he should* survive, the money should be returned to him; for in the insecurity of all property in Greece, the safest depository for money and the precious metals was the treasury of a temple, where superstition generally effected what better principles failed to do elsewhere; and hence the Grecian temples, especially that at Delphi, were generally used both as public and private banks.

When Xenophon was securely settled at Scillus, Megabyzus took the opportunity afforded by the Olympian games to restore the deposited to him, with which he purchased an estate for the goddess, and built on it a temple and an altar; reserving a tenth of the produce of the sacred land as the rent due to her as proprietor, and leaving the residue to be enjoyed by the occupier of the soil, on condition of discharging his duties as manager of the festivals and guardian of the temple; thus securing to himself and to his family a splendid demesne and handsome income, under the protection of reputed sanctity.

The situation of the estate was dictated by the oracle of Apollo, at the suggestion doubtless of Xenophon himself, and appears to have been studiously selected with a view to make it a counterpart of the sacred territory of Ephesus.

The yearly festival was celebrated with an entertainment to all the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

In this delightful retreat, under the protection of the temporal sovereignty of Lacedaemon, and the spiritual tutelage of Diana, Xenophon forgot the toils of war, in a state of as much enjoyment as can fall to the lot of a man whose happiness must depend on sublunary circumstances. He seems to have been precisely what we should now call a literary country gentleman, diversifying the more refined pleasures of his studious hours with the active amusements of the field; breaking his dogs, training his horses, and attending to the

breed of stock; and so much interest did the philosopher, historian, and commander take in these healthful pursuits, that they became the subject of more than one treatise from his immortal pen; an example to scholars in all ages that they should not disdain to refresh their vigour and renew their animation by allowing the unharnessed faculties to recreate themselves freely in country sports, and exercise themselves agreeably in country business.

From the period of his settlement at Scillus till after the destruction of the Lacedaemonian sovereignty, by the event of the battle at Leuctra, Xenophon appears to have enjoyed uninterrupted quiet, and to have employed himself in composing those works which exalted him to be the rival of Plato in politics and biography, as well as of Thucydides in history.

It is said that the emulation between the two disciples of Socrates occasioned a pitiable jealousy and alienation from each other; but Diogenes relates to the praise of Xenophon, that he gave to the world the history of Thucydides in the name of the author, when he might easily have made it his own. The list of his other works, given us by the same biographer, proves that we have been singularly fortunate in their preservation.

From this literary and rural enjoyment of peace and security, he was not to be tempted by the reversal of the decree against him, which passed on the change of Athenian politics some time after the battle of Leuctra. Athens was of all places the most dangerous for men in any way eminent, but especially for those who possessed property and talents; and in the continual changes of system which characterised the republics of Greece, the fickleness of the despotic mob, who had banished and recalled him, might at any moment confiscate his property and take away his life. When therefore the protection of Lacedæmon could no longer avail him, and the dissensions which agitated the surrounding states rendered even the sacred territory insecure, he sent his family to Lepreum, and is related to have gone in person to Elis, to plead with the Eleians (now once more masters of Scillus) for immunity, on account of having accepted the fief from an hostile power. It appears that the prayer was readily granted, and that he returned in peace to the possession of his

property; but whether the commotions of the times rendered a country residence less desirable, or the decline of life brought with it a disinclination for bodily exertion, he appears, in his latter years, to have lived principally at Corinth, in which place he died about the second year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, 359 years B.C.

The simplicity and the elegance of Xenophon's diction have procured him the name of Athenian Muse, and the Bee of Greece; and they have induced Quintilian to say that the Graces dictated his language, and that the goddess of Persuasion dwelt on his lips. His sentiments, as to the Divinity and religion, were the same as those of the venerable Socrates. He supported the immortality of the soul, and exhorted his friends to cultivate those virtues which insure the happiness of *mankind*, *with* all the zeal and fervor of a Christian.

He has been quoted as an instance of tenderness, and of resignation to Providence. As he was offering a sacrifice he was informed that Gryllus, his eldest son, had been killed at the battle of Mantinea. On this he tore the garland from his head; but when he was told that his son had died like a Greek, and given a mortal wound to the enemy's general, he replaced the flowers on his head, and continued the sacrifice, exclaiming, that the pleasure he derived from the valor of his son was greater than the grief which his unfortunate death occasioned.

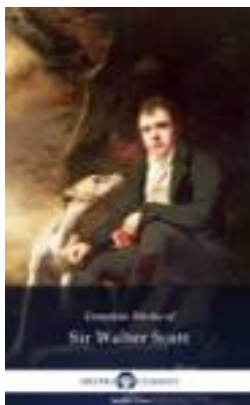
His character is best painted in his life and writings. He was brave, generous, and affectionate; punctual and vigilant on duty; sagacious and enterprising in command; prudent and eloquent in council; a sincere friend; a magnanimous adversary; a liberal and enlightened statesman. As an author he is above criticism; and the beauty of his style adorns every subject of which he has treated. As an historian he has been thought deficient in dates; but his candor and fairness are generally acknowledged; and his political wisdom and military science have assisted to form some of the ablest politicians and generals of succeeding times.

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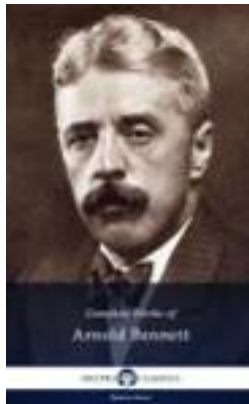
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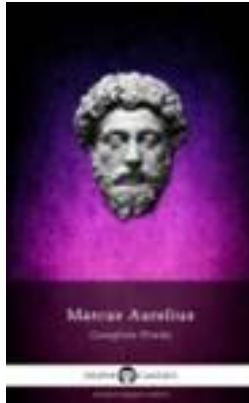
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Corinth — believed by some historians to be where Xenophon died